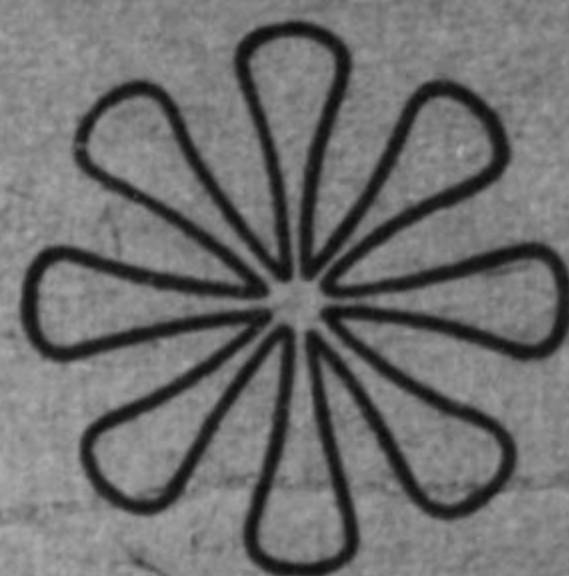


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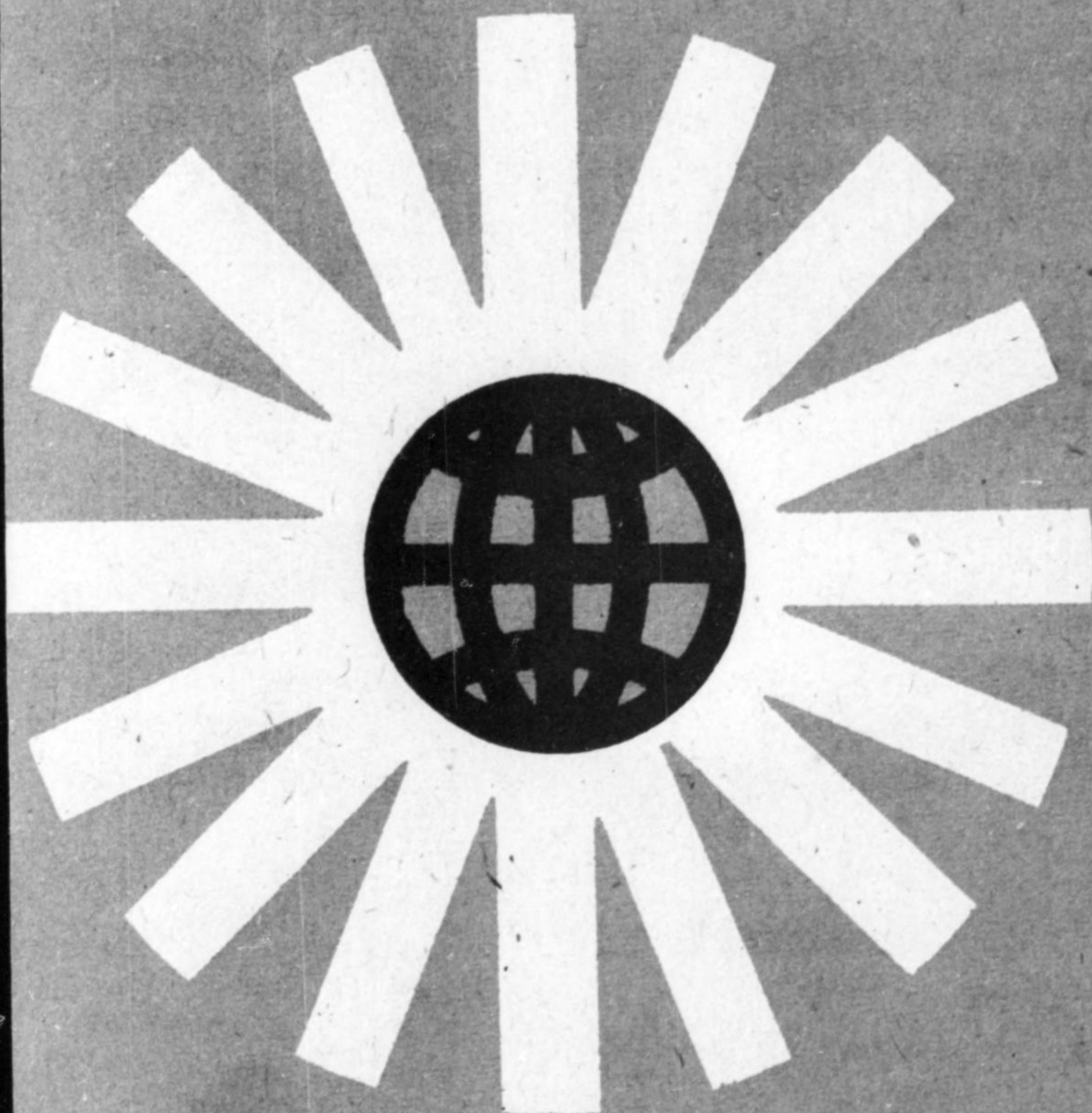
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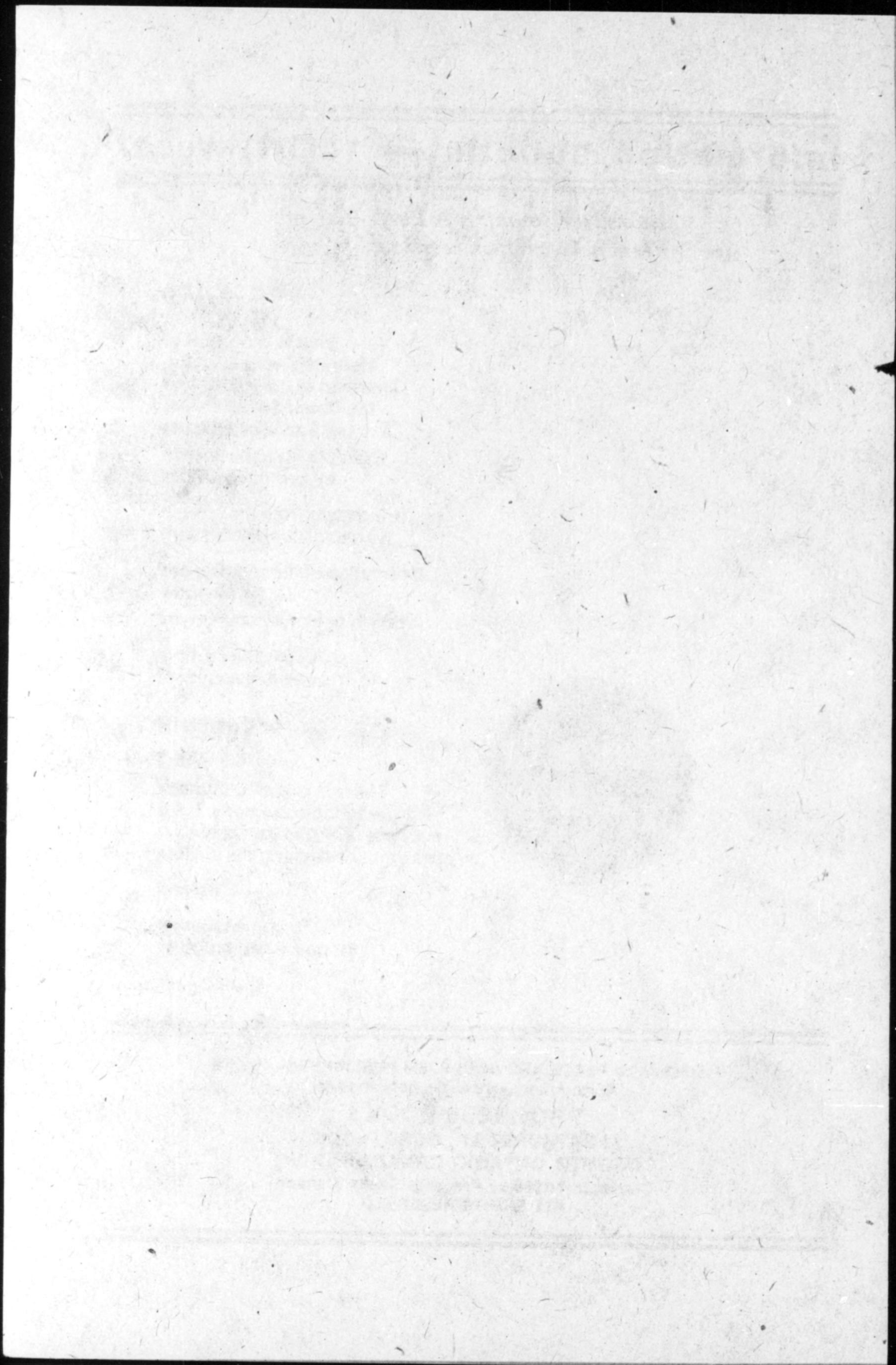
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VISIT TO THE USSR OF MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM, CHAIRMAN OF THE PMAC AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA

Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and the Council of Ministers of Socialist Ethiopia was on an official visit to the Soviet Union in mid-November, 1978. During talks with the leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet government a wide range of questions connected with Soviet-Ethiopian relations were discussed. The sides noted with satisfaction that relations between the two countries are developing successfully in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration on the basic principles of friendly relations and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Socialist Ethiopia. The mutual striving was expressed to continue efforts with the aim of implementing concrete measures to promote Soviet-Ethiopian cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and other fields.

Views were exchanged on some topical international problems, including the situation in Africa. The Soviet Union and Socialist Ethiopia condemned the neo-colonialist maneuvers of imperialist powers in the south of Africa and the support given by them to racist regimes. They unanimously noted that the unity and cohesion of African peoples play a particularly important role in the struggle against imperialist interference in the affairs of the continent aimed at undermining progressive regimes and preserving seats of colonialism and racism.

In connection with the situation in the Horn of Africa, the sides confirmed the resolve of the Soviet Union and Ethiopia to press for a normalization of the situation in that area by way of a political settlement on the basis of renunciation of territorial claims, observance of the principle of mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of borders, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and creation of an atmosphere of mutual understanding and good-neighbor relations.

On November 17, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and government of the USSR gave a dinner in the Great Kremlin Palace in honor of the esteemed guest from Ethiopia, at which Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Mengistu Haile Mariam made speeches.

**EXCERPTS FROM THE SPEECH
BY LEONID BREZHNEV**

The good relations between our peoples have long-standing traditions. The Soviet Union has always firmly and actively supported the independence and freedom of Ethiopia.

After the birth of Socialist Ethiopia, relations of close friendship and all-round cooperation were firmly established between our countries.

These relations are based on the community of interests of socialist states and developing countries, on the desire to pool efforts in the struggle for the independent development of the peoples and social progress, for a lasting peace, against aggression and the arms race.

Today, the countries of Africa have greatly strengthened their role in international affairs. The imperialists can no longer discount their opinion. Hence it is particularly important to consolidate the solidarity and unity of action of those African states which come out for a just peace, against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

The activity of the Organization of African Unity in this direction meets with full understanding and support on the part of the Soviet Union.

The colonialists left to the African states no few problems that are still making themselves felt. It is the imperialists who are most interested in conflicts, which at times flare up in Africa, over territorial disputes, for instance. They seek to use these conflicts for their own aims, fomenting strife between African countries and setting them one against another.

Life has shown that in order to reliably ensure the independence and progress of the African countries it is necessary to foil the intrigues of imperialism and its henchmen, of those who sow discord and advocate the "divide and rule" principle.

And if African statesmen are able to resolve disputes that may arise not by the force of arms, but at the negotiation table, on the basis of mutual respect for the independence, territorial integrity and respect for the existing borders, this will benefit the interests of their peoples,

the cause of progress of the whole of Africa and of universal peace.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it respects the right of every people to choose independently its road of development. It resolutely opposes interference in the internal affairs of the African states, violation of their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

It is from these positions that we also approach today's problems in Africa and the areas adjoining it.

We know, Comrade Mengistu, that the situation in the Horn of Africa still remains complex. Imperialist circles are using the tensions remaining there in their own interests. Needless to say, this affects in the first place the interests of the peoples of the Horn of Africa.

The situation in the South of Africa remains an acute international problem. The notorious plans of the Western powers directed, as they say, at turning over power in Namibia and Rhodesia into the hands of the African majority, far from bringing closer are retarding the attainment of genuine independence by the peoples of that area. Actually it is an attempt to preserve the old essence of the racist regimes under new signboards.

Nor can we ignore such a factor as the military cooperation of the imperialist countries of the West with South Africa. It is not only the stronghold of racism and reaction in Africa, but also a source of military threat to the neighboring countries.

The countries of Africa and Asia are becoming increasingly aware of the danger stemming from imperialist attempts to restore in a new form their domination in that part of the world. This is seen, in particular, from the developments in the Middle East, particularly the results of the Baghdad meeting of Arab heads of state and government.

We welcome the decisions adopted at this meeting as a great achievement for the patriotic forces of the Arab world. The unanimous condemnation of the Camp David deal by the leaders of the Arab countries is an important political factor.

The decisions taken in Baghdad will play, I am sure, a great positive role in the struggle for a genuine Middle East settlement. And this accords with the interests of all those who want a lasting peace.

Dear comrades, under the guidance of its tested revolutionary leaders the people of Ethiopia have courageously repelled foreign invasion, upheld the gains of the revolution and its homeland's territorial integrity. Now you are faced with the enormous tasks of peaceful construction, of realizing the ideals of the revolution. We wish you great successes in this noble cause.

EXCERPTS FROM THE SPEECH BY MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM

First of all permit me, on behalf of the popular masses of Ethiopia that have entered a decisive stage of their struggle, of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, of the progressive forces of our country, and, proceeding from feelings of brotherhood and international solidarity, to convey greetings to our true friends: the CPSU, the Soviet people and government.

Comrade President,

You and other comrades present here are well aware of our problems and our successes in the four years of the revolution which destroyed the feudal-bourgeois system in our country and put Ethiopia on the rails of socialist ideology. There is no need therefore to dwell on this in detail. I would just like to touch on the following aspects of our revolution.

The working masses of Ethiopia have made great sacrifices for the sake of victory. Having risen in resolute and selfless struggle under the slogan "revolutionary motherland or death," they routed the internal class enemies and chauvinistic elements, rebuffed an aggression on the part of the external reactionary forces, eliminated imperialist conspiracies and thereby saved the revolution from peril and the country from expansionist threat.

The internationalist aid given us by the party, government and people of the Soviet Union in the period of that fierce struggle will for ever be remembered by the Ethiopian people and will occupy an important place in the history of its revolution.

Although the aggression unleashed against us by the Somali reactionaries and coordinated, encouraged and supported by imperialism, suffered a defeat, a lasting peace in the Horn of Africa can be ensured only when Somalia gives up its policy of expansionism and demonstrates by deeds its desire to live in peace.

In the northern part of our country imperialism and reactionary states of this region are hatching a collusion, using groups of renegades to achieve their ends. Defending our revolution from the collusion, the second army of liberation operating in the northern part of Ethiopia is taking steps to save the population from enemy fire, to liberate it, restore peaceful life, and to carry out rehabilitation work there.

In conditions, when, as distinct from other revolutions, we have no vanguard party, the Ethiopian revolution is overcoming the above

difficulties and scoring victories thanks to the fact that the Provisional Military Administrative Council, in implementing the important task dictated by the course of history, has managed to unite all the people on the basis of the revolutionary course elaborated by the council. This is the distinguishing historical feature of the Ethiopian revolution.

The Provisional Military Administrative Council, realizing that the development of the revolutionary process can only be ensured when it is directed by a vanguard party of the working people, has taken steps to unite and consolidate the ranks of the Ethiopian Marxist-Leninists. As a result, the alliance of the Marxist-Leninist organizations and individual Marxist-Leninists is now acquiring a clear ideological platform, and we have no doubt that the alliance's constituent elements, by passing over to a stage of complete merger, will create the basis for a party of the working people.

The struggle of revolutionary Ethiopia against the anti-popular forces has not yet been completed. It still faces long and hard trials. It has inherited from the old regime a number of socio-economic problems, such as poverty, disease, and hunger.

Today, when the Ethiopian people, through a resolute struggle, have defeated the internal and external enemies which encroached on its revolution and its unity, it is necessary to put on a reliable foundation the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. For these purposes, what is required is to completely liberate the productive forces from the feudal-imperialist production relations, to raise the level of production through hard work, to speed up economic development, to overcome economic fragmentation, to put the production process on a revolutionary and collective basis. That is why, to carry out revolutionary transformations in the field of development, the beginning of a national revolutionary economic campaign was recently proclaimed.

To implement these revolutionary objectives it is necessary to eliminate the vestiges of the feudal-bourgeois system and to elaborate a centralized and coordinated plan of economic development. In this connection, in conditions of activization and the creative upswing and consolidation of the unity of the masses, a supreme central planning council has been set up, which is heading the above campaign, to elaborate short-term and long-term plans.

For the campaign to be successful, it is essential for the working masses — the motive force of the consistent development process — to have great confidence in their strength and to display selflessness.

Also necessary is internationalist support on the part of the socialist countries and the progressive forces.

The Soviet Union has already rendered Ethiopia vast assistance in its economic development: in the field of finance, technology and industry. And we believe that in conditions when the Ethiopian revolution is taking resolute steps to create an economic basis which would guarantee the country's independence, the Soviet Union will expand its cooperation with us in various economic fields.

When revolutionary Ethiopia, having eliminated the backward economic relations inherited from the feudal-bourgeois regime, creates a progressive and solid economic base, it will make its internationalist contribution and will become a reliable support force for the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting against oppression and exploitation. Proletarian internationalism is the basis for our revolution and for the struggle of the international progressive forces, and we will consistently translate it into reality.

The international situation is now more favorable than ever before for all those standing for progress, independence, peace and equality among people. The maneuvers of the anti-popular forces are being exposed and the positions of the forces of progress and independence fighters are growing stronger.

The imperialist maneuvers in Southern Africa and in the Middle East are now seen more clearly. As the strongholds of oppression, exploitation, racism and apartheid find themselves in an increasingly critical position as a result of the military activities conducted by the fighters for national liberation in the South of Africa, imperialism is showing its true face by openly supporting the leaders of the racist and illegal regimes.

We believe that the fighters of Zimbabwe and Namibia will win, but it should be taken into consideration that they are fighting not only against racism and colonialism but against imperialism as well. Therefore the oppressed peoples of the world, the forces of peace and progress must expand their assistance to these fighters. Ethiopia, for its part, will do its utmost in this field.

The area of independence and socialism in Southeast Asia is expanding. We are gratified that after the 30-years-long armed struggle against French and U.S. imperialism the people of Vietnam emerged victorious are now waging a struggle for peace and socialism.

The leaders of China, however, who claim to be waging a struggle for justice, equality, peace and socialism, are, in fact, undermining the revolutionary and liberation movement in the world, strengthen-

ing the anti-popular forces of all continents, encouraging the aggressive aspirations of reactionary forces. They play a no lesser anti-popular role than imperialism and are now carrying out a new aggression against revolutionary Vietnam that is fraught with danger for that area.

The Chinese leaders' policy and their stand directed against the interests of the peoples of Cuba, Chile, Egypt, the Sudan, Vietnam, Angola and Nicaragua puzzle the progressive forces of the world.

Revolutionary Ethiopia was in no hurry to state its stand, limiting itself to curbing reactionary activity and to taking diplomatic measures. But China's course of converging with imperialism and arming the hired killers of the "fifth column" and secessionists, was the cause of the death of many progressive-minded persons.

China extends direct support to the reactionary forces of our region that come out against the interests of Ethiopia, its revolution and its very existence. It also fully supports the intrigues by some reactionary Red Sea states which pursue the aim of turning the Red Sea into an "Arab lake," thus creating an atmosphere that could lead to a conflict.

At the time when Somali troops seized part of our territory, China was among the 13 states which either directly or through devious routes were supplying Somalia with arms and ammunition to replace those spent in combat operations against the oppressed masses of Ethiopia. In so doing it acted hand in glove with imperialism and the reactionary countries of the region.

That is why we condemn the reactionary Chinese leadership, which in words pursues a communist policy, but in reality carries out an anti-communist policy of chauvinism, expansionism and hegemonism. We support the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the peoples of Vietnam and Laos.

Ethiopia, a founding member of the United Nations Organization, the movement of non-alignment and the Organization of African Unity, respects their principles.

The Soviet Union and Ethiopia have a common approach not only to questions of bilateral relations but also to international problems, and in this field our cooperation is expanding.

The socialist countries and peace forces are exerting enormous efforts to direct the means now spent on the arms race to the needs of economic development and ensurance of people's well-being. As a result of these efforts we have entered the stage of relaxation of international tensions which, we hope, will be followed by the stage

of general and complete disarmament. This, however, does not suit the military-industrial complex of the capitalist world, which seeks to preserve the conditions of exploitation conducive to securing profits for itself. We hold that all people of good will must, with a still greater persistence, continue their struggle in this direction to ensure the well-being of mankind, i.e., to defend peace and achieve genuine disarmament.

The Ethiopian revolution promotes the further development of traditional relations between our two countries, and we, for our part, will make every effort to deepen and strengthen these relations.

Pravda, November 18, 1978

Leonid Brezhnev and Mengistu Haile Mariam signed a Treaty of friendship and cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Socialist Ethiopia in Moscow on November 20.

DELEGATION OF THE U.S. SENATE IN MOSCOW

Leonid Brezhnev receives U.S. Senate delegation

On November 17, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium received in the Kremlin the U.S. Senate delegation led by Abraham Ribicoff. The delegation was in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

During the talk Leonid Brezhnev emphasized the special significance of a positive development of Soviet-U.S. relations for strengthening universal peace and eliminating the threat of a nuclear war.

If we approach this matter from a realistic standpoint and with an objective appraisal of the interests of each of our countries, and at the same time of world peace, Leonid Brezhnev emphasized, we can clearly see that the relations between the USSR and the USA must develop on the basis of complete equality, equal security of both sides, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and mutually advantageous cooperation. The whole experience of the relations between our two countries shows that they developed successfully when they rested on these principles. And, on the contrary, whenever these principles were violated, our relations were harmed and dangerous tension ensued.

Leonid Brezhnev expressed the view that attempts to oppose the healthy development of U.S.-Soviet relations are connected with the striving of definite circles in the USA to step up the arms race. This is the purpose of the fabrications being disseminated about the so-called Soviet military threat.

Leonid Brezhnev reiterated the Soviet Union's loyalty to the fundamental and principled agreements concluded between the USSR and the USA in 1972 and 1973, and the Soviet side's readiness, given equal readiness on the part of the USA, to work for the stable development of Soviet-U.S. relations on a broad front and in diverse fields.

It was noted in this connection that the earliest conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations and the signing of a new strategic offensive arms limitation agreement would be a major step toward curbing and eventually putting an end to the arms race, and would open up a realistic road to ensuring the security of both our countries, as well as of other countries and peoples. The overall atmosphere of Soviet-U.S. relations would be improved on the whole. Leonid Brezhnev pointed out that the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress have an important part to play in this matter.

During the talks much attention was given to the need for a vigorous search for reciprocally acceptable solutions to pressing international issues with account of the legitimate interests of all the people on an equal and fair basis.

The members of the U.S. Senate delegation spoke in favor of the two countries making the necessary efforts to improve understanding between them, despite existing differences of opinion on a number of questions, and of advancing along the road of détente and improving the international climate.

Pravda, November 18, 1978

SPEECH BY BORIS PONOMARYOV

Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet met for a talk with members of the U.S. Senate delegation at the premises of the USSR Supreme Soviet on November 15.

Boris Ponomaryov, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, spoke at the meeting.

In his speech Boris Ponomaryov noted that Soviet-U.S. relations had developed very unevenly in the recent period. In the United States actions had taken place which led to the worsening of relations between the USSR and the USA and the weakening of the process of

détente. The SALT-2 talks were slowed down, the arms race stepped up, trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union were curtailed and attempts to interfere in our internal affairs increased. The anti-Soviet campaign being conducted on the pretext of a "Soviet threat" was given a new boost.

As for the Soviet Union, its policy remains firm and invariable: constantly to strive to promote and expand détente, to take practical, real steps in the sphere of disarmament, and to seek cooperation with all states for the sake of averting the threat of war. This policy is dictated by our striving to provide through common efforts real guarantees for the basic, supreme right of people — the right to life. For this the threat of war must be removed.

Ponomaryov noted further that recently, owing to reciprocal efforts, definite positive changes have occurred in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations, which have given them some balance. It is to be hoped that this "balance" will not be a temporary phenomenon, but will serve to develop Soviet-U.S. relations along an upward curve, toward promoting and expanding détente, which in turn will lead to stable relations between our countries.

Boris Ponomaryov recalled Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the 18th Komsomol Congress, in which he set forth an absolutely concrete and realistic program for stopping the further quantitative and qualitative growth of armaments and armed forces of states possessing an extensive military potential, as well as the set of proposals submitted by the Soviet Union to the special UN General Assembly on May 26 on practical ways to end the arms race.

However, the United States and its allies took over that period a number of new steps leading to the aggravation of international tensions. An instance of this is the decision of the May session of the NATO Council held in Washington, when a long-term arms build-up program of the NATO countries was adopted on the initiative of the USA, and a record military budget adopted by the U.S. administration for 1979, amounting to almost 130 billion dollars, and finally, President Carter's decision on producing the "main components" of the neutron weapon, etc. All these actions and steps were undertaken on the pretext of a "Soviet military threat," of a "Soviet arms build-up." But no one, nowhere, has ever been able to prove the existence of such a threat.

We, naturally, will see that the security of the Soviet Union is ensured, Ponomaryov said. Concern for their security is the legitimate right of every people, including the Soviet and American

peoples. And the Soviet Union must, understandably, do everything to ensure the security of its people.

The USSR is not seeking military superiority, as Leonid Brezhnev has stated on numerous occasions. But neither can it permit the other side's superiority. The illusory and dangerous nature of the drive to create new types of mass destruction weapons while staking on the Soviet Union's inability to do so, should be clearly seen. The USSR has long since proposed rejecting the very idea of creating new mass destruction weapons, and not because it is incapable of keeping up with the USA, but because it considers it senseless and dangerous.

Next year it will be ten years since the representatives of the USSR and the USA sat down at the negotiation table to set the limit to the development of the most dangerous, most destructive armaments. A recognition of each other's equal security by both sides and the statements that attempts to attain unilateral superiority, directly or indirectly, would be incompatible with the strengthening of peaceful relations between the USSR and the USA constituted the basis for these talks. But whereas the SALT-1 treaty was concluded in a relatively short period, the SALT-2 talks have dragged out far too long. It can be noted with satisfaction that on the whole progress has been made in reaching agreement on a number of major questions. But, as Leonid Brezhnev pointed out in his talk with U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, complete agreement on some vital issues has not yet been reached. Both sides now reaffirm that they are convinced of the need to bring the time nearer when the heads of our states put their signatures under the long-awaited treaty. And it is highly important that the legislative bodies of our states exert every effort for the conclusion of the SALT-2 agreement and its ratification.

Boris Ponomarev then touched on the problem of strengthening European security, in particular, the question of limiting armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

We have every reason to consider that reaching mutually acceptable agreements while observing the principle of not infringing on the security of either side would help to lower the high concentration of troops and armaments in the center of the European continent, consolidate the process of détente and raise the level of trust and understanding between states.

Trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation have a substantial role to play in the intricate complex of bilateral relations between our countries, Ponomarev said. However, the level of these relations still does not correspond to the existing possibilities and

economic development of the USA and the USSR. We often witness attempts on the part of the United States to set up obstacles on this road, to introduce in the development of trade and economic relations problems which have no bearing on them. The initiators of such a policy are not concealing the fact that they seek to use trade as an instrument of political pressure on our country. But we have repeatedly declared and wish to once again emphatically stress that we will never permit trade being used as an instrument of interference in our internal affairs.

Boris Ponomarev then dealt with some other international issues, particularly the political situation in the Middle East. He stressed that the separate steps made in the Middle East on the basis of the Camp David accords do not resolve a single one of the cardinal problems which lie at the basis of the conflict. These accords represent an attempt to examine urgent Middle East problems behind the backs of the Arab peoples and their governments. The United States has in effect torpedoed the Geneva conference and bears a grave responsibility for the dangerous developments in the Middle East.

Maintaining constant tension and enmity in the Middle East resulting from the unsettled crucial problems of the conflict does not meet the interests of either the Arab peoples or the people of Israel.

The USSR will continue to follow a consistent line of liquidating the dangerous seat of war in the Middle East in the interests of all the peoples of the region. A basic assumption of our policy is that there still exist objective opportunities for resolving the cardinal questions of an overall peace settlement in this region. This road is the Geneva conference specially set up for the purpose.

Then the question of the situation in Africa was posed.

The Soviet Union's foreign policy is invariably guided by the principles of respect for the freedom, independence, equality and sovereignty of states, the right of the peoples to select their own way of development, and non-interference in the affairs of other countries, and this is also true of our relations with Africa. The Soviet Union is not seeking political domination, it is not soliciting military bases or economic privileges.

It is a well-known fact that the USSR firmly and consistently advocates peace, good-neighbour relations and cooperation between all countries and peoples, including with China. The normalization between the USA and the PRC is a natural process. But definite U.S. circles would like to see the U.S. and China draw closer together on an anti-Soviet basis. This drawing together is accompanied by actions

on the part of the USA which encourage China's military preparations and prod it to armed ventures that could lead to a new world war.

We fail to understand how it is possible to speak of a striving for peace, of the need for détente and at the same time to arm China, create a dangerous seat of war, from which its flames could spread not only to Asia but could reach a global, world scale.

Leonid Brezhnev justifiably called the West's playing of the "Chinese card" a dangerous and near-sighted policy.

Boris Ponomarev emphasized that the policy of détente is not a gift to one or another side, but a necessity dictated by the vital interests of both the Soviet and American peoples, all the peoples of the world.

Pravda, November 16, 1978

LEONID BREZHNEV'S REPLY TO *PRAVDA* CORRESPONDENT

Q. How do you assess foreign press reports on interference by Western powers, especially the USA, in the events in Iran and even the possibility of military intervention by them?

A. Yes, there have been such reports, including reports on the possibility of military intervention by certain powers. What puts one on guard is the fact that officials of the states concerned actually do not deny such reports. If they do deny attempts to interfere in Iran's internal affairs — as was done recently by the U.S. President — they immediately make reservations which do not exclude the possibility of such interference on some pretext.

The Soviet Union, which maintains traditional good-neighbor relations with Iran, emphatically states that it is against foreign interference in the internal affairs of Iran by anyone, in any form and on any pretext. The events taking place in that country are a purely internal affair and the questions involved should be decided by the Iranians themselves. All states must observe in this matter the principles recorded in the UN Charter and in a number of other basic international documents, must respect the sovereignty and independence of Iran and the Iranian people.

It should be also clear that any interference, especially military interference in the affairs of Iran — a state which directly borders on the Soviet Union — would be regarded by the USSR as a matter affecting its security interests.

Pravda, November 19, 1978

DOCUMENTS

The German Communist Party held its Congress in Mannheim from October 20 to 22. About 820 delegates representing more than 46,000 GCP members as well as guests — delegations from 54 communist and workers' parties and national-liberation movements, attended the Congress. Party Chairman Herbert Mies made the report "For a turn toward democratic and social progress — peace, freedom and socialism."

The Congress elected the leading party organs. Herbert Mies was re-elected Chairman of the GCP and Hermann Gautier as his deputy. The plenum of the GCP Board, held after the Congress, elected the Presidium and Secretariat of the Board.

The highlight of the Congress was the unanimous adoption of the GCP Program, which Herbert Mies referred to as a "reliable compass of the party...the result of the creative application of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin in resolving the fundamental questions of our time in the concrete conditions of the FRG."

Part VI of the Program is reproduced below.

THE ROLE OF A REVOLUTIONARY WORKING-CLASS PARTY. FOR A STRONGER GCP AND FOR EXPANSION OF ITS INFLUENCE AMONG THE MASSES

The lessons of over a century of the German and international working-class' struggle, the experience of class battles in the FRG show that the working people need a revolutionary working-class party whose activity and goals are based on scientific socialism. In our country, that party is the German Communist Party.

THE GCP MUST BECOME A MASS PARTY

To consistently defend the social, democratic and peaceful pursuits of the working class and the working people as a whole it is essential to enhance the activity of and strengthen the GCP both in non-parliamentary struggle and in winning parliamentary representation. This is of decisive importance for united working-class actions and for

developing a broad democratic alliance. A larger GCP membership and its ever stronger roots in the working class is the primary prerequisite in changing the balance of political forces in favor of the working people. The GCP must become a mass party in order to effect a turn toward democratic and social progress, to establish an anti-monopoly democracy and to build a socialist system of society in the FRG.

There exist numerous working-class organizations. They seek partial goals and uphold the particular interests of one or another part of the working class. The GCP, however, represents the common interests of the working class. It organizes class struggle in the economic, political and ideological spheres. The party is fighting consistently for the working people's immediate interests, while never losing sight of the future, more far-reaching socialist goals of the working-class movement. The GCP's strength lies in its scientific world view, its socialist and communist aims, its policy, which serves the national interests of the FRG and proletarian internationalism, in its organization, its firm reliance on the working class and its affiliation to the world communist movement. Its strength consists in its members' preparedness to fight consistently for the working people's demands. No other working-class organization can take the place of the Communist Party.

THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE GCP

GCP policy is based on the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is waging a struggle for the free dissemination of the communists' world view — Marxism-Leninism — in the FRG. The party defends scientific socialism against every shade of bourgeois ideology. It is fighting against right opportunism, whose aim is the spiritual disarmament of the working class and its political subordination to monopoly capital. It is also waging a struggle against "left" opportunism as well as against the pseudo-revolutionary adventurism and anti-working-class divisive activities of the Maoist, Trotskyite and anarchistic groups. The GCP is striving to creatively apply the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin in the conditions of our country and in this way to contribute to the international working-class movement's treasure-store of experience.

The GCP is true to the legacy of the outstanding leaders and teachers of the German working-class movement. It works in the spirit of August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, Ernst Thaelmann,

Wilhelm Pieck and Max Reimann. GCP policy reflects the experience and lessons of present-day struggles of the progressive forces in the FRG. The party will in future too take into account the entire experience accumulated in the struggle between labor and capital, between progress and reaction both in our country and in other countries. Thus the GCP is a party that is continuously learning, it is tied in with life and works creatively.

ENHANCE THE WORKERS' CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

The GCP considers it a key political and ideological objective to broaden the workers' and other working people's understanding of their class position and the irreconcilable contradiction between their class interests and big capital's power and profit interests, to enrich their class experience. The party popularizes socialist ideas. It strengthens in the working class the conviction that its historic mission is to defeat capitalism and along with its own liberation to free the entire working people from capitalist exploitation and to open up a secure future for them in conditions of socialism. The GCP is waging a vigorous struggle against anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and nationalism, while making every effort to counteract the influence of bourgeois ideology on the working class.

The GCP's political explanatory work and popularization of its goals are very closely tied in with its active support and encouragement of practical actions which are the best way to make the working people realize their common interests, acquire new experience and broaden their forces. The GCP is a party in which words and deeds are one.

WHAT DOES BEING A COMMUNIST SIGNIFY

Being a communist means to work in common with like-minded people. This ensures the best conditions for the full development of one's personality and enriches the life of each communist. Comradely interaction, new knowledge, a scientific world view, development of all the capabilities which one possesses and can use to serve the common cause, the strength of joint actions for common goals — all this is what a communist learns while working in his party.

We communists are part of the working class. We have no interests apart from the class interests of the rest of the workers and other employees. We know that only through joint struggle can we uphold our common interests — the interests of the workers. We communists are linked by the will to serve the cause of the workers, to facilitate its

success. Hence we make high demands on ourselves both politically and morally.

A communist shows deep concern for the interests of his workmates and fellow citizens. He pays attention to everything that concerns the working people. Whether at work or in neighborhoods, schools and higher educational institutions, during non-parliamentary and parliamentary actions, a communist is always a consistent, incorruptible defender of the interests of the workers and other employees, the intelligentsia, the young workers and students, senior citizens, women, of all the working people.

A communist is active wherever working people gather and get organized in defense of their political, social and cultural demands. He responds readily to the problems of the younger generation and actively supports the struggle for its rights. He seeks particularly to strengthen the Marxist youth organizations that are linked by friendly ties with the GCP: the Social-Democratic Working-Class Youth, the Marxist student league "Spartak" and the Young Pioneers.

A communist always associates with the working people. He seeks constructive discussion, and openly and consistently upholds the communist viewpoint. A communist uses the example of real socialism to show the people the social superiority of the new socialist system and to combat anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin is his indispensable spiritual weapon. He endeavors to acquire an ever deeper understanding of scientific socialism and the party's policy, which is based on it.

A communist, above all, takes an active part in increasing party membership and the circulation and development of the working-class press, in securing financial support for party activity, promoting the organizational, political and ideological strengthening of the party and in combating the class enemy's attacks.

THE PRINCIPLES OF INNER-PARTY LIFE

The principles of the GCP's inner-party life are characterized by a Marxist world view and common political goals. Hence the GCP members, who form a community that fights for common objectives, act as a united force and in solidarity. Communists are always guided by the principle that only the united work of the entire party can assure its action ability and strength. Hence in the GCP broad inner-party democracy is tied in with the principles of joint, centralized actions. The participation of the entire membership in discussing and working out GCP policy, the accountability of elective functionaries

and boards is combined with the fact that the decisions of congresses and the GCP Board are binding for the entire party. The decisions of higher level elective boards are binding for party organizations at all levels. Factionalism is incompatible with the party's united actions. Communists always seek to ensure that party life is determined by collective actions combined with the personal responsibility of each, by comradeship, trust and mutual assistance, criticism and self-criticism, responsiveness, high class vigilance and morality.

PRIMARY ORGANIZATIONS

GCP policy is implemented mainly through its primary organizations: party groups at factories, residential areas and higher educational institutions. These are the direct links between the party and the workers and the working people as a whole, the youth, and other progressive organizations. They are the political home of the communists. That is where people get to know each other well, where they have the best opportunity to study party policy and find answers to their questions. In a primary organization every communist has the opportunity to participate in working out party policy, to assess political experience and to make critical remarks and proposals. It is the organizer of forces for the fulfillment of party decisions. An essential condition of expanding the party's influence and its stronger positions in the working class is the further strengthening of the primary organizations, above all party groups at factories, developing their initiative in defending the working people's interests, constant study and summing up of their experience by the boards.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

The GCP always acts in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Its policy combines consistent defense of the working people's cause at home with solidarity and support for the struggle of progressive forces throughout the world. Bearing in mind the internationalist character of the working class's historic mission, the GCP strongly rejects all attempts to counterpose the national to the international in the class struggle.

Each Communist Party works out its own policy independently. It bears the responsibility for this to its working class, its nation and at the same time, to the working people of all countries. There is a growing internationalization of the class struggle. We are witnessing the unification of the reactionary forces of various countries. The strengthening of socialism and aggravation of the capitalist crisis

creates new opportunities for further successes in the world revolutionary process. Hence the growing importance of international solidarity and coordinated actions of the communist and workers' parties. The GCP resolutely combats all attacks against the tried and tested principles of international cooperation of the working class and its parties, which are based on a common world view, on joint struggle against the same kind of imperialist enemy and for the common goal — socialism. The party will invariably honor its internationalist duty.

The strength and internationalist policy of the Soviet Union are today more than ever the crucial factor in strengthening peace, in advancing the cause of social progress, in expanding the world revolutionary process. Hence firm unity with the Soviet Union and the CPSU meets the interests of all progressive forces. This is confirmed also by the history of our people. The GCP is seeking, in the interests of the FRG working people, to develop further its fraternal relations with the CPSU, the most powerful and experienced party of the world communist movement. The GCP, true to the behests of Ernst Thaelmann, sees the attitude to the Soviet Union as the touchstone of each communist's loyalty to the cause of the revolutionary working-class movement. The party constantly educates its members in the spirit of firm friendship toward the Soviet Union. It seeks to make known in the FRG the truth about the Soviet people's historic feats in defeating fascist barbarism, their role as the front-rank fighters for peace, humanism and progress.

The GCP attaches great importance to promoting relations with the fraternal parties of the other socialist countries. Above all, it continuously develops its ties with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which are based on a common history and traditions. Under the SUPG leadership the workers and peasants, the whole people of the GDR are building a developed socialist society, strengthening real socialism on German soil — the basic alternative to the exploitative capitalist system.

Aware of the growing role and responsibility of the working class and the revolutionary working-class movement in the strongholds of capitalism, the German Communist Party is doing everything in its power to develop and consolidate its relations with the fraternal parties of the other capitalist countries. The party particularly advocates development of concrete joint actions against the multinationals, against attempts to shift the burden of the crisis on to the

working people's shoulders, for the strengthening of peace and for disarmament.

The GCP strives unintermittently to establish and promote fraternal relations with the communist and workers' parties, revolutionary democratic parties and other anti-imperialist movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It displays active solidarity above all with all the peoples who are fighting against imperialism, for their national and social liberation.

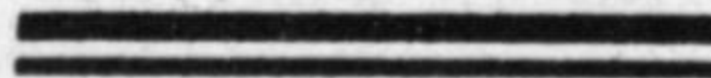
The GCP has always made its contribution to the stronger unity and cohesion of the world communist movement on the basis of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is guided by the experience which shows that any departure from these principles greatly harms the universal struggle for social progress. Aware of the fact that joint actions of the main revolutionary streams of our time are immensely important for the struggle against imperialism, for social progress in all countries, the GCP calls for interaction of the world socialist system, the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement. Knowing that the strengthening of the international revolutionary movement also leads to the strengthening of the revolutionary movement in each country, the GCP considers it its major internationalist duty to exert every effort to strengthen the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in the FRG.

Whoever wants to change the world must comprehend it. Whoever wants to liberate himself, needs comrades. Whoever wants to develop his forces, must get organized. Whoever wants to achieve a free life worthy of man and to conquer the future, must fight.

The GCP was not formed for its own sake. It serves the working class and the people. It acts together with the workers and for the workers, together with the youth and for the youth, together with the people and for the people.

Confidence in the morrow and justice, democracy and freedom, peace and socialism — these are the goals for which the German Communist Party is fighting.

Unsere Zeit, October 25, 1978



TO COME TOGETHER FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS

Joint Communiqué of the Communist Parties of Great Britain and Ireland

Ten years of violence and death have proved beyond all doubt that continued repression in Northern Ireland will bring neither peace nor justice.

As our peoples enter the second decade of the crisis in Northern Ireland we communists of Britain and Ireland appeal to the trade union movement of our two countries to join together to break the deadlock created by the British government's refusal to countenance democratic change.

The British government has the prime responsibility for resolving the crisis in the North of Ireland, no matter what blame its officials and ministers may seek to lay on the shoulders of the politicians and people of Northern Ireland.

Today there is both a need and a new opportunity for an initiative around policies supported by both the British Trades Union Congress and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to provide a new opening for the people of Northern Ireland to come together in peace and progress.

The crisis of the past decade has been sustained by the failure of successive British governments to meet the just demands for democratic rights, their reliance on military and police repression, their use of torture and brutality against prisoners, the withdrawal of special category status for many of the prisoners and the continued employment of judicial procedures which set aside the normal legal process operating in Britain.

Direct rule from Westminster should be ended. Power should be devolved to a Northern Ireland assembly elected by proportional representation provided with adequate financial and economic powers to tackle the grave problems of poverty, housing and unemployment, and operating within the framework of a Bill of Rights acting as a shield against discrimination and repression.

These measures combined with an undertaking by the British government to facilitate the achievement of a united, independent, democratic Ireland, will create the conditions in which it will be possible to withdraw British troops and all forms of British control

making possible a new relationship between the Irish and British peoples.

The full weight of the British and Irish trade union movements needs to be mobilized behind these propositions and its pressure exerted on the British government to end its futile policy of repression.

For the peoples of Ireland and Britain the symptoms of the economic crisis — inflation, unemployment, cuts in social services — are the same.

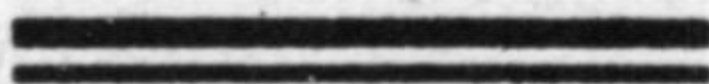
In both countries policies of wage curbs are being sharply challenged and support is growing for alternative economic policies.

For both countries membership of the Common Market has spelled increased problems for the working people — adding to the arguments for both Britain and Ireland to withdraw from the EEC.

Alternative government programs for Ireland and Britain that we envisage are based on opposition to all EEC policies harmful to the interests of our peoples such as the current moves to drag Britain and Ireland into the European Monetary System (EMS). That opposition is part of the struggle for the withdrawal of our two countries from the EEC.

In talks and meetings in Belfast and Dublin the Communist Party of Great Britain was represented by its General Secretary Gordon McLennan and by Chris Myant, a member of its political committee. Present at the talks for the Communist Party of Ireland were James Stewart, Assistant-General Secretary, Ferghal Costello, National Industrial Secretary and Gerry McIntyre, Dublin District Secretary. At the conclusion of the talks the representatives of the two parties worked out proposals for further activity.

October 24, 1978
Belfast-Dublin



THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OLIGARCHY ARE TRYING TO MAKE THE WORKING PEOPLE BEAR THE BURDEN OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

*Statement by the Central Committee, Communist Party
of El Salvador*

At its September 1978 plenary session the Central Committee of the Communist Party of El Salvador adopted a document analyzing the present situation in the country. Excerpts of the document are reproduced below.

Political and economic conditions have worsened in our country, resulting in increasing moral and material suffering for the Salvadoran people. The chief causes of the situation stem from the fascist character of the present government policy and its total subjugation to the interests of local big capital and transnational imperialist companies.

After the brutal suppression of the peasant movement in San Pedro Perulapan, Cojutepeque, Suchitoto and other municipalities in April 1978... mass repressions were discontinued for a short period. However, they were soon renewed in a different form. There is an attempt to keep silent about them: at best, one or two out of ten cases of arrest, "disappearance," search of legal organizations' premises, or roundups in homes, neighborhoods or settlements, are reported. That is why the local and world public are unaware of the extent of the criminal repressive campaign that has been going on in recent months.

In recent years the country's economic situation, particularly that of the working majority, is continuously deteriorating. According to official data, only about 45 to 80 per cent of existing industrial capacity has been utilized over the past eight years. This spelled permanent unemployment for thousands upon thousands of blue- and white-collar workers.

According to official data the cost of living has more than doubled over the past five years: rents have gone up by 190 per cent, the price of maize, 250; beans, 186; rice, 238; wheat bread, 170; meat, 180; and

milk, 160 per cent. At the same time wages and salaries have increased by 60 per cent on the average. . . .

Consequently, the situation of people living on their wages and salaries (the majority of the population), has deteriorated compared to 1972 and this trend is continuing.

The capitalists, especially the coffee exporters, have amassed fabulous profits as a result of the substantial price rise on the world market. . . .

Though official data are not published, it is clear that the financial oligarchy has made a huge profit over these years and continues to do so. . . .

Throughout this period the government has not only ensured the enormous profits of these gentlemen by failing to bring wages and salaries in line with the growing cost of living and to establish effective price controls, but has launched bloody repression against the working people, destroying or helping the employers to destroy trade unions and other organizations in order to impede or thwart their just struggle for better conditions.

As a result of the policy of subordinating the government to the interests of the financial oligarchy and big capitalists in general, and the foreign transnational monopolies in particular, the high coffee prices of the past three years have not led to the establishment of just wages and salaries, nor to the country's real economic growth. The lion's share of the vast coffee profits has flown out of the country as a consequence of the privileged currency exchange provided by the government and the lack of measures to ensure their being invested in the country. . . .

As a consequence of the government's anti-national policy, foreign monopoly capital has strengthened its influence in industry to such an extent that it now controls most of it. According to official data, foreign investments in industry have grown from 31 million colons in 1963 to 184 million in 1970 and to 261 million in 1975. Most of this capital, of course, belongs to the North American transnational companies. It has not, however, led to any significant growth in the number of permanent jobs and has not raised the general wages and salaries level. On the contrary, owing to the unlimited privileges provided by the government, these companies annually make a profit of tens of millions of colons as a result of the super-exploitation of the Salvadoran working people, and transfer these sums to their own countries or reinvest them in other regions of the world. . . .

The government is preparing to adopt new measures to strengthen

the positions of the financial oligarchy and to ensure it huge profits. Local oligarchic capital is increasingly merging with the capital of the powerful North American transnational banks through the creation of pseudo-Salvadoran banks. . . .

The national economy as a whole is developing very slowly: according to Central Reserve Bank data, the annual growth of the gross national product amounted to less than 5 per cent. Taking into account the 3.5 per cent annual population growth, the actual economic growth amounts to less than 1.5 per cent. The country's economic stagnation is evident. On the other hand, the economy suffers from persistent inflation. . . .

Our country is in the throes of a *structural and political* crisis. The fascists who are ruling it against the people's will are trying to justify their methods, saying that they are necessary, since security "is the basis of economic and social development." They would also have us believe that they are competent, up-to-date administrators. After five years of escalating fascism it has become absolutely clear that far from there being any social development, there has been no economic development in the country. El Salvador is today suffering from an even more severe crisis than five years ago, and the fascists who are spilling the people's blood have shown themselves to be the champions of corruption and administrative inefficiency.

The structural crisis and the immediate crisis have only one political solution: no one any longer doubts that after so many years of criminal abuse of power and denial of democratic rights the only solution is to remove the fascists from power and to establish a government that will open up real prospects of democracy for the Salvadoran people, carry out profound structural changes, lay the foundation for independent economic development and attain social justice and progress. . . .

The Communist Party urges the working people not to give in to threats and violence, but to follow the example of the Guatemalan working people. Over the past few months in that country even civil servants have achieved an increase in salaries, which had earlier been denied to them. The working people of Colombia and Peru, who have latterly time and again paralyzed life in their countries so as to win their demands for better conditions, can also serve as an example to us. Neither the government nor the capitalists are doing anything to alleviate the situation of the broad popular masses, every single improvement will have to be won through tough battles.

The CPS urges the working people of town and country, the entire

Salvadoran people to support the fraternal Nicaraguan people, who provide yet another example to us by refusing to put up any longer with the trampling of their rights and the oppression of the ruthless Somoza dictatorship.

The fascists are carrying on a dirty and malicious anti-communist propaganda in the armed forces, criminally sowing among them hatred for the people and their just struggle, and increasingly compromising the army by its participation in dirty repressive actions. The army was formed simultaneously with the republic to defend it against the tentacles of the former metropolis. The founders of the armed forces were democrats, proponents of independence and freedom, and hence enjoyed prestige among the people and their active support.

The dictatorship that came into power in 1931 resulted in the army's drowning the country in blood and losing the respect of the people. Those among the military who respected their professional honor, who identified themselves with the ideas of liberty and who had historically served as the foundation of the National Army, never stopped trying to extricate the army from the hands of the criminal and corrupt leadership and to bring about a reconciliation between the army and the Salvadoran people. This was the case in April, May and December 1944, in October 1960 and on March 25, 1972. On their part, the fascists sought to incite the army against the people. Today they are turning the barracks into torture chambers, where the arrested "disappear," and seek to foster in the officers a hostile attitude toward the people and disrespect for their profession: to induce them to torture and interrogate patriots, and to massacre defenseless working people. For officers who are loyal to the Constitution and the fundamental principles of their profession, the situation in the army is now unbearable. Many are leaving the service, which leads to a retrogressive selection, in the process of which the most unprincipled and ruthless people who are ready to suppress the people, remain in the army and are promoted.

Soldiers and police agents are forced to kill and torture their own blood and class brothers in the name of false principles, according to which the "homeland," "democracy," etc., are merely empty words without any real content, and unquestioningly to carry out orders on pain of the most rigid disciplinary measures. It is not the "foreign combat force" that is considered the enemy, as inscribed in Article 34 of the present military code, but the peasants, workers, employees, intelligentsia and the middle strata in general, who are fighting for

land, bread, culture and freedom, that is, all those who come under the category of "subversive" elements.

The Communist Party of Salvador condemns and exposes the fascists' shameful "brain washing" of the officers and men, and addresses the military in the following words: We communists do not consider you, military men, our enemies. We are relentless enemies of those who exploit and oppress the people, of which you yourselves are part. We are the enemies of those who persecute people for their ideas, who throttle culture and persecute the best representatives of our national intelligentsia. We are the enemies of those who persecute the church because it sides with the poor; we are the enemies of the imperialists who have robbed the Salvadoran people of their political and economic independence, for which the founders of our statehood had fought and thousands of our resistance fighters gave their lives. . . . We communists are flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the Salvadoran people, the people to which you, soldiers, also belong. . . .

We Salvadoran communists have always sided and will always side with those who are fighting, in one or another way, for democracy for the Salvadoran people, to win genuine national independence, to stop the exploitation of man by man in our country, with all peoples who are fighting for their freedom and social liberation.

Our common symbol — the hammer and sickle — signifies worker-peasant alliance, the hope of building a society free from exploitation of the working people, a society free of exploiters, in which happiness is based on the productive and dignified endeavor of *all* its members. Such a society already exists in the socialist countries, and moving toward it are many peoples on all continents.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of El Salvador

**LETTER FROM I. BILEN,
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPT,
TO BULENT ECEVIT,
PRIME MINISTER OF TURKEY**

October 13, 1978

Mr. Bulent Ecevit

Prime Minister, Chairman

of the People's Republican Party

Our country and our 42 million people are passing through very difficult, very hard, bloody days. The most reactionary forces, which have long been trampling our people's national interests underfoot and selling them out to imperialism, are trying to drag our country into a civil war. In this way they want to suppress the struggle which our people are carrying on, primarily in order to free themselves from the yoke of U.S. imperialism and NATO, regain their national independence and sovereign rights, safeguard peace and security in our area and the world, bring about a progressive democratic system and go over to socialism. In this situation your party and your government are faced with historic responsibility. For this reason, I consider it necessary to present to you, on behalf of my party, the party's views on the topical questions of vital importance.

Your party, the PRP, took part in the elections with a program differing from those of other bourgeois parties. That program contained a number of promises. The people, hoping that their demands would be met, voted for the PRP.

What do we see today? Facts are stubborn things. Your government has been in office for nine months. What has actually been done is contrary to the pledges you had given to the people.

What is left of the policy of peace and defense of the national interests? The government, in which the PRP has a majority, is continuing the policy of dependence on NATO and U.S. imperialism. Under imperialist pressure it is moving farther and farther back from its original position. "The Soviet Union presents no danger to Turkey," you have said. Yet the U.S. bases of aggression with their nuclear arms are still there. You have allowed them to go back into operation, even without asking parliament. Like earlier governments, you violate the Constitution. You act in contradiction to the joint Turkish-Soviet political document signed by you and proceed against

the interests of peace and détente in our area. The CPT demands withdrawal from NATO, the closing down of the U.S. and NATO bases, steps toward disarmament; it is fighting for these objectives.

The PRP has repeatedly declared that it is against fascism. But instead of leaning on the mass movement for support to stop the escalation of fascism, the government dominated by your party looks passively on brutal acts of terrorism. The ruling forces want to strangle with the government's hands the struggle of the progressive forces for national independence and democracy. The CPT is against the suppression and forcible assimilation of the Kurdish population; in particular, it protests emphatically against the latest provocations. Whereas the fascist National Action Party (NAP), the main force behind the brutal reign of terror which has taken a toll of nearly 800 lives, goes on operating with impunity, the governors appointed by your government ban progressive, patriotic, democratic organizations. Yet you do nothing to purge the state apparatus of fascists or disband the counter-guerrillas.* The terror is directed not only against the communists and socialists but against the PRP as well. The escalation of fascism under the leadership of U.S. imperialism is also a threat to your party and your government. The lessons of Chile and other countries are well known. Instead of fighting against men like Turkes, Elverdi or Turun, who call hysterically for a civil war, and of allying itself with the working class and other working people, with the communists, socialists and other democratic forces, your party leadership accepts cooperation with the Justice Party (JP), whose hands are steeped in blood. You have promised "bright days" but our people are living through bloody days. The CPT sees the formation of a national democratic front, organized by the people, the dissolution of fascist gangs, the prohibition of the NAP and the ridding of the state apparatus from fascists as the only way to prevent civil war. It insists on this.

You have repeatedly stated that you stand for democratic freedoms and the repeal of anti-democratic laws. Yet more and more, your party leadership turns a deaf ear to the demand for democratic freedoms. Your government attorneys are prosecuting executives of the Urun publishing house because they have printed the CPT Program, and institute proceedings against other democratic-minded people. Ever since your government took office, the fascist paragraphs 141 and 142 have been applied more and more intensively. "Legal neces-

*Secret military organization led by the CIA and MIT, the Turkish secret police. — Ed.

sity” and “parliamentary arithmetic” are no excuse for that practice. Your General Secretary’s latest speech in Canakkale showed quite clearly that the PRP leadership tends increasingly toward massive anti-communism. Thus you flout human rights and democratic freedoms. The CPT insists on stopping the prosecution of the publishers of our Party Program, recognizing all the legal rights of our party without exception, repealing all anti-democratic laws, and putting an end to repressive measures.

During the election campaign the PRP spoke of “bringing about well-being” for the people, for the working masses, and of “re-establishing a just system.” Yet your government, giving in to pressure from imperialist monopolies, has turned the life of the working masses and the people into hell. Employers who collaborate with imperialist monopolies throw tens of thousands of workers on the streets. The jobless number millions. Inflation and devaluation add daily to the privations of the working masses and the people. The government led by your party uses the so-called social contract as a pretext to cut the workers’ wages and curtail their democratic and trade union gains. The policy of “basic prices” is ruining the mass of the land-hungry peasantry. Your government puts the whole burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the working class and other working people. In these difficult conditions, even the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, which is not associated with domestic or foreign monopolies, sustains major losses. Your government has flung the door wide open, not to the people’s well-being, but to their poverty and to the limitless enrichment of a handful of monopolists and speculators. The CPT seeks full democratic rights for the working class; it is fighting for the workers’ economic, social and political rights, for the deliverance of the peasants from oppression at the hands of the big landowners, and for the people’s well-being.

All these events and facts are evidence that the policy of your party leadership tends more and more toward a line parallel to that of Demirel and Turkes, whose hands are steeped in blood. What is, then, the difference between that policy and the policy of reactionary fascist regimes? This is what the people ask.

The CPT is fighting against U.S. imperialist attempts to torpedo peace and thwart Turkish-Soviet relations. It is fighting against the escalation of fascism and against unemployment and rising prices. Our party champions unity in struggle of the people, of the working masses. It will support every step in this direction.

We call on you to keep the pledges you have given to the people.

FROM THE PRESS

SOLIDARITY WITH THE URUGUAYAN PEOPLE IS NOW A VITAL NECESSITY

Interview by Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CC CPU

Q. A fascist dictatorship has been in power in Uruguay since June 27, 1973. What are the trends in your country at present?

A. More than five years have gone by since the fascist putsch. The situation now is marked by an intensified fascistization of the state, stepped up repressions and increasing use of torture, as well as the liquidation of democratic institutions. The dictatorship has taken control over the universities and issued a decree barring any opponents of the regime from working in government institutions, and has stepped up repressions against trade unions and students. The government has styled itself the standard-bearer of a "third world war" against international Marxism, the socialist world system and the national-liberation movements, which, in its view, has already started. The Uruguayan fascists uphold good relations with the racist regime in South Africa and, according to the Commander of the Naval Forces, seek to set up a South Atlantic bloc along NATO lines.

The struggle against the fascist dictatorship is gaining momentum in Uruguay. The most varied population strata have from the outset resisted the regime. The general strike which broke out on the day of the coup is evidence of the people's firm resistance. The backbone of the resistance is the Communist Party. It has paid dearly for its resolute struggle to unite the entire people against the regime: 4,000 of its members were thrown into prison, and repressions against it were stepped up. . . .

At the same time the dictatorship is very weak. It is aware of its inability to resolve the country's deep-going economic and social problems. The fascist policy has seriously harmed a substantial part of the economy, hitting the population the hardest of all. Finance capital, the latifundists and U.S. imperialism have appropriated the country's entire gross national product. Last year Uruguay's trade

deficit amounted to \$127 million. The rate of inflation and prices are mounting, while unemployment has reached frightening proportions. More than 100,000 of Uruguay's three million inhabitants are without jobs, and more than half a million — primarily young people, teachers, scientists and skilled workers — have been forced to leave the country in search of work abroad.

The regime's international isolation is obvious and it is growing from day to day. Uruguay's foreign policy is determined by anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The military in power had hoped this would give it special privileges in trading with the capitalist countries, but its hopes have not materialized. Many international organizations condemn the Uruguayan regime, just as they do the Pinochet dictatorship, because of the continuous violation of human rights.

All these factors, and above all the growing resistance, have brought about a new situation in Uruguay. The dictatorship is seeking a way out of the critical situation by promising to hold presidential elections in 1981. The government wants to touch up the facade, while leaving the fascist structures intact, in an attempt to raise its prestige at home and abroad. Yet even in the armed forces groups have emerged which seek a way out of the existing situation, speak of the need for political liberalization, and want to contact and negotiate with political parties. This has aggravated the crisis in the army. The ultra-reactionary wing in the armed forces, which advocates intensified terror and repressions, as well as the further fascistization of Uruguay, has come up against the trend which seeks negotiation with political parties. General Amaury Prantl, the notorious fascist Director of the Intelligence Service in the Ministry of National Defense, who bears the responsibility for the torture of thousands of patriots, and other high ranking officers have been deposed. ... Growing forces in the army consider it essential to change the political course.

The Communist Party of Uruguay states that the only way to resolve the present situation is to release all political prisoners, ascertain the fate of the disappeared, repeal the ban on parties, and restore civil rights of thousands of people affiliated to political parties.

Q. How does the Communist Party of Uruguay carry on its activities under the dictatorship?

A. The aim of reaction was to destroy the Communist Party, the most active force of resistance to fascism. Hence the entire apparatus of suppression was employed against our party. Yet the regime was unable to destroy the party or to sever its firm ties with the working class and the entire people.

The Broad Front, set up in February 1971, is continuing its clandestine activity as well. This front, which includes the communists, socialists, Christian democrats, the democratic-minded military, intelligentsia and other political forces, is an organization that is fighting on the basis of an anti-imperialist and progressive program for the interests of the majority of our people. It continues its contacts with the traditional bourgeois parties and church circles, as well as other opponents of the dictatorship. The Broad Front pays a great deal of attention to work in the armed forces, thereby greatly facilitating the isolation of the fascist forces.

... Despite extensive repressions, the clandestine leadership of the CPU is continuing its activity and regularly puts out illegal newspapers, including *Carta Semanal*, the organ of the Communist Party, *Liber Arce*, the Youth League paper, and the theoretical journal *Analisis y Orientacion*.

They have failed to destroy the party because thousands of our best workers who are held in the barracks and the dictatorship's concentration camps have remained loyal to their communist convictions, serving as a striking example of communist morality. The party's activity has recently become even more vigorous and, consequently, its prestige among the workers and popular masses has grown.

Naturally, it is extremely difficult for our party to carry on the struggle in such conditions. But we can say today that the party has withstood the terror. It was equal to maintaining our organization, upholding party unity and strengthening our ties with the popular masses.

Q. How many political prisoners are there in Uruguay, what is their condition and where are the most notorious concentration camps situated?

A. Compared to its population (three million) Uruguay has the highest percentage of political prisoners in the capitalist world. Though we have obtained the release of some patriots, 6,000 anti-fascists are still languishing in the regime's prisons. After the dictatorship came to power 70,000 people have been arrested and subjected to torture. Nowhere in the world are political prisoners tortured so systematically as in Uruguay. The thugs brutally torture the patriots, using CIA methods.

The anti-fascists are tormented for months, or for years, as in the case of CPU secretary Jaime Perez. Arrested patriots are subjected to physical and psychological torture. ... Under instructions of special-

ists from the USA a concentration camp was set up in Libertad, a town near Montevideo, the country's capital. Some 2,000 patriots are languishing in the Libertad (which means "freedom"!) camp in the most appalling conditions. Besides Rita Ibarburu, member of our party's Central Committee, hundreds of women are being held in the concentration camp in Punta Rieles.

In these two camps the prisoners are slowly and painfully put to death. For instance, the patriots are given drugs which impair the brain. Apart from members of the United Action Group, which is affiliated to the Broad Front, and the movement for national liberation (Tupamaro) many members of our party are being held there, including Jaime Perez, Alberto Altesor, Jose Luis Massera, Jorge Mazzarovich, Gerardo Cuesta, Rosario Pietraroia and many others.

General Liber Seregni, colonels Carlos Zufriategui, Frigerio, Petrides and other progressives who are affiliated to the Broad Front or who came out against the June 1973 fascist putsch are being held in the Montevideo police prison. These officers are being brutally tortured as well. The military tribunal has condemned General Seregni to eight years, and Colonel Zufriategui to 14 years' imprisonment, while the prosecutor demanded that colonels Petrides and Frigerio be sentenced to 30 years. General Amaury Prantl, Director of the Intelligence Service, bears direct responsibility for these crimes. . . .

Q. The imperialist states, with the USA in the lead, are posing as defenders of human rights. What do you think of this campaign?

A. . . . President Carter's policy is totally subordinated to U.S. imperialism's global strategy. It is determined by U.S. imperialism's set-backs as a result of the changed balance of world forces. This includes the victory of the Vietnamese people, the successes of the African peoples and the fall of the fascist regimes in Europe. Also there is the serious political and moral crisis in the U.S. ruling system. President Carter, while defending imperialist interests on the one hand, is trying to conceal his aims by claiming to uphold human rights. This broad campaign is directed primarily against the socialist states. It is designed to undermine the atmosphere of international détente and to once again plunge the peoples into a cold war.

Clearly U.S. imperialism will not voluntarily help to restore democracy in Latin America. Yet the fact that its spokesmen have been compelled to come out against their own henchmen shows that the fascist regimes have been unable to consolidate imperialist domination in Latin America. The repressive measures and the setting up of fascist dictatorships on that continent dealt a heavy blow at the

revolutionary process in Latin America. But U.S. imperialism is also aware that this policy has weakened its strongholds there. Hence its attempts to achieve some formal changes so as to create a broader political and social basis for its domination. The same is true in the sphere of ideology. ...

President Carter's campaign against the fascist regimes is growing weaker and weaker; today he places the accent on slandering the socialist countries. Though the Carter administration has not relinquished the aim of bringing about certain structural reforms in the fascist regimes in order to present them in a different light, its real political interests in Latin America are most clearly manifested in the case of Nicaragua. Somoza is hanging on only thanks to the soldiers of the National Guard and Washington's blessing.

The U.S. government is also rebuking the regime in Uruguay, and U.S. politicians are urging the Uruguayan government to take measures to raise its prestige in the world. Yet the United States is providing the dictatorship with credits running into millions through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which are mainly under its control. The Uruguayan dictatorship has brought the country to such a pass that without U.S. aid it would have long since lost its international credit-worthiness. Hence it is not enough just to condemn U.S. aims. We communists stressed this from the outset and urged the Latin American peoples to start a political offensive. When speaking of human rights in Latin America, let the U.S. see to it that the political prisoners are released and the tortures stopped. Let everyone raise their voice to save the lives of thousands of true patriots.

Abridged from *Horizont*, No. 41, 1978

THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN ON OUR SIDE EVER SINCE THE BEGINNING OF OUR STRUGGLE

*Excerpts from Agostinho Neto's interview to Soviet TV
and Radio Moscow*

Our goal is to translate the Angolan people's desire for socialism into reality, and to serve as an example for other African peoples fighting for transformations on our continent.

First of all, I would like to note that from this point of view, the First Congress of the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), which led the struggle for the country's political independence, was an unforgettable, historic event for our people. Its convocation was necessitated by the course of history. It accorded with our people's true aspirations and was prompted by the exigencies of the social changes now under way. The congress decisions were more than just guidelines for economic development or an expression of our will to advance to socialism. We took concrete steps in the political, economic and social spheres.

We are faced with many difficulties. In the initial period of independence, we said that we were short of machinery, that the Portuguese had destroyed the enterprises and plant — in short, all that could have served our economic growth. Today we are saying that we are short of plant and must as a matter of priority train personnel. We are going to expand production.

At the same time, we must not forget about our defenses: Angola has made a choice that is not to everybody's liking. And so we must defend our independence and our political choice and continue the course mapped out by the First Congress of the MPLA — Party of Labor.

We are pursuing a policy of peace with all our neighbors. However, we do not believe in the bright future of our relations with South Africa, which persists in its unlawful occupation of Namibia, commits acts of aggression against our country and backs puppet groups that butcher the population and demoralize the people.

To survive and implement the programs we have adopted — to do what the First Party Congress has resolved — we need peaceful

frontiers. For as long as Namibia remains an occupied country, we will be unable to solve our internal problems in peace.

We are building our party. This effort will last several years. We are now organizing the masses in support of the party.

Our people are working well. Lack of discipline in the early period after the declaration of independence caused a sharp drop in productivity and dampened the enthusiasm of some of our leaders and some friends. This is a thing of the past. We now have every reason to say that our people want and know how to work. They have a big enough stake in this and realize the significance of the tasks facing them.

We may say that we have reached some of the targets set for 1978. We have done more than we had expected. I am perfectly sure that next year we will greatly increase production. The confidence and enthusiasm of the masses are an earnest of this. I have good reason to say that the fourth year of independence will be a year of still greater accomplishments.

I wish to point out that our permanent policy is to maintain relations with all peoples, governments and countries of the world. Lately we have been expanding our international contacts by establishing relations, not only with all African countries, but with almost all West European and some Latin American and Asian countries. In doing this, we are also laying a solid material groundwork for trade and economic relations, taking into account the reciprocal interests of people, nations and states.

Non-alignment, to which nearly all African countries adhere, has also been our policy ever since the armed struggle of the MPLA. We intend to abide by it. The policy of non-alignment makes it possible to establish relations with countries having different social systems and to lay the foundations for coexistence and cooperation. This is a normal phenomenon. It is as it should be. Yet the period of formation of the PRA has made it necessary for the MPLA to promote relations mainly with the socialist countries or, at any rate, with most of them.

During our struggle for freedom, we received most of the aid from socialist countries and waged the liberation war with arms supplied by socialist countries. The people will never forget this. We also drew on the same sources for much of the aid needed for the cause of our independence.

The socialist countries helped us right after the declaration of the republic and continue to do so in every field. They help us in solving organizational and practical problems, and share with us their experience which we should study and use.

We are happy that the Soviet Union has been on our side ever since the beginning of our struggle. It has supplied us with arms and ammunition and trained our people. We continue cooperating actively in the economic, military and cultural spheres. Relations are maintained between various organizations of our two countries, primarily between the leaderships of the MPLA — Party of Labor and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. These relations were established and have been developing in the interests of strengthening our unity.

TASS, November 10, 1978

HOW THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTION WAS BUILT

In March of this year *Joe Slovo* of *The African Communist* interviewed *Lucio Lara (Tchiweka)*, a member of the Political Bureau of MPLA Workers' Party and the Central Committee Secretary for Organization. The following is an abridged transcript of the discussion:

Joe Slovo: Comrade Lara, the MPLA is 21 years old, an age traditionally regarded as the symbol of maturity, and indeed it was in its 21st year that the MPLA constituted itself into a vanguard party of the working people guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The MPLA has in its short history overcome a multitude of obstacles and problems. The fact that it has done so is a tribute to the richness of its revolutionary theory and practice, in whose elaboration your President, Comrade Agostinho Neto, played such an outstanding role. . . .

In some of the MPLA documents a distinction is drawn between the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. What is the significance of this distinction?

Lucio Lara: In our struggle we did have those two phases. In the first phase, the struggle was focussed almost exclusively on the colonial regime which oppressed the Angolan people. But it did not take long for our anti-colonial struggle to assume a character more directly linked with the struggle against imperialism generally.

While the struggle against our specific colonial power was itself a

struggle against imperialism, the fact is that at the start of our liberation war in the 50s, we did not as yet have in view a broader struggle against imperialism. But it did not take long for imperialism to understand the basic tendencies of the MPLA itself. Imperialism understood that the MPLA was moving toward a broad strategy which was not directed solely against Portuguese colonialism. It was a strategy already beginning to direct itself toward the struggle against imperialism. In the early 60s, when for example the MPLA opened offices in Kinshasa, then Leopoldville, imperialism already began to attack us directly. It understood that we were one of its most dangerous enemies and it wanted to neutralize the MPLA immediately.

In turn, these maneuvers of imperialism stimulated a new consciousness amongst MPLA militants who began more and more to see our struggle as one which is not only anti-colonialist but also anti-imperialist. Of course, the process became much more evident during the much more difficult and delicate phase, on the eve of independence when we had to fight directly against the puppets and especially against all the agents of imperialism and those imperialist countries of Europe and America which deliberately supported the puppets to annihilate the MPLA. Moreover, even today this is still one of their objectives.

Joe Slovo: You had in Angola a relatively big settler community which in different ways benefited economically from the exploitation of the indigenous people. How did the MPLA confront the problem? And to what extent does it remain a problem today?

Lucio Lara: We think that in Angola today the problem has been very much diminished. With the outbreak of the Second Liberation War,* there was panic in the settler community. They simply fled the country. Of course, their departure caused disequilibrium, serious disequilibrium, especially affecting economic factors in our country. Factories were left without technicians, farms were left without technicians or managers. But the truth of the matter is that those technicians, managers and administrators did not belong to the Angolan people. They belonged to a foreign community who exploited all the wealth of our people for their own benefit, without even bothering about how our people lived. . . .

All in all, after the Second Liberation War, the effects of the

*The Angolan people's post-independence liberation war against world imperialist reaction and the UNITA and FNLA splinter groups. — Ed.

large-scale settler presence here completely changed: what remains of the settler community in Angola has lost its settler character. Concretely speaking, there is still colonial thinking among commercial people, traders, industrialists, the odd few Portuguese or foreign industrialists. They do not however have the same power or authority here that they had before. They are here today as commercial representatives, industrial representatives of foreign systems, but they are wholly subject to the laws and control of our country. Obviously, it is in these circles that a good part of reaction is still to be found. But it is reaction which is already afraid, reaction which, we can say, cannot return to what it was. It has been defeated. It has no head. It has no solid footing. It is certain that here, power belongs to the Angolans, and no longer to foreign monopolies, etc.

Therefore, the effects of the remains of that presence, in Angola, have nothing in common with the effects of such a community in certain other African countries, where a powerful colonial presence has remained and still has hold of the economy. I believe that in Angola, that aspect is virtually over. Of course, we have traces, we have big companies which exploit the subsoil especially, and even the oil under the sea, but with them the government of the PRA has already found a system of cooperation in which the Angolan people's sovereignty is properly confirmed and respected. . . .

Joe Slovo: What is the strength of the Angolan working class, its role in the liberation struggle and, more especially, the factors on both sides of the scale which influenced its capacity to carry out its historic mission as the principal class force of your continuing revolution?

Lucio Lara: Like almost everywhere in Africa, we can say that our working class is still young and fairly small. Our armed struggle involved, above all, the participation of the peasantry as a class. It also attracted some revolutionary intellectuals and some workers, although the participation of these categories was not yet pervasive enough to enable us to talk of their full involvement as classes. Nevertheless, we can truly claim that the working class — still embryonic at that stage, still without great class consciousness — was present at the founding of the MPLA. . . .

The increase in colonial investment during the war and the further development of the productive forces naturally influenced the growth of the working class. However, as soon as the right (although not yet the reality) to independence had been won with the legalizing of the MPLA and its official arrival in Angola, the working class immediately started to assume its role as the most advanced class, organizing

itself rapidly an effective role in the Second Liberation War. It began to bear the brunt of all the attempts made by the agents of imperialism to destroy the system we wanted to create.

We can therefore note in practice the facility with which the Angolan working class, although small in number, was able to join the process and play such an effective part in the Second National Liberation War. This fact reinforced the principle that the revolutionary process must be led by the working class. Our victory prepared the conditions to allow for the development of working-class consciousness and to organize the working class. And today we are already in the phase in which our working class can begin to take hold of the reins of the revolutionary process here in Angola, including the physical participation of workers in the leading bodies. . . .

During the Liberation War, we created UNTA, the National Union of Angolan Workers, a trade union center which, because of the conditions of the struggle itself, did not operate legally. It played a role during the war, in organizing the workers in general. For objective reasons, UNTA was more closely linked with the peasant sector than with the worker sector. In the big towns, occupied by colonialism, UNTA did not have much room for maneuver. Clandestine trade union movements did emerge which had certain links with UNTA, but these links were not effective ones.

There were also colonial trade unions controlled by puppets and settlers, which acted against the interests of the Angolan workers. . . . When we achieved independence, there still remained a legacy of those trade unions. But there was certainly no continuity. The colonial style trade union organization is being eliminated and destroyed, and in its place we are building a new trade union movement which is fully engaged in the revolutionary process.

Joe Slovo: Your first Congress talks of the worker-peasant alliance as the foundation of your perspectives to create conditions for the construction of socialism. What changes have taken place in the peasant sector since independence?

Lucio Lara: We can say that more than 80 per cent of our population remains linked to the peasant sector. The peasants were the greatest support of the entire liberation war. And precisely because they contributed so much to the survival of the guerrillas, they also had a great influence in the guerrilla war.

Today conditions in the countryside are different. The links which colonial capitalism had created with the peasant sector were completely structured and maintained to serve colonialism. Today

these links no longer exist, and instead of this, we are faced with the task of creating new links within the framework of a worker-peasant alliance. These links must ensure that the produce of the peasants, their contribution to the national wealth, can be properly used in the interests of the whole of our society. But with the various circumstances which followed the Second Liberation War, which resulted in the destruction of the greater part of structures, communications, transport etc., we still have a long way to go to restore our links with the whole peasant system.

Support for peasant production, in seeds, fertilizers, agricultural implements and tractors, is now beginning to become effective. In the past few months, in particular, really great support has been given with the result that production is rising steadily. We feel sure that as from this year, with the more effective solution of problems, related to transport and, above all, to the better utilization of agricultural equipment, the Angolan peasant sector will begin to play its role more effectively as the main producer of food supplies for this country.

Joe Slovo: We know that in most of Africa the leadership of the national-liberation movements has come from the ranks of the middle class, who after independence, monopolized all the main heights of state power and used their positions to put a brake on the continuing revolutionary process. ... How do you see the role of the petty bourgeoisie generally, and more especially its role in the Angolan revolution?

Lucio Lara: Precisely because it is made up of people who were to a certain extent privileged, who had access to schools, to study and knowledge of revolutionary theories, the African petty bourgeoisie was able to play an important part in the liberation struggles in which it, indeed, assumed a leading role. However, when the stage of independence is reached, when it is necessary to continue the revolution and to begin to lay effective foundations for the building of socialism, the role of the petty bourgeoisie must of necessity be reduced to more appropriate proportions. We believe that the petty bourgeoisie as such is not capable of reaching the end of the process without getting lost. And this is why it is necessary to ensure that the working class really assumes its leading role. It is above all this class which is capable of leading the process to the end. And in the case of Angola, this is exactly what experience has taught us.

In our country, a large number of revolutionary combatants came from the petty bourgeoisie. They joined the liberation movement, identified themselves with the working class, and its ideology, and

also assumed the leadership of the revolutionary process. When independence was won in Angola, we noted that the petty bourgeoisie as a class hinders the continuity of the revolution.

It tends to go astray. It has very strong propensities toward opportunism and personal ambition, and lacks the kind of maturity which makes for consistency in the analysis of problems. We would not pose the problem by saying that the petty bourgeoisie has to commit suicide as a class. Our approach is that it will be neutralized by the changing correlation of class forces, especially by the action of the working class. As the working class gains consciousness, as the working class becomes more and more capable of assuming the leadership of the struggle, the leadership in building socialism, the role of the petty bourgeoisie will fade. In other words, the importance of the contribution of the petty bourgeoisie will become progressively less.

Joe Slovo: The question of transforming the MPLA into a party and the holding of a congress for this purpose first arose in 1968 and again in 1971, and in the readjustment campaign which began in 1972. Could you briefly trace the history of this process, which culminated in the decisions of the First Congress?

Lucio Lara: For a long time, especially after having acquired some experience in the liberation war, including the experience of life inside the liberated zones, the idea of creating a party began to emerge strongly. It was increasingly felt that the MPLA must go beyond the character of a movement and assume the character of a party. But there were also a number of obstacles. The MPLA was established in the liberated areas, which were quite far from the urban centers, that is, the working-class sectors, and at that stage there was not any effective participation by the working class, and the enrichment of the content of our struggle by that class. . . .

It was with the winning of independence, and especially in the struggles of the Second Liberation War for independence, that this enrichment needed by the movement, an enrichment by the working class, the physical participation of the working class, made it possible to envisage more seriously and more immediately the long-felt need to transform the MPLA into a party. Therefore, the process was concluded precisely at the First Congress.

Joe Slovo: What were the options to you in the method of creating your vanguard party at the First Congress, and what steps are now in progress to create and consolidate the MPLA Workers' Party?

Lucio Lara: We explain in our theses on the party that various

alternatives arose for the creation of our party. We analyzed the whole history of the MPLA and we noted that it was not, properly speaking, a question of *creating* a party. And this, because the MPLA itself, the movement itself, had over the years been undergoing that transformation and becoming increasingly a party. Starting as a movement, the MPLA had been increasingly acquiring the structure and content of a party. . . .

The MPLA itself already had all the characteristics of a party, and therefore we decided to *constitute* the MPLA as a party, on the basis of these factors derived from an analysis of the revolutionary process.

Joe Slovo: Socialist rhetoric has become very popular in Africa. Even regimes which are busy laying the foundations of capitalism talk of socialist inspiration. We have heard many phrases such as African socialism, Arab socialism, traditional tribal socialism, and so on. It is clear that the MPLA recognized only one valid ideology, which is embraced by the phrase Marxism-Leninism. What are your general views about these different roads toward socialism which we have heard about?

Lucio Lara: We have been hearing for a long time about all these original species of socialism. Clearly, for the MPLA, there has always been only one expression of socialism, known precisely as scientific socialism. Experience has shown that all that rhetoric, as you have correctly called it, has not led to concrete steps showing a true socialist option. And this is still the position many years after independence and many years after the proclamation of pseudo-socialisms.

Imperialist capital continues to be the real *raison d'être* of these countries. The colonial presence, the presence of neo-colonialism is obvious in all of them. Their capitalist orientation is clear, and really the peoples of these countries feel confused by all that rhetoric promising new kinds of socialism. These "socialisms" are basically disguises for one or other form of colonial exploitation. Therefore, we want our people to understand the real principle, which is relatively simple, i.e., that the road to socialism can only be successfully charted by a movement which is based on Marxism-Leninism. And within the limited possibilities we have in our country today, we are trying to put that policy into practice: in factories, on farms, in organizing the party, in organizing the workers.

It is in these concrete aspects that we seek to give emphasis to the true socialist orientation, and we try not to confuse our people with

other non-realistic hypotheses about this or that type of non-scientific socialism. . . .

We think that in most African countries, which have attained independence, there are conditions to enable them decisively to choose a socialist orientation and to create conditions for the building of socialism. But in many of these countries, perhaps because of the way in which they attained independence, there may not yet exist the momentum required to embark on an arduous struggle, an extremely difficult struggle to lay the foundations for socialism. Also, the diversity of ways in which each country attained independence has not as yet permitted serious and profound general theorizing on how to define one or another stage of development toward socialism. . . .

When we were still a movement, we had already defined the present stage of our struggle as a transitional one which would be based on a state form whose essence is a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of all those forces which have a revolutionary attitude toward the process we are going through, dominated, as I have said earlier, by a worker-peasant alliance.

We aim to create the conditions to attain what we define as people's democracy: a process which falls within the stage of the transition to socialism.

In working for this aim, we know that we face extraordinary difficulties of every kind: shortage of food supplies, of transport, effective occupation of abandoned factories, revitalizing many structures which are still paralyzed, etc; all of which calls for enormous effort. But if we feel optimistic, if we feel capable of solving those problems, we of the MPLA Workers' Party think this is an optimism born of the MPLA's own historical past and our accumulated historical experiences. And it does raise the question whether another movement, faced with the same conditions but without the same experience, would have the same certainty of being capable of building socialism despite all the difficulties, despite imperialism, despite the hostile attitudes of all the imperialist countries which are continuing to hatch the most varied plots to liquidate the PRA and the MPLA.

Would another party, without our background, faced with these problems, have the same attitude as we do? I do not think so. I think that what fundamentally conditions the party's attitude in the face of all these problems is its own background, its own experience, which is what makes us certain that we will be capable of building socialism, despite all the international plotting. I pose the problem in this way in

order to make the point that general theorizing at this moment might perhaps be a little risky. In order to theorize one must make a concrete and profound analysis of the process within which our advance to socialism is taking place. Only on the basis of such a profound analysis can one make comparisons with other processes. Comparison based on concrete data, on real facts, would make it possible for us to have a more general theoretical idea of how the process is expressing itself in Africa, including of course Southern Africa.

Joe Slovo: How far are your perspectives influenced by the new international correlation of forces, especially the existence of the socialist world sector?

Lucio Lara: We acknowledge that the victory of the MPLA in Angola is also the result of consolidation and strengthening of the world socialist sector. In the conditions under which our victory took place, in the face of the great aggression to which we were subject in the phase immediately after independence, it was clear that only with the support, the internationalist solidarity of the socialist community, would it be possible to defeat such serious aggression by imperialism against our country.

We believe that the socialist forces are going to continue to grow in strength. And we are confident that the MPLA Workers' Party will be a factor which will contribute to the strengthening of all these forces. We are conscious that the mere existence of a People's Republic of Angola has given fresh momentum to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, has opened up greater possibilities for concrete support for the socialist advance in this part of Africa.

The African Communist, Nos. 74-75, 1978

MONOPOLIES LOOK TO PEKING

There's a very important economic side to the emerging Washington-Tokyo-Peking anti-Soviet alliance. Once China was considered the biggest plum by world imperialism, because of its vast reservoir of cheap labor, its political weakness, and its reserves of raw materials.

The Chinese Revolution thwarted that. But now the Maoist partial counter-revolution has reawakened imperialist dreams. The stakes are larger than ever. The Chinese economy has grown substantially.

It could have grown much more if not for the distortions of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. If China had stayed with the socialist community, it would now be an important industrial-agricultural country, at a medium level of development, and much improved living standards.

Instead, over the past 10-15 years, Chinese economic growth has been no faster than that of a number of developing capitalist countries. It is still 75 per cent agricultural. Per capita output and living standards are still very low.

But Mao's successors have combined the essence of Maoism with a pragmatic approach toward economic questions. Last year industrial output increased an estimated 14 per cent, more than recovering from the decline of 1976, the year of Mao's death. Production of oil, steel and fertilizer have reached significant levels. Internal economic policies are more rational, and the government has announced a vast industrialization program, with a net investment cost estimated by Japanese sources of \$300 billion over the next eight years.

When China broke with the socialist countries in the early 1960s, the possibility of economic opportunities for world imperialism appeared, but they were limited by the irrational economic policies and isolationism of Mao, and the continuing savage internal political struggles.

The more rational economic policies, and the move to open, all-round collaboration with world imperialism, by Mao's successors, have given the capitalist monopolies "confidence" to move in on a large scale. Starting from the present level of Chinese economic development, they foresee immense profits from trade and investment opportunities.

Peking wants to get the equipment and financing for its program from the main capitalist countries. Three top West German banks are lending China \$4 billion to develop China's coal output to a billion tons a year by 1988. Rail modernization will cost more billions, the investment in oil and the anti-Soviet military buildup will run into tens of billions.

Collaborating in this drive, Washington is authorizing the sale of advanced computers to China, and Congress may be about to confer most-favored-nation status to China for agricultural trade credits. Security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski's men are urging West European countries to sell armaments to China. Giant U.S. oil companies are dickering for participation in China's offshore oil development.

Each week, it is reported from London, 50-60 Western bankers

stop at the Bank of China in Peking to talk about loans, \$10 billion of credits are expected in the near future.

Japanese imperialism has by far the first place in penetration of China. The decisive political move was the acceptance by Japan of the anti-hegemony clause in the "Friendship Treaty" with China, putting it openly on an anti-Soviet basis. Already Japan is China's leading trading partner and lender, by a wide margin. *Business Week* magazine reports that "Japan may be using its continuing balance of payments surplus to finance massive credits to Communist China. The long-term \$20 billion trade agreement that the Japanese signed with Peking in February is now being talked of as quadrupling before 1990."

Ultimate repayment in oil and other vital materials is expected. Here we have the realization of a postwar scheme of U.S. imperialism, under quite different circumstances. At the close of World War II Washington planned to revive Japan as a capitalist state, and use Japan as the intermediary for dealings with and maintaining imperialist domination over these countries, especially China.

Industrialization of China under imperialist sponsorship will be qualitatively different from that of the 1950s which took place in cooperation with socialist countries. Then the aid was on concessionary terms, the emphasis was on all-round, basic development, and was balanced to make possible the most rapid rise in living standards in the history of the Chinese masses.

But in the greatly expanded economic ties with the major imperialist powers, the conditions of the Chinese workers and peasants will be sacrificed. Capitalist concerns are interested in profits, and will see to it that the terms of trade are such that China will not have reserves for raising mass living standards. China also will be pressured to impose austerity programs to service its debts to the Western banks. The structural emphasis will be on raw materials and cheap export manufactures.

With virtually all of its foreign ties with imperialism, the pressures against China's internal socialist structure will be intense.

But all this is a big gamble, not only for the Maoists, but also for the imperialists. The Chinese people heroically fought for decades to drive out the imperialists. They are not likely to passively accept a renewed imperialist yoke imposed through the treachery of their Maoist leaders.

Victor Perlo
Daily World, October 26, 1978

COMMUNIST PARTY USA LAUDS GAINS MADE BY SOCIALIST CUBA

Gus Hall, Roscoe Proctor and Elizabeth Hall recently returned to New York from a visit to Cuba.

The visit of the CPUSA delegation began with a warm reception by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba, and ended with a meeting with President Fidel Castro. The visit included meetings with leading members of the Cuban Communist Party, and a tour of a steel mill and a dairy farm, at which they met with the farm's director, Ramon Castro.

In a report-back meeting at Communist Party headquarters, Hall described some impressions of the visit:

"During each visit to Cuba," he said, "one is witness to the tremendous progress in the construction of new housing, schools, hospitals, office buildings, nurseries and hospitals, plants and factories. Each visit turns into a report on the enormous new achievements in industry, science and agriculture.

"But the changes that are not visible to the naked eye are possibly of greater significance than those one can see everywhere one looks.

"In less than 20 years since the Cuban Revolution, Cuba's mortality rate has gone from one of the highest to the lowest of all the countries in South America.

"From a country of crippling illiteracy, Cuba has become a land of modern schools, where every citizen is entitled to education opportunities — a land rich in literature, art, music and great cultural institutions.

"In less than 20 years, Cuba has been transformed from a country of almost non-existent medical care for the people to a system of complete medical services for everyone.

"Cuba has gone through a dramatic transition, from a land of racist oppression and divisions along racial lines to a country that has put an end to all forms of racist discrimination and practices, and has, in a basic sense, eliminated racism from the consciousness of the people. Today, instead of divisions along racial lines, there is equality and unity of the Cuban people.

"From an island largely isolated from the rest of the world, Cuba is known today for its international solidarity, its world consciousness. Proletarian internationalism is today an integral part of the culture and ideology of the Cuban people.

"The contributions of Cuba to the struggle against imperialism in many parts of the world is viewed by all Cubans not as a sacrifice but as a sacred internationalist duty to support the struggles of all people for national and social liberation. This profound internationalist understanding has given the Cuban Revolution an even deeper and more significant meaning."

"The building of socialism in Cuba, in the everyday sense, is seen as an element of something closely related to the national-liberation struggles, to the working-class movement and to the building of socialism around the world."

"The deep international solidarity and Marxist-Leninist outlook conveyed to us on our visit was a reflection of the people's conviction that what they are doing in Cuba and around the world they are doing as an integral part of the world historic process — the transition from world capitalism to socialism. It is also in the context of this understanding that the leaders of the Communist Party of Cuba, its members and all the people, reject all anti-Soviet slander as totally false and as a betrayal of the interests of the working-class movement throughout the world."

"We never felt, in our discussion with the leaders or the people — the workers and farmers, any wavering or doubts about their policies and practices. There was no question of backing down or softening their anti-imperialist commitment — or of making opportunistic concessions, especially to U.S. imperialism, for the sake of getting some benefits. On the contrary, there exists a firm belief that such a softening would be at the expense of the world movement. They hold the unflinching conviction that lasting victories of the world revolutionary movement and imperialist retreats will be achieved only as a result of unity and struggle."

"There is also, however, a desire and a readiness on the part of the Cuban leaders to establish diplomatic and trade relations with the U.S., but only if these relationships are established on the basis of complete equality and mutual respect for each other's national sovereignty."

"It is in this sense that U.S. occupation of Guantanamo, on Cuban soil, is viewed. The Carter Administration condemns Cuba for aiding the national-liberation movements in Africa but in reality it is the U.S. that continues to maintain military forces on Cuban soil."

"Our visit to Cuba added greatly to our understanding and appreciation of the Cuban Revolution and further strengthened the comradely and warm relations that exist between our two parties. We see

eye to eye with the comrades of Cuba in relation to world affairs.

"Our discussions with Comrade Fidel Castro were the high point of our visit.

"The building of socialism 90 miles from the shores of the U.S. is a glorious tribute to the leaders and people of Cuba. But this is also symbolic of the changes that have taken place in the balance of world forces. Indeed, Socialist Cuba is a symbol that stands for where the world is today, and where it is heading in the future."

Daily World, October 24, 1978

IN BRIEF

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee and President of the CSSR met with Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee at Piestany (Slovakia). During the meeting, which was held in an atmosphere of friendship and complete unanimity of views, the official communiqué notes, they emphasized the great significance of stronger unity of the community of socialist countries on the principles of socialist internationalism in implementing the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration, strengthening the political and defense alliance of the Warsaw Treaty states, and improving coordination of actions.

Gustav Husak and Edward Gierek also discussed topical problems of promoting the unity of the world communist and working-class movement.

FRANCE

Our goal is the construction of a peaceful Europe, FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais said at a meeting of working people at the Seine and Marne Department. He noted that the communists of France are fully resolved to fight for disarmament, the dissolution of military blocs, détente and peace.

The FCP General Secretary sharply criticized the attempts to step up monopoly domination in the West European countries.

We are living in a Europe where the arms race goes on, the tune being set by the USA and the FRG. This is harmful for many countries, including France.

The French communists, the FCP General Secretary pointed out, say an emphatic "no" to the plans of Atlantic integration and integration within the Common Market framework. Already now France is threatened with the loss of freedom of action and independence in relations with its partners in the West European alliance. Foreign monopolies, Georges Marchais said, now virtually control entire branches of the French economy.

Further expansion of the Common Market through the entry of Spain, Portugal and Greece, the FCP General Secretary said, is fraught with most serious consequences for the working people of Western Europe in the economic, social and political spheres. The "Europe of twelve," he noted, will include eight million jobless.

GREECE

A meeting devoted to the 60th anniversary of the Communist Party of Greece was held in Athens. Addressing the meeting Charilaos Florakis, General Secretary of the CC CPG said that the 60 years that have passed since the party's foundation have been six decades of struggle for the interests of the working class, of the entire people, for progress and socialism.

Charilaos Florakis dealt with international problems as well. The CPG, he noted, condemns the anti-imperialist, anti-Soviet, militarist actions of the Chinese leadership that came to power after the death of Mao, which opposes the policy of peace and is increasingly cooperating with the imperialists of the USA and NATO, and is engaged in subversive activities in our region.

The CPG General Secretary called on the communists, the working class, and entire people of Greece to continue the fight for national independence, for peace, democracy and socialism and bring it to full victory.

