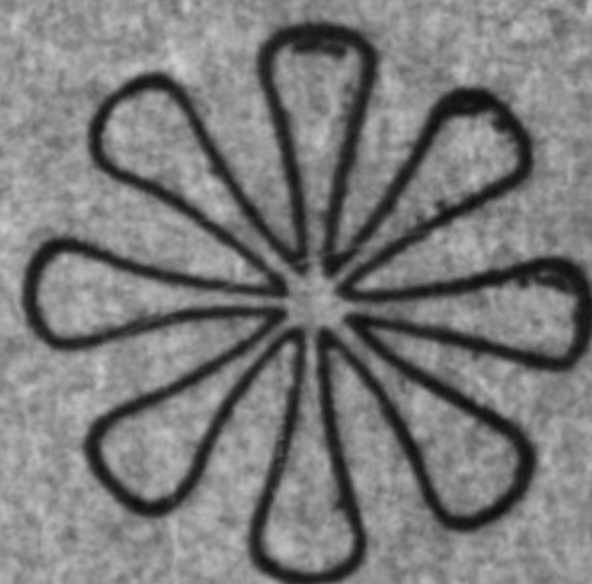


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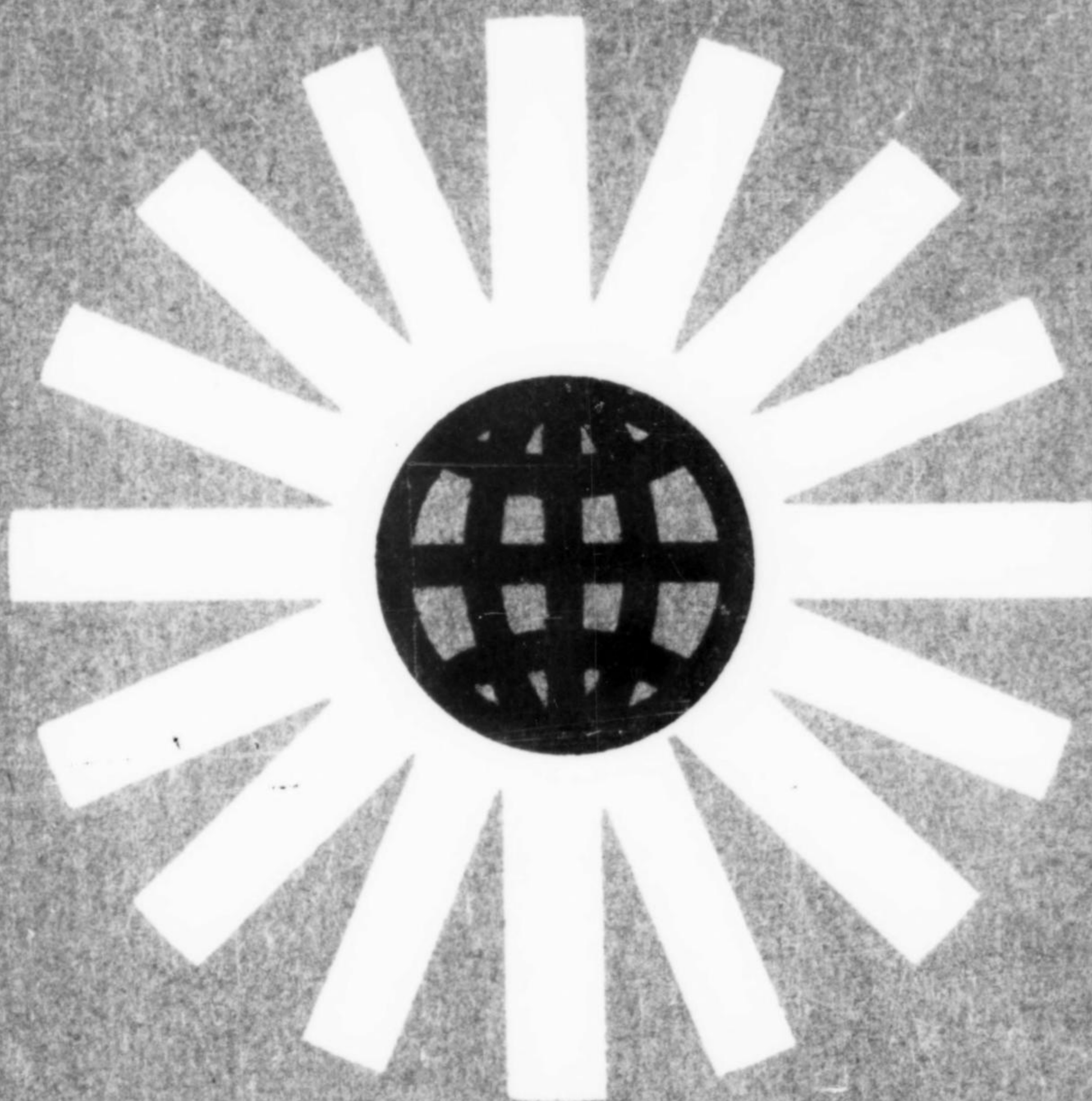
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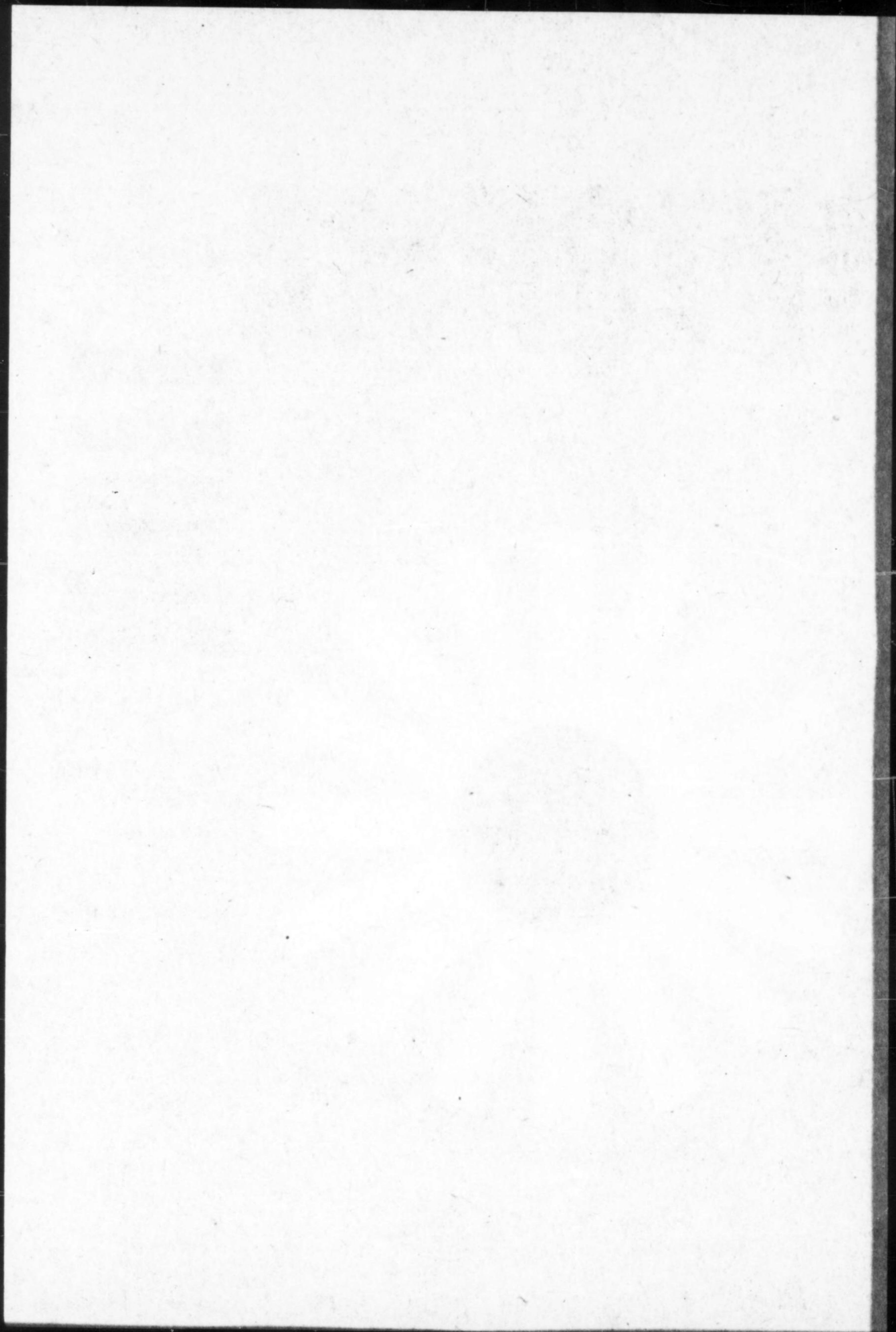
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CONGRESSES

SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUNTARY PARTY

The 17th Congress of the MPRP was held in Ulan Bator from June 14 to 18, 1976.

The agenda: report of the Central Committee; report of the Central Auditing Commission; discussion of the draft "Guidelines for Developing the Economy and Culture in 1976-80"; election of leading Party bodies.

The Central Committee report was delivered by First Secretary Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal (published below).

The delegates unanimously approved and fully supported the foreign and domestic policy, and practical activity of the Central Committee, and the conclusions and objectives advanced in the report. The new tasks in creating the material and technical base of socialism and improving social relations, they pointed out, correspond to the fundamental interests of the Mongolian people and serve to strengthen the socialist camp.

The speakers warmly supported the proposition contained in the report that promotion of the unbreakable friendship and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal states, of the unity of the socialist community has been and remains the cornerstone of Party and government policy.

They spoke with a feeling of gratitude and pride of the great constructive force of Mongolian-Soviet friendship, the splendid fruit of cooperation with the Soviet Union, which, growing in breadth and depth, is reaching a qualitatively new level. The speakers noted the great impact of the 25th CPSU Congress on the entire life of the country.

Fyodor Kulakov, head of the CPSU delegation, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, addressed the congress and was warmly greeted by the delegates (his speech is published below).

Representatives of other fraternal parties and foreign guests from many countries addressed the congress.

The delegates discussed the "Guidelines for Developing the Economy and Culture in 1976-80," which outlines targets of socialist construction in the new sixth five-year period.

The chief objective of the new plan is to ensure a further upsurge of social production, increase its effectiveness, improve quality in all branches of the economy and culture and, on this basis, to raise the people's living and cultural standards. During this period, the national income is to go up by 37 to 41 per cent. Capital investment in the sixth plan period will exceed that of the previous 10 years.

Industrialization and strengthening of the industrial base of socialism is one of the key tasks posed by the Party. Expenditures for this purpose in the current period will be more than three times the amount of the previous five-year plan.

The delegates approved the guidelines on increasing industrial output in 1980 by 60-65 per cent compared to 1975. They stressed that an important condition for Mongolia's economic development is to expand socialist economic integration with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

At a closed meeting congress elected the leading Party bodies — the Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission.

Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal was re-elected First Secretary; elected as Political Bureau members were: Jambyn Batmunh, Nyamyn Jagvaral, Sampilyn Jalan-aajav, Namsrayn Luvsanravdan, Damdinjavyn Maydar, Demichigiin Molomzhamts, Tümenbayaryn Ragchaa, Yunzhagiin Tsedenbal; alternate Politbureau members: Bat-chiryin Altangerel and Damdingiin Gombojav.

Elected as Central Committee secretaries were: Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, Demichigiin Molomzhamts, Nyamyn Jagvaral, Sampilyn Jalan-aajav, Damdingiin Gombojav, Sandagiin Sosorbram.

At the concluding session the delegates unanimously adopted a decision on the Central Committee report which fully approved the policy and practical activity of the Central Committee and proposed that all Party organizations be guided in their everyday work by the propositions contained in this report. A decision on changes in the Party Rules was adopted.

Congress unanimously approved the "Guidelines for Developing the Economy and Culture in 1976-1980."

First Secretary Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal delivered a concluding speech.

REPORT BY YUMHAGIIN TSEDENBAL

The 17th Congress of our Party is being held on the eve of the 55th anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution and, like this glorious jubilee, it is an important milestone in the country's development.

Thanks to the persevering efforts of the working class, nomad herdsmen organized in cooperatives and the people's intelligentsia, the five-year plan has been fulfilled.

Our homeland has made yet another big step forward in implementing the Party's program tasks for building the material and technical base of socialism. This is the chief result of the multiform political and organizational work of the Party and the dedicated labor of the entire people, confirming the correctness of the socio-economic policy of the Party.

The past few years have seen the expansion of Mongolia's foreign ties and consolidation of its international position. This has become possible thanks to the foreign policy of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Our Party has consistently promoted friendship, cooperation and integration with the great Soviet Union and the other socialist states. It has steadfastly advocated stronger unity of all revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces, peace and friendship among nations.

Our Party has come to its 17th Congress stronger and more closely united than ever. Experience confirms that the MPRP is strong by virtue of its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The policy and everyday activity of the Party, its dedication to the interests of the working people have greatly raised its role as the political leader of society, as the true vanguard of the Mongolian people in building socialism.

All this enables us to set the Party and the country new complex tasks in 1976-1980.

I. INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY AND FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The active and successful implementation of the important objectives set by the 16th Party Congress in the field of foreign policy and international relations has further consolidated the international position of our state and enhanced its prestige on the world arena. The

Republic's participation in international affairs has increased and so has the coordination of its foreign policy with the countries of the socialist community in working for peace and the security of the peoples.

In close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal states, Mongolia is contributing to the unity of the socialist countries, the consolidation of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces and a positive solution of pressing international problems.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU clearly demonstrated the successful advance of socialism and its massive and growing influence on world development. It outlined a broad program of socio-economic development of Soviet society, opened a new stage in the triumphant advance of the Land of the Soviets to communism, and marked a new phase in the world revolutionary process, in the struggle for peace, freedom and independence of the peoples, for justice and social progress. In this lies the tremendous international significance of the forum of the Soviet Communists. The decisions of the 25th Congress directly concern the vital interests and future of all peoples and conform to the vital needs of humankind. This explains its immense worldwide impact. The realistic and constructive approach of the CPSU to the problems of international life, as reflected in the profound report of General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, has generated a warm response and has won the approval and support of millions the world over.

The Mongolian People's Republic, like other fraternal socialist countries, welcomed the program for furthering the struggle for peace advanced by the 25th CPSU Congress as a common foreign policy line of socialism.

It should be stressed that united, concerted actions of the fraternal socialist countries, their joint efforts to translate into reality the Soviet Peace Program have influenced and continue to influence the character and content of international relations, the solution of the vital problems of our time.

The period after the 16th MPRP Congress has confirmed its conclusions regarding the country's international position, the basic directions of foreign-policy activity of the Party and the state. The promotion of the unbreakable friendship and close cooperation with the great Soviet Union and other fraternal states and of the unity of the socialist community countries remains the cornerstone of our foreign policy. This fully corresponds to the fundamental interests of the Mongolian people and the cause of peace and social progress.

We note with deep satisfaction that the past five years have seen the dynamic development of Mongolian-Soviet relations. Political, economic, cultural and ideological cooperation of the MPR with the Soviet Union in this period has expanded, acquiring new forms and a profound content. A firm basis for this was provided by the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed on January 15, 1966.

The fraternal alliance and close cooperation between our Marxist-Leninist parties, the Leninist friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples guarantee our free, independent development and are the earnest of our present and future successes in building a socialist society.

Of special importance for the Mongolian people is the fraternal, genuinely internationalist aid of the USSR. In recent years with Soviet aid we have built new industrial and agricultural complexes, railroads and highways, cultural and service facilities. There are thousands of highly skilled Soviet people working in our country, who are profoundly aware of their internationalist duty.

A notable event in furthering Mongolian-Soviet friendship and fraternity was the visit to Mongolia in 1974 of a Soviet Party and Government delegation headed by General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, a true and close friend of our people. The delegation took part in the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Third Congress of the MPRP and the foundation of the Mongolian People's Republic. This visit was a big contribution to cooperation between our two parties and countries, to the cohesion of the socialist community.

Soviet technical and economic aid to our country will be greatly increased in the new five-year plan. The agreements on economic cooperation and trade recently concluded in Moscow set the stage for a qualitatively new phase in the Mongolian-Soviet relations in 1976-1980.

The Mongolian people are resolved to continue along the road, charted by Lenin, the leader of genius of the world's working people, and by Sühe Bator, the glorious leader of the Mongolian revolution. The People's Revolutionary Party and the government of the MPR will do everything to expand and deepen the unbreakable friendship and close cooperation with the vanguard contingent of the world communist movement — the CPSU, and with the first country of socialism and communism — the great Soviet Union.

Mongolia's friendship and cooperation with the other fraternal countries — the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Republic of Cuba,

Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, German Democratic Republic, Hungarian People's Republic, Polish People's Republic, and the Socialist Republic of Rumania have developed successfully and grown stronger. It has treaties of friendship and cooperation with almost all fraternal countries, which provide a firm foundation for our mutual relations.

Our Party, government and people express deep gratitude to the Communist and Workers' Parties, governments and peoples of the CMEA member countries for their friendly aid to Mongolia and sincerely wish them new big successes in building a developed socialist society.

In the past period friendly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation have developed between Mongolia and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

With respect to Mongolia's relations with the socialist countries of Asia, Tsedenbal noted first of all the further strengthening of fraternal Mongolian-Vietnamese friendship and warmly hailed the united, free, democratic Vietnam, wishing its heroic people great successes in their endeavor for the good of their homeland, for peace in Asia and the world over.

In the past years, friendly relations between the MPR and the Korean People's Democratic Republic have developed steadily. The efforts of the Korean people for the peaceful, democratic unification of their homeland have the invariable support of our state. Mongolia comes out for an early withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea needed to create favorable conditions for the unification of Korea without foreign interference.

In relations with the Chinese People's Republic, Mongolia follows a principled line. We are doing everything to normalize good-neighbor relations of cooperation with China while vigorously rejecting reactionary Maoism.

A force hostile to socialism, the Maoists are openly in league with the racist-fascist cliques, ultra-reactionaries and aggressive circles of imperialism in seeking to form a united front against world socialism. Maoism is thus becoming a reserve force and direct accomplice of imperialism.

A force hostile to the national-liberation movement, the Maoists directly participate in suppressing the popular struggle for liberation and national independence, in armed intervention against them. The struggle against Maoism is therefore part of the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and reaction.

A force hostile to peace and international security, the Maoists are doing everything to disrupt the unity of the revolutionary forces, frustrate détente, sow distrust and enmity between states, provoke a world thermonuclear catastrophe. In this sense the policy of the present Chinese leaders represents a grave danger to all nations.

The position of the MPRP on the Chinese question is clear. In our relations with China and in the struggle against Maoism we shall proceed from our unshakeable loyalty to the internationalist interests of upholding the unity of the socialist community, the world communist movement, the cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces.

Consistent support for the national-liberation struggles and promotion of friendly relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are one of the main directions of the foreign policy activity of our Party and state.

The Mongolian People's Republic shows great concern for the establishment of friendly relations and development of cooperation with the Asian countries. This line is based on our sincere striving to advance the cause of peace and security on the vast Asian continent.

We note with satisfaction the successful development of mutual relations with India, a big peace-loving power.

Mongolia wants to have friendly relations with other Asian states. Ties and contacts with them, exchange of views on questions of mutual interest fully meet the interests of strengthening peace and understanding between the nations of the continent. The MPR will in future too follow this course in relations with the Asian states.

We vigorously support the struggle of the Arab peoples to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression.

Mongolia consistently pursues a policy of developing relations with capitalist countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. In the past period our relations with Japan have been normalized. The MPR has established diplomatic relations with the FRG, Canada, Australia and other states.

At present we maintain official diplomatic relations with 79 states. Mongolia's participation in international organizations is expanding.

The problem of limiting the arms race, the struggle for general and complete disarmament hold a special place in present-day international life, Tsedenbal said. As a result of the untiring efforts of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries in the past years, important international treaties and agreements have been concluded to curb the arms drive. Improvement of relations between the Soviet

Union and the USA is of great importance for peace and the security of the peoples.

In the struggle to maintain international peace it is especially important to extend détente to other regions, particularly to the vast Asian continent where more than half of the world's population live.

The Mongolian People's Republic is vitally interested in finding ways to promote peace and security in Asia. Elimination of the existing seats of tension, solution of international disputes by political means, rejection of the threat or use of force in international relations, development of mutually beneficial cooperation between the states of the continent provide a basis for ensuring peace and security in Asia.

Our Party shows unflagging concern for furthering cooperation with the great Party of Lenin — the CPSU, and with other Marxist-Leninist contingents of the international communist movement, for strengthening the unity and cohesion of its ranks, It also calls for broader ties and stronger internationalist solidarity with progressive democratic movements and organizations.

The chief concern and content of our cooperation with the fraternal parties remained the joint struggle to consolidate the unity of the socialist community and the world communist movement and to provide class solidarity with all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces of our time.

The past years have been marked by a closer unity of action and consolidation of the communist movement. This was greatly facilitated by the congresses of the ruling parties of socialist countries, as well as the regional meetings of Communist Parties held in recent years.

It should be emphasized that regular meetings between leaders of our Parties and countries have become an established form of practical cooperation. The purpose of these meetings is to coordinate efforts in accelerating the growth rates of our states and in maintaining world peace and security. The increased might of the socialist countries and the improved world political climate are the heartening results of the dedicated efforts of the fraternal Parties of our countries and the CPSU, the great Party of Lenin, first of all.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the capitalist countries are profoundly aware of their historic responsibility to the international working class and are firmly convinced that their joint efforts are the earnest of successful struggle against monopoly domination and for the triumph of the great ideals of socialism and communism.

Our Party shares the opinion of the fraternal Parties regarding the

expediency of convening a new international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties to collectively analyze the present international situation and elaborate a general line of struggle against imperialist reaction.

We note with satisfaction the growing cooperation in the field of ideology between the fraternal Parties. Mindful of the attempts by reaction to step up ideological subversion against the socialist countries and to split the world communist movement, our Party sees it as its internationalist duty to carry on an uncompromising struggle against alien ideology, against every manifestation of anti-Sovietism, reactionary nationalism, right and "left" opportunism. Any manifestation of anti-Sovietism or departure from the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism is incompatible with communist internationalism. Neither is a tolerant, neutral attitude to such actions compatible with the internationalism of Communists.

The enemies of peace and international security are frenziedly opposing development and deepening of the process of détente. Imperialist circles are revitalizing NATO, their main military-political bloc, and seeking to undermine the unity of the socialist world system and to bring back the cold war. In these circumstances, it is exceptionally important to all contingents of the communist movement, for all nations and peoples of good will to step up the struggle for peace and international security. We Communists are firmly convinced that a stable peace on earth is a fully realizable goal.

II. ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION

Summing up the achievements in economic and cultural construction, Tsedenbal noted that the main socio-economic objectives of the fifth five-year plan had been reached. The aggregate social product increased by 44.5, and the national income by 38 per cent. Important measures have been taken to raise the living and cultural standards of the people.

The level of the country's development makes it possible to advance new important economic and cultural objectives for the next five-year period.

The chief objective of the country's socio-economic development in the next five years is to ensure the further growth and effectiveness of social production, higher quality in all branches of the national economy and culture, and on this basis to achieve a steady rise in the living and cultural standards of the people.

The Party's agrarian policy is aimed at ensuring a steady growth of

agricultural output, strengthening the cooperative system and improving socialist production relations in the rural areas, and the further upsurge of the productive forces in agriculture.

It is planned to increase the volume of the social product by 40-44, and the national income by 37-41 per cent. Capital investment in the national economy in the sixth five-year period will exceed that of the previous 10 years.

Tsedenbal then summed up the results achieved in individual branches of the economy and outlined the main tasks of the socio-economic program set forth by the MPRP Central Committee in the draft "Main Development Guidelines of the National Economy and Culture of the MPR in 1976-1980."

In the next five-year period the main objective in agriculture is to ensure a steady growth of animal and crop farming produce for the satisfaction of the growing needs of the population in food and of industry in raw materials. The average annual output of agriculture will increase by 26-30 per cent, and the volume of capital investment by 31 per cent. The area under crops is to be expanded by 35-40 per cent through the cultivation of virgin lands.

The role of industry in the economy has grown significantly.

In the new five-year period the Party is advancing even bigger tasks, aimed at transforming the MPR in the near future into an industrial-agrarian country with a balanced structure of extractive and processing industries.

The primary objective of industry in the coming period consists in better satisfaction of the growing needs of the economy and population in the necessary range of manufactured goods, in increasing the export resources through a steady expansion of the industrial potential, a marked improvement in quality and the effectiveness of production.

It is envisaged to increase industrial output by 60-65 per cent, with an average annual growth rate of about 10 per cent, and to raise industrial labor productivity by 34-38 per cent. At the end of the new five-year period industry will produce 46 per cent of the total social product and more than 30 per cent of the national income.

Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal stressed that in the period under review a broad program of social measures aimed at raising the material and cultural level of the working people had been implemented. Public consumption funds increased more rapidly than envisaged by the plan. In the past five years allocations for education and the health service, science, culture and the arts, physical culture and sports

increased by 1.5 times. Real per capita incomes went up by 17 per cent.

In the coming period a system of measures is envisaged to raise the material and cultural standards of the people. The average wage of workers and office employees is to increase by 7-9 per cent and the cash incomes of members of agricultural associations by 14 to 17 per cent. More than 60 per cent of the workers and office employees will be fully exempted from the income tax. Payments and benefits from the public consumption funds will go up by 27-30 per cent. These funds will also be used to raise pensions for invalids and persons who have lost their breadwinner, and for additional partly paid leaves for working women to care for a child up to the age of six months.

An important social measure will be to extend the state old-age pensions to members of agricultural associations and to raise these pensions by 50 per cent.

A pressing problem is to provide modern housing for the population. The five-year plan envisages an increase in housing construction by 1.8-1.9 times, and better amenities for cities and settlements.

The coming five-year period is to see a further improvement in the system of education, and conclusion of the transition to compulsory eight-year schooling. The task is to prepare conditions for the transition to a general complete secondary-school education.

Along with an increase in the number of school buildings, it is planned to provide 60 per cent of the village pupils with well-equipped boarding schools. This is a big social problem. In the coming plan period more nurseries and kindergartens will be built, with emphasis on kindergartens providing day and night care.

There has been a marked improvement in research facilities thanks to the Party's concern for the development of science. There now are 13 academic and 27 branch research institutes and organizations.

Further progress in public health care, improved working and living conditions, and expansion of the disease-prevention and sanitary services have resulted in a steady population growth and in fewer cases of illness and death. Medical care in our country has in the main reached the average level of that in the fraternal socialist countries, and has outstripped many developed capitalist states. During the past five years, the number of hospital beds has increased by 20 per cent, and there are 30 per cent more doctors, while allocations for health care have gone up by 57 per cent. There are now more mother and child care institutions and they are better supplied with personnel.

Dealing at length with questions of improving planned guidance,

Tsedenbal noted that it is envisaged in the coming period to conclude elaboration of the master plan for development and distribution of the productive forces and of long-term plans (10 to 15 years) for the socio-economic progress of the country.

III. THE PARTY

In the period under review the ideological and organizational unity of our Party has become stronger, Tsedenbal stressed. The strength and action ability of our Party and the effectiveness of its policy depend on stringent adherence to the Leninist norms and principles of Party life, on stronger ties with the masses and the people's complete confidence in it. The high prestige of the Party among the people is evidenced by the further qualitative and quantitative growth of its ranks. Since the 16th Congress the Party membership has increased by 15.3 per cent.

The social composition of the MPRP is characterized by the following: workers, 31.3 per cent; members of agricultural associations, 19; office workers and representatives of the intelligentsia, 49.7 per cent. The continual increase in the share of workers and the intelligentsia in the Party membership is closely linked with the growing level of industrial development, the increasing ranks of the working class.

The present and future successes in socialist construction depend largely on the youth, their activity and loyalty to socialist ideals. Therefore the Central Committee is submitting to congress a proposal to lower the age limit for admittance to the Party from 20 to 18 years, with corresponding changes in the Rules.

In the sphere of Party building the efforts are concentrated on improving the work of primary organizations — the foundation of our Party.

In Party work the main thing is to elaborate a correct policy line and to punctually and consistently implement adopted decisions, that is, to ensure the unity of word and deed, theory and practice. This important requirement of the Leninist style of Party work must permeate the entire system of the organizational and political activity of the Party, all its organizations.

An important direction of Party activity in the period under review was to raise the role of state and public organizations in the management of society, the further development of socialist democracy, Tsedenbal said.

In the past period the Central Committee devoted great attention to the country's defense, and adopted a number of measures to

strengthen the People's Army, frontier troops and internal security forces.

During this period the Central Committee took measures to improve Party guidance of trade union organizations, to further raise the role of trade unions in organizing socialist competition. In accordance with the new labor legislation, the rights and powers of the trade unions have been extended.

We are proud of the successes of our youth in work and study, in fulfilling their military duty. We are glad to see the emergence of a new generation of diligent and talented young people dedicated to the ideals of communism. Big credit for this goes to the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League, a close assistant and reliable reserve of the Party, consisting of more than 140,000 boys and girls.

The ideological work of the Party in the past period was devoted entirely to improving the communist education of the working people, the successful implementation of the 16th Party Congress decisions, Tsedenbal further noted.

We have every reason to say that the stable political situation in our country, the people's labor enthusiasm, the approval and support of the Party's policy by all sections of the society are a reflection of the results of the ideological activity of the Party.

The past years have seen a marked improvement in the organization of Party studies — the chief form of inculcating a Marxist-Leninist world outlook both in Communists and non-party members.

The tasks facing us call for an enhanced leading role of the Party in the economic, socio-political and spiritual development of society, for better organizational and ideological work of Party organizations. It is especially important to fundamentally improve ideological work in connection with the implementation of the socio-economic program of the country.

Tsedenbal dealt at length with the current tasks of raising the quality and theoretical level of the study of Marxism-Leninism and the political education of the Communists and all working people.

A pivotal issue of the further progress of socialist society is the affirmation of the socialist life style. The socialist life style in Mongolia is being affirmed on the basis of socialist production relations, which triumphed in the economy toward the end of the 50s. The socialist mode of production, socio-political system, Marxist-Leninist ideology and the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party serve as the rock-firm foundation and a decisive factor in developing the socialist life style, which rejects every form of oppression and exploitation.

In the socialist countries there is no sphere of human activity that is not embraced by the notion of the socialist life style. It represents a very high and developing form of human society. Promotion of the socialist life style is especially important for Mongolia, which concluded the historic transition from feudalism to socialism not long ago, and where the survivals of the past still make themselves felt in the economy, life and consciousness of the people.

The socialist life style embraces all forms of labor activity of the people, their spiritual and family life and recreation, their socio-moral behavior and mutual relations. Among its chief characteristics are selfless labor for the good of society; active participation in socio-political life and in the management of production and the state; a deep sense of responsibility of each to the work collective and society; boundless loyalty to Marxist-Leninist ideas, the principles of proletarian internationalism, friendship and fraternity with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; irreconcilability toward bourgeois ideology and opportunism of whatever hue; a readiness to inflexibly defend the socialist gains. Members of a socialist society must always and everywhere militantly oppose nationalism and anti-Sovietism.

The task of the Party, state, trade union, Revolutionary Youth League and other public organizations is to concentrate attention on the affirmation of the socialist way of life as the norm of activity of all members of our society, as the embodiment of the principle "to work, study and live in a socialist way." Tsedenbal said.

IV. MONGOLIA'S EVER CLOSER TIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ARE AN OBJECTIVE LAW OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

In our time the socialist world system has become the decisive force of human progress, the main bulwark of the anti-imperialist struggle, Tsedenbal continued. The socialist world is developing irrepressibly. The leading country of the socialist world system, the Soviet Union, is engaged in full-scale communist construction while the European countries belonging to the CMEA are building a developed socialist society and thus approaching the stage of creating in the near future the material and technical base of the highest phase of the communist formation. The reaching of this stage will evidently signify the development of the countries of the socialist world system toward the creation of what Lenin predicted would be "a single world

economy, regulated by the proletariat ... as an integral whole and according to a common plan" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 147).

Understandably, to create such an international economy, to set up a world communist community, the fraternal socialist countries will have to pass through the necessary transitional stages, the stages of socialism's development into communism. The all-round coming together of the socialist countries, the internationalization of their economies lead to the gradual formation of a world communist economy.

A new stage in internationalizing the economies of the socialist countries is marked by socialist economic integration, as manifested today in the development of its material foundation — the international socialist division of labor mainly in the form of inter-state specialization and cooperation of production.

Mongolia's socio-economic progress is closely connected with the development of the socialist world system, stressed Tsedenbal. As a component of this system, it must develop at an accelerated rate and, despite its relative lag, take the road of communist construction at approximately the same time with the fraternal countries, relying on the all-round assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

The immediate tasks and prospects of a further development make it essential to accelerate the process of Mongolia's drawing together and consolidation in the economic, political, cultural and ideological spheres with the fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. The tasks of Mongolia's further development will be tackled in the course of the all-round integration of our economy with the Soviet economy, by intensifying integration processes in all spheres of public life as a factor for stepping up the progress of socialist society, as a method of economic, political and cultural coming together and levelling the economic development of the socialist countries.

We are now faced with a task of primary importance — to raise Mongolian-Soviet cooperation to a higher level, the level of all-round integration.

The aim is to improve the existing and to introduce new, progressive, forms of cooperation between our countries. Undoubtedly, the tried and sincere fraternal friendship of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples, the many-sided Mongolian-Soviet cooperation will continue to grow stronger with every passing year, attaining new heights on the basis of socialist integration and the drawing together of our coun-

tries, on the basis of the great principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

Tsedenbal concluded his speech by proposing the long life of the People's Revolutionary Party, the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the Mongolian working people, of the working class, the cooperative herdsman and the intelligentsia who are actively building socialism, of the fraternal friendship, close cooperation and unbreakable unity of the socialist nations, of the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the glorious leader of the heroic Soviet people engaged in communist construction, and the vanguard force of the world communist movement, of peace and communism.

An abridged version of the summary dispatched by Montsame (Mongolian telegraph agency).

SPEECH BY FYODOR KULAKOV

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people, F.D. Kulakov conveyed warm fraternal greetings to the delegates, Communists and working people of the Mongolian People's Republic.

It gives us great pleasure, he said, to fulfill the personal assignment of General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, honorary citizen of your Republic, to convey to you and in your person to the entire Mongolian people his cordial wishes of success, well-being and great happiness.

The Soviet Communists see the invitation of a CPSU delegation to the 17th Congress of your Party as fresh evidence of the unbreakable unity and fraternal friendship of our parties and peoples. It is a great honor to be together with our Mongolian friends during these notable days when the highest party forum is charting new goals in the advance of the Mongolian people along the socialist road.

We heard with close attention the Central Committee report delivered by First Secretary Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, which sums up the rich experience of the Party and people in the past five years from the positions of creative Marxism-Leninism and sets forth new far-reaching tasks in creating the material and technical base of socialism in Mongolia and in improving socialist social relations.

The efforts of the talented and diligent Mongolian people, the political, organizational and ideological activity of the Party are transforming your country virtually before our eyes.

The Mongolian People's Republic is advancing confidently and in a planned manner in building a socialist society, rapidly increasing its industrial potential and raising agricultural output. The young working class is gaining experience and know-how. The cooperative herdsmen are increasingly joining in the labor effort and political activities. Machine-operators, livestock experts, agronomists and engineers are becoming important figures in cattle-breeding and agriculture. The Mongolian intelligentsia is serving the cause of socialism with dedication. The new features of the country, the flowering of socialist culture and art were once again demonstrated during the Mongolian Culture Days recently held in the Soviet Union.

All these facts are evidence of Mongolia's dynamic and all-round development, of the redoubled creative endeavor of its people in building a new society in close cooperation with fraternal countries.

The international prestige of the republic grows from year to year. It is actively contributing to the promotion of peace, affirmation of the rights of all peoples to freedom, democracy and social progress. Socialist Mongolia is viewed with respect and interest by many peoples. And this is understandable. Mongolia has carried out in practice Lenin's prediction regarding the possibility of going over from feudalism to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage, and has overcome the difficulties and trials which are inevitable for a pioneer on this new, unexplored road. In this consists the great historic credit of the Mongolian Communists, their important contribution to the theory and practice of the world revolutionary process.

Mongolia's big successes and achievements in meeting its jubilee — the 55th anniversary of the People's Republic, convincingly prove the correctness of the Party's policy. They attest to the fruitful activity of the Party's Central Committee, headed by Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, true son of the Mongolian people, prominent figure of the international communist movement and consistent internationalist.

Dear friends, speaking at the celebrations in Ulan Baton a year and a half ago, Leonid Brezhnev expressed the essence of our attitude toward fraternal Mongolia: "Friendship with the people of Mongolia, our oldest comrade-in-arms in the struggle for socialism, is for us Soviet people a matter of honor and an internationalist duty."

During the heroic years of the revolution and civil war, the battles at Khalkhin-Gol, the rigorous time of the Great Patriotic War and the period of peaceful construction the working people of our countries have always been together, acting as brothers. Our indestructible alliance is embodied in the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and

Mutual Assistance bearing the signatures of Leonid Brezhnev and Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal.

Our alliance is inspired by the activity of our fraternal parties — the CPSU and the MPRP. This is an alliance of Soviet and Mongolian workers and specialists who are building an advanced industry in Mongolia. It is the close comradely contacts of tens and hundreds of thousands of working people of town and country, the broad ties of Soviet and Mongolian science and culture. It is the cooperation of our armed forces, tested time and again in battles against foreign invaders.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, all Soviet people are fully resolved in future, too, to cherish and strengthen our fraternal friendship and to promote cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples.

Comrades, you are discussing at this congress the guidelines of Mongolia's economic and cultural development in 1976-80, and advancing big and complex objectives in the country's further socio-economic progress.

During this five-year period hundreds of new industrial, agricultural, cultural and service projects will be put into operation. These include the ore-processing plant in Erdenet, which will be one of the largest copper producers in the world, the big opencut coal mines in Baga-nuur, the new enterprises in Ulan Bator, Choibalsan and Darhan. In many aimaks (provincial districts) vast tracts of virgin land are to be developed and put at the service of man. Some 800,000 square meters of housing, new schools, hospitals, houses of culture, etc. are to be built during this period.

Without exaggerating it can be said: there is a great deal to do. The Soviet Communists know from experience that to implement such big plans is far from easy; it requires much effort and mobilization of all resources.

Therefore the fundamental proposition, put forward at the congress, on improving organizational work from bottom to top and of perfecting economic management, has our full support. A sense of responsibility and discipline, control and accounting, a strict regime of economy in everything, that is, application of the Leninist principles of socialist management — this is the only correct way of ensuring successful solution of tasks and of efficiently organizing fulfillment of the new objectives.

From the congress rostrum Tsedenbal spoke warmly about the multiform and disinterested aid and support rendered by the Soviet

people in the construction of socialism in Mongolia. To us, naturally, these are gratifying words. The report contains topical and important ideas on furthering Mongolian-Soviet cooperation and on ways of bringing our peoples closer together.

The striving of the Communists and working people of Mongolia to expand and deepen political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community is fully appreciated in our country. Effective development of integrating ties is a sure way to increase the material and spiritual wealth of each of our countries. It is a practical expression of the policy of friendship and mutual assistance, a policy based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The scale of our cooperation is indeed impressive, and it will increase further during the current period. This you know very well, comrade delegates. The CPSU and the Soviet state, imbued with a sense of fraternal solidarity, intend to expand further their multiform assistance to the Mongolian People's Republic to help accelerate its socio-economic growth.

By enhancing the political and labor activity of the working people and developing multiform links with the fraternal socialist countries, the Party of Mongolian Communists will, undoubtedly, accomplish the tasks set by the congress for the next five-year period, bring about higher efficiency in all branches of the economy and, a further improvement of the people's material and cultural life.

The socialist community countries are now entering a new stage of struggle for economic, scientific and cultural progress, for an upsurge in the people's well-being. The advantages of the socialist economic system are being increasingly revealed for all to see. The confident and planned development of the fraternal socialist countries contrasts sharply with the profound economic, socio-political and spiritual crisis of the capitalist countries.

Realization of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration, in which Mongolia is actively participating, has become a powerful tool for the general progress of the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Having acquired rich experience in cooperation, we are now elaborating long-range plans designed to more fully satisfy the vital economic requirements of the socialist states. This will facilitate solution of an important economic and political problem — the gradual raising and equalizing of development levels of participants in the integration.

There is every reason to say: helped by the advantages of socialist international relations and broadly utilizing the vast potentialities of socialism and fraternal cooperation, our countries will achieve new successes in the economy, science and culture, in all spheres of public life.

Comrades, as a result of the consistent foreign-policy activity of the socialist community countries, their growing might and prestige, and invigoration of the anti-imperialist progressive forces, profound changes in favor of peace, democracy and socialism are taking place throughout the world. In international relations the principles of peaceful coexistence, renunciation of the use of force, and equitable corporation are becoming firmly established. Détente has become the main tendency in international life. All this adds up to the big successes of concerted actions, the peace-loving policy of the fraternal socialist countries, the communist and working-class movement.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government consider it necessary to consolidate the results achieved in détente and to expand it further. This line is clearly expressed in the program of further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for freedom and independence of the peoples, set forth in the Central Committee report to the 25th CPSU Congress. We are convinced of the need to persistently expand mutually beneficial business ties, patiently seek ways to supplement political détente with military détente, and to rebuff the forces of imperialist aggression and reaction.

The key task, as we see it, is to put an end to the continuing arms drive, to take the path of cutting military expenditures, and disarmament. As Leonid Brezhnev reiterated when signing the USSR-USA treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, "there is no loftier and more humane goal than the utmost strengthening of peace and international security, and the elimination of the threat of war from relations among states."

And it is self-evident that the Soviet Union, a large part of whose territory is situated in Asia, cannot remain indifferent to developments on this continent.

Immense changes are taking place in Asia: powerful forces of national independence, progress and peace have become active. Historic victories over imperialism and reaction have been won by the Vietnamese, Laotian and Khmer peoples with the solidarity and support of socialist community countries, all anti-imperialist movements. The Korean people are fighting actively for national unification, and we vigorously support the proposals of the Korean

People's Democratic Republic for a peaceful, democratic unification of Korea without foreign interference.

Our Party and state approach the questions of security in Asia with due gravity and sense of responsibility. In its program of the further struggle for peace, the CPSU calls for ensuring peace and security in Asia by joint efforts of the Asian states. Asia can and must become a continent of peace, with good-neighbor relations between its peoples.

In implementing its peace policy, the CPSU and the Soviet government consistently pursue a principled line in relations with China. We will, in future too, conduct an implacable struggle against Maoism as a trend profoundly inimical to the cause of socialism and peace. The Soviet people are in full solidarity with their Mongolian brothers. The sovereignty of the Mongolian People's Republic and its independence are inviolable. This is guaranteed by the will of the Mongolian people, the indestructible Soviet-Mongolian alliance, friendship and cooperation of the fraternal socialist countries.

At the same time, as stated before, the Soviet Union advocates normalization and improvement of relations with China. The 25th CPSU Congress reaffirmed the basis for achieving this for the good of the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries, for peace and socialism. So matters now rest with the Chinese side.

From the rostrum of your congress, comrades, I would like to emphasize that our Party and people highly appreciate Mongolia's constructive contribution to promoting peace and security in Asia and throughout the world, as well as your invariable solidarity with the people's struggle for freedom and independence. The Soviet Communists duly appraise the active role of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in strengthening the unity of the communist movement and all revolutionary forces of our time.

Comrades, the Soviet people are working, in an atmosphere of increased labor and political activity, to implement the decisions of the historic 25th CPSU Congress. Large-scale constructive tasks face us in the spheres of policy, the economy and culture. Whether it is a matter of developing industry or accelerating scientific and technical progress; raising output in farming and industrializing it, or increasing specialization and concentration of production in this branch on the basis of inter-farm cooperation; whether it is a matter of satisfying more fully the material and cultural needs of the Soviet people, and this is the main thing — much more must be done in all these fields than in the previous five-year period.

The 10th five-year plan — plan of effectiveness and quality — has

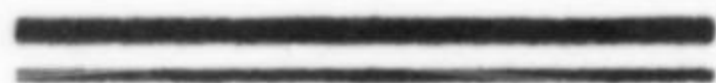
started off well. Judging by preliminary data, the targets for the first half-year will be overfulfilled. A nationwide socialist competition is under way, and the work rhythm is good. This strengthens confidence in the implementation of the Party's plans, its political, economic and social strategy.

We have heard here, dear friends, many kind words about our Leninist Party, the Soviet Union, the Soviet people. The international significance of the 25th CPSU Congress, the activity of the Central Committee and Leonid Brezhnev personally, were highly assessed. Many thanks for this. As always, we shall cherish these fraternal feelings.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to do everything so that Soviet-Mongolian friendship will bear ever richer fruit, so that it will go on serving reliably the interests of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples, the interests of world socialism. This is the bidding of the immortal behests of the great Lenin, and the leader of the Mongolian revolution, Sühe Bator.

In conclusion, Kulakov wished the Mongolian Communists, workers, herdsmen and intellectuals successful fulfillment of the big plans set forth by the 17th MPRP Congress, happiness and prosperity for the Mongolian people, a friend and brother of the Soviet people, and hailed the MPRP, Soviet-Mongolian friendship, peace and communism.

Pravda, June 16, 1976.



CONSOLIDATED MASS ACTION NEEDED AGAINST THE REACTIONARY ONSLAUGHT

*Report by Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary CP Colombia,
at a Central Committee Meeting*

ELECTIONS IN THE EMERGENCY SITUATION

The recent election campaign was held in a climate of greatly limited civil liberties. This time the emergency situation was not lifted during the elections, as was done by previous governments. Moreover, the Lopez Michelsen government adopted new repressive dictatorial laws, resulting in intensified repressions. With the connivance of the authorities, our comrades Baquero and Mahecha in Yacopi, Jimenez in Uraba and Romana in Cimitarra were killed.

The "center-left government" formed by Lopez Michelsen thus revealed itself as a typically repressive government representing the interests of the traditional liberal-conservative oligarchy. As a pretext for its arbitrary rule the government cites the actions of anarchists and terrorists — the burning of cars and attacks on drivers near the National University. On the other hand, the seizure and killing of Jose Raquel Mercado, leader of the official Colombian Confederation of Workers, played into the hands of the government, enabling it to sow confusion among the masses.

The mass information media in the service of the ruling class tendentiously and servilely contended that Communists were involved in the terroristic actions, something that is absolutely alien to Marxism-Leninism. During the election discussions we came up against a fierce anti-communist campaign under the slogan of "defending democracy against the left extremists."

In the campaign against the National Opposition Union (UNO), waged with the open support of the big bourgeoisie, a special role was allotted to the Maoist influenced Independent Revolutionary Movement. Other leftist groupings, including the "pure" Maoists and the

“diffident” Trotskyists, who abandoned their placid stand of abstaining from the elections, also contributed to the campaign against our Party and the UNO by sowing confusion and discord.

THE POLICY OF ALLIANCES

In implementing the guidelines of our Party's 12th Congress, which advised the Communists to participate in the elections under the UNO slogans, we, together with our allies, did everything possible to reach agreement with the progressive forces in the ANAPO.* We also sought to conclude similar agreements with some liberal circles whose interests were infringed by the government's repressive policies.

Of interest is our experience of relations with a left grouping in Bogota — the Revolutionary Socialist Union (URS). Despite evident ideological divergencies, we concluded a positive election agreement with this organization.

However, sectarianism again showed itself in our ranks. This time it found expression in the resistance of alliances, to reaching agreements on the basis of mutual concessions. The sectarians claimed that those who do not fully agree with us cannot be an ally in putting forward a joint list of candidates. However experience shows that allies, even if few in numbers and differing from us on some issues, can meaningfully contribute to the struggle for a broad front and to day-to-day actions to achieve new frontiers.

We must help the UNO take the path of increasing its membership. We must educate our cadres and rank and file so that they would see that at the present stage of the revolutionary process we cannot alone achieve the complex tasks posed by life, and must join forces to rebuff the principal enemies of our people.

RESULTS OF THE INTERMEDIATE ELECTIONS

More than 107,000 votes were polled by the UNO throughout the country. The number of municipal councillors elected by us rose from 120 in 1974 to 179, and the number of deputies to Parliament from 9 to 12. This means that we considerably increased our voting strength and consolidated our positions in the municipal councils and assemblies. Comparison of the results of the 1974 general elections and this year's intermediate elections shows that the UNO has retained its

*ANPO — National People's Alliance (founded in 1964 as a result of the Pinilla group's withdrawal from the Conservative Party. Constituted as a party in 1971). — Ed.

positions as contrasted to the steep drop in votes for the traditional parties, particularly the Liberal Party.

The ANAPO lost the most votes not only compared to 1974, but also to the 1972 intermediate elections, when it won 690,000 votes, whereas at the present elections only 118,000 were cast for it.

This time more than 70 per cent of the people with the right to vote did not cast their ballots. It is a negative phenomenon speaking of the profound disillusion of the broad public who had nourished some hopes in voting for Lopez Michelsen in 1974.

As a result of the work carried out, the Communist Party and its allies earned the sympathy of the popular masses. The massive enthusiastic demonstrations, the increasing circulation of the Party press and propaganda work show that our successes could have been greater at the recent elections.

This calls for organizational and political measures to accelerate the growth of the Communist Party, the Communist Youth League and the UNO at enterprises, city neighborhoods inhabited by the poor, in the rural districts, university and college campuses. Nor should we underestimate the importance of new elements in the struggle between the various groupings of the traditional parties for the post of president.

Under the shadow of the emergency situation declared by the Lopez Michelsen government in the middle of last year, the reaction is stepping up its offensive against civil rights and democratic freedoms. This indicates that the most reactionary circles of the liberal and conservative oligarchy, abetted by U.S. imperialism, seek to plunge the country into an abyss of neo-fascism along the Chilean pattern of the hangman Pinochet or the Uruguayan pattern of the puppet Bordaberry.

But despite imperialism's attempts to impose such "models" on all Latin America in order to prolong its rapacious domination over our countries, this reactionary tendency and this catastrophic road are not a fatal inevitability. We must promote broader and more militant united action against the emergency situation, against the ultra-rightists' plans already in the process of realization. We must abandon a sectarian attitude to the armed forces, the church, the liberal and conservative parties, and not consider them as one reactionary gang. We must analyze the class content of the growing disarray in these traditional institutions and parties and make use of it in the interests of democratic freedoms, defense of human rights and national sovereignty.

FOR A COMMON PROGRAM AND A JOINT CANDIDATE OF THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION

In the present conditions the Communist Party and the UNO, together with other forces, must elaborate a broad platform of joint democratic and anti-imperialist struggle as the basis for nominating a candidate to the post of president from the democratic and popular forces at the 1978 elections.

We Communists remain loyal to the UNO nine-point program, but we demand that all the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist forces adopt it in its entirety. It would suffice for them to agree with its main propositions and to help in collectively elaborating a platform as an alternative for the Colombian people at the 1978 elections. Since the left forces can put forward several candidates at the first stage, it is advisable to begin a dialogue between the various groups on working out the basis for advancing a joint candidate of the opposition forces.

To attain this objective we must exert greater effort to expand and strengthen the UNO. Special importance attaches to holding a national meeting of Colombians for democratic and trade union liberties, the idea of which was suggested at the forum of popular forces last year. We regard this event as a form of dialogue with the other sections, not for the purpose of academic debate but in order to reach definite agreements and to act on the basis of the aims reflecting the vital interests of the nation.

THE RISING COST OF LIVING AND MONOPOLY PROFITS

In 1975 the big companies made a profit which equalled their investment and was more than 30 per cent higher than in 1974 due to the spiralling prices.

Official data cite an 18 per cent rise in the cost of living, but more impartial sources put it at 20 to 25 per cent. The situation was aggravated by the rapid growth of food prices. Last year the expenditures of a worker's family increased by more than 600 pesos, and those of an office employee by 1,000 pesos. In the first case, they went up from 3,344 to 3,946 pesos, and in the second, from 6,125 to 7,197 pesos. And these figures are based solely on official data. The tendency toward the absolute impoverishment of the working people, which was noted at the 12th Congress of our Party, will be seen even more clearly if we recall that the monthly wage of 85 per cent of Colombian workers is 2,500 pesos. In view of this, we must mobilize

the working people to fight for a general wage increase in keeping with the slogan put forward by the Confederation of Trade Unions of the Colombian Working People (CSTC).

The economic prospects for this year reveal the same tendency.

According to various sources, full unemployment runs at 12-14 per cent of the work force, while partial (or hidden) unemployment runs at 15 to 17 per cent. Thus the number of people without any kind of job has increased from 70,000 in 1971 to 900,000 at present. The number of partially employed who live on chance earnings has gone up from 1,000,000 to 1,200,000.

HIGHER PRICE OF COFFEE ON THE WORLD MARKET

The spells of cold weather in Brazil, the Angolan liberation war against the Portuguese colonialists and South African racist aggressors, who coordinated their actions with CIA agents and their Peking allies, as well as the earthquake in Guatemala and the cold winter in Colombia — all these factors have reduced the export of coffee to the developed capitalist countries. Using this temporary shortage, the big coffee monopolies sought to increase their profits by raising the prices on coffee to an unprecedented level.

But while the currency earnings from the sale of our chief export product have doubled, the great majority of working people live in extreme poverty as a result of the growing cost of living and unemployment. The higher prices of coffee show that the crisis stems from profound structural causes, and not transient factors, as bourgeois economists claim. When coffee prices fall, the shortage of hard currency is covered at the expense of the Colombian people by cutting back production, suspending capital investments, a rise in the cost of living and unemployment. When coffee prices on the world market go up, the superficial excess of hard currency harms the country's weak and deformed economic structure: the capitalists do not risk expanding industrial production because of the galloping inflation, which leads to a steep rise in the cost of living, while contracting the domestic market and increasing unemployment.

We must work out a national policy on coffee, which would take account of the general interests of the country and the vital needs of the great majority of coffee producers. While working for a popular democratic government we must organize the middle and small coffee producers and pose the question of nationalizing the export of coffee.

FOR UNITED ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS

As the situation of the working class and the people as a whole is aggravated due to the government's policy of seeking a capitalist solution to the inflation and crisis at the expense of lowering the living standards of the working people, it becomes increasingly clear that the only way out lies in united actions by the working class.

To achieve this, the Communists must participate in all actions of the working people for the satisfaction of their vital demands, irrespective of who leads these actions. Moreover, the Communists must contribute to their success, consistently and realistically directing their struggle. In this respect, it is most important that the Communists, the CSTC and the militant organizations of the working class in general denounce the insolent claims of the leaders of the official National Union of Colombian Workers and the Colombian Confederation of Workers that they alone "seek to improve the conditions of the working people in the field of wages and social benefits."

THE PARTY'S AIMS

The election results are also helpful in assessing the organizational consolidation of our Party and the expansion of its influence, as well as in studying the causes of stagnation and even retrogression in some places in order to undertake political and organizational measures to surmount them.

Our Party has a national plan of work with concrete and definite objectives. It envisages, first of all, a campaign to recruit new members, called the Javier Baquero, Antonio Jimenez and Jose Romana campaign in memory of our recently fallen comrades. Consequently, it is most important to stimulate the numerical growth of the Party.

This and other tasks in the work plan are closely linked with Communist participation in all mass actions, because precisely the mass struggle provides an unlimited source of a stable growth of our Party.

We consider it necessary to note two important aspects connected with the lofty aims of the Communists. First, our contribution to the struggle for world peace.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU stressed the historic importance of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress and pointed to the key tasks in continuing the policy of détente and international security.

We must link the struggle for peace with all mass actions and

campaigns of the Colombian people. In our propaganda work we must systematically expose the financial and military instigators of imperialist wars, as well as the chauvinistic plans and military intrigues of the Peking leaders. On the other hand, we must support the lofty aims of the peace movement and take a more active part in its campaigns.

The other aspect — solidarity with the fraternal peoples suffering from the harsh neo-fascist oppression imposed by U.S. imperialism jointly with local oligarchies and militarist circles: first of all solidarity with the peoples of Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil. We must expose even more vigorously the brutal killings by the fascist military junta in Chile, and step up the campaign to save the lives and achieve the unconditional release of the Chilean patriots languishing in prison: Luis Corvalan, Jose Cademartori, Victor Diaz, Mario Zamorano, Jorge Munoz, Jose Weibel and other captives of the fascist-military barbarians.

Active solidarity with the Chilean patriots and persistent exposure of their maltreatment by the fascist hangmen is the duty of all peoples of Latin America and all internationalists. At the same time, this solidarity represents a specific form of intensifying the struggle against the anti-national and anti-democratic forces, which would like to take Colombia on to the criminal and shameful road of Pinochet, Bordaberry and company.

Abridged from supplement to *Voz Proletaria*, June 4, 1976.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

APPEAL OF 15 COMMUNIST PARTIES OF EUROPEAN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

The Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe, meeting in Strasbourg on July 7, condemned as an intolerable encroachment on freedoms the "interdiction on professions," the victims of which are FRG citizens, first of all Communists, and also trade unionists, Social Democrats, progressives and pacifists.

In all lands of the FRG hundreds of thousands of police inquiries have been conducted, hundreds of interdictions on professions have been enforced, and thousands of dossiers started. This anti-democratic practice has been illegally extended to West Berlin.

At a time when in face of the crisis there is growing striving of the peoples for social progress, broader democratic rights and for peace, big business is encroaching on the fundamental freedoms, in an attempt to hamper this striving. The anti-democratic practices in the FRG create a precedent, a premise for attacking freedoms in other countries of capitalist Europe.

That is why public action against the "Bernfsverbote" is a struggle for individual and collective freedoms everywhere.

The activity of democrats in the FRG and West Berlin, and the broad movement of solidarity with them in our countries have brought the first successes. But we can and must go further.

We feel no enmity against the people of the Federal Republic of Germany. On the contrary, this movement of international solidarity is intended to serve as a support to all democrats in the FRG and West Berlin who oppose the measures that violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Covenant of Human Rights, as well as the Basic Law of the FRG and the Constitution of West Berlin.

The Communist parties, carrying on a struggle for freedom of speech and thought, call on all democrats, irrespective of their political, philosophical or religious beliefs, to unite in action in support of

the democrats of the FRG and West Berlin, and, together with them, demand that the measures envisaging the "interdiction on professions" be repealed, that all laws under which these measures are taken be revoked, and that the rights of the men and women who have been victimized be fully reinstated.

Strasbourg, July 7, 1976.

RESOLUTION OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP

The ICP Leadership, meeting on June 23 and 24, 1976, first of all warmly salutes the voters who so widely reaffirmed, or expressed for the first time, their confidence in the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is the only party which made extraordinary headway, exceeding notable success even in comparison with the exceptional results of the June 15, 1975 elections. It now has 48 deputies and 22 senators more in Parliament. Thus more Italians — working people, women, youth, intellectuals — wished to express their agreement with the political line and proposals of the Party, and to reward it for its work and the entire style of its activity. The advance of the ICP, and the preservation of the positions of the Socialist Party have made for a massive leftward shift in the composition of the new Parliament.

In the framework of the general advance the success of our Party in all the southern regions, especially in Naples and Sardinia, acquires special importance. Thus, the process of democratic unification of the country, in which the Communist Party and other left forces were the determining and leading force in the postwar period both in the north and the south, has entered a new, more progressive phase.

The results of the June 20 parliamentary elections, later augmented by the results of the elections to the Sicilian regional assembly and the administrative councils of Genoa, Rome, Bari, Foggia, Ascoli Piceno and other cities, are even more significant because everything was done to block the progress of the left forces and the Communists. Serious efforts were made, first of all, to organize fierce opposition, to fan unfounded fears and to exploit prejudices. Moreover, there were calls for help and intervention by forces outside the country, as well as a part of the church hierarchy. And finally, the strategy of creating

tensions and provocations, accompanied by growing disorder and bloodshed, was used irresponsibly.

The Christian Democratic Party, assuming diverse roles and proclaiming varied and at times contradictory aims, succeeded in achieving the same results as in 1972, highhandedly shoving aside intermediate political groupings; at the same time many of its representatives followed more and more the line of the right forces. All this did not hinder the further move to the left of a part of the CDP voters, though it is evident that broad sections of the working people in town and country, especially in some regions of the country, still identify themselves with Christian Democracy. In order to retain the positions and meet the people's aspirations for change, some of the Christian Democrats sought to create a new image for their party that would be dissimilar from its old one. It is significant that during the election campaign demands for renewal of the social and political life were heard everywhere and in the most varied forms.

The profound changes in Italian society over a number of years, expressed first of all in the successes of the ICP, require far-reaching changes in the political life and the leadership of the country. Changes are necessary also because the will of the electors had made it impossible even to propose the bankrupt solutions of the former government which have paralyzed political life. The situation in Italy is still full of dangers, especially in the field of the economy and finances. The social and moral crisis is continuing. In this connection, any maneuvering or delay is impermissible.

The ICP Leadership reaffirms that a democratic and reliable way out of the crisis cannot be found unless the problem of participation of the entire working-class and popular movement in the political leadership of the country is solved. The political proposal of the Communist Party, put forward during the election campaign, is based on this prime need. The composition of the Parliament elected on June 20 clearly shows that in solving the country's problems and the question of its political leadership the force of the ICP must be reckoned with on the parliamentary plane as well. The ICP once again declares its readiness to assume the responsibility ensuing from its political influence. Now the Christian Democratic Party must advance serious and credible proposals responding to the needs of the country and corresponding to the situation that has taken shape after the elections and is characterized by such a clear shift to the left. The question of overcoming anti-communist prejudices in all areas, from the activity

of the Parliament to the formation of all its bodies is acquiring major importance.

The ICP Leadership salutes and thanks the numerous influential independent candidates who, while adhering to different ideological and political convictions, fought together with the Communists in this battle of immense importance for the future of Italian democracy. It commends all organizations of the Party and the Communist Youth Federation, which were capable of mobilizing all comrades, women and men in the struggle. It stresses the importance of the increased number of women entering Parliament, elected on the Communist ballot, which is also an expression of the innovatory movement for the emancipation of Italian women.

The big victory of June 20 demands careful study of election results in each settlement and each social section in order to clearly define, along with positive experience, the shortcomings and deficiencies in our work. The growing responsibility of the Communists and the situation in the country call for greater efforts to improve and develop the political, cultural and ideological opportunities of each organization and activist. The campaign in support of the Communist press must become a touchstone of these efforts.

New forces participated in the discussion, in the political struggle, in the organizational and propaganda activity. The main thing now is to demand of these men, women and youths that on joining the Party they assume their share of responsibility for decision and action. Our organizations must be stronger and more varied in order to preserve and expand the daily ties with the growing number of people who vote Communist, with all the citizens.

The ICP Leadership urges all organizations to step up their activity on concrete problems facing the working people, to launch a broad mass political action which would speed up and advance the unity of all democratic, popular and anti-fascist forces.

Leadership of the Italian Communist Party.

Unita, June 25, 1976.

The Italian Communists received congratulations on their big election victory from the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties of many countries. The message of greetings sent by the Communist Party of Soviet Union reads:

Dear Comrades,

We warmly congratulate the Communists, all democrats of Italy on

their big victory in the pre-schedule parliamentary elections on June 20-21. Winning more than one-third of the votes your Party has once again demonstrated that it is a prestigious, influential, powerful force without which the nation's problems cannot be solved.

The success of the Communist Party is a success for all Italian progressives and democrats who fight against reaction and fascism and come out for the renovation of Italy, for profound socio-economic changes in society. It is a success for all left and democratic forces of our continent.

The Soviet Communists rejoice at the successes of your Party and wish you and all democrats of Italy fresh achievements in the noble struggle for the interests of the working people of your country, for the triumph of the ideas of peace, freedom, national independence and social progress.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

SPEECH BY EDWARD GIEREK AT A MEETING WITH WORKERS IN KATOWICE PROVINCE

Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, addressed worker activists of the Katowice Province on July 2. Touching on the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, he defined it as a historic meeting at which the Communists of Europe once again showed that they represent the leading force in the struggle for peace, security and social progress on the continent.

"Our Party will make a contribution to the great work of implementing the ideas of the Berlin Conference, worthy of our people and socialist Poland. The results of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties are a success of all working people of our continent, satisfying each party and all progressive and democratic forces."

Gierek expressed gratitude to the working people of Poland for their support of the political line of the Sixth and Seventh congresses of the Polish United Workers' Party. "I want to thank you," he said further, "for your confidence in me, in the Central Committee and the

Politburo of our Party and the government of the Polish People's Republic.

"Five and a half years ago," he continued, "together with the entire nation we charted a new socio-economic strategy centered on man and his affairs. The prime goal of this strategy is accelerated development of Poland, and improvement of the material and cultural standards of the working people. That is the essence of the political line of the Sixth and Seventh congresses of the PUWP. That aim is served by the entire activity of our government. We rely on the will of millions, forging it into a program carried out by the workers, peasants and intellectuals. Thanks to this we are able to move ahead and achieve successes, winning greater respect and recognition throughout the world. In a short period Poland has become strong, and the Poles began to live better. This is an undeniable fact, which not even our enemies can dispute. We want to, we must, continue along this road. It is the only correct road consistent with the aspirations of our people.

"Along the road," the speaker said, "we shall have to surmount obstacles and resolve many complex problems. One of them is the prices policy. The essence of this problem can be expressed as follows: the active policy of raising wages and incomes which we have implemented over the past five years with good results and with broad public support calls for a more flexible prices policy. We spoke about this clearly and openly at the Seventh Congress. Naturally, it was necessary to discuss how to implement such a prices policy and how to change the price structure, particularly after the considerable period of stable prices on basic foods. This is an important and difficult social problem.

"We decided to put this question before the public." Gierek said, "Though we are all well aware that consultations on price changes is not a simple matter. The government prepared a draft and submitted it to the Sejm and the Sejm sent it to the working people for discussion. From worker collectives," he said, "we received thousands of constructive suggestions, including critical remarks, which will undoubtedly help to solve this difficult problem.

"The boosting of industrial and agricultural production, the raising of labor productivity, organization and discipline, economic efficiency remain our chief concern. We must also show unremitting concern for quality, for elimination of waste in raw and other materials, and for wise and thrifty management. All this is important if we are to ensure the people's well-being, better living standards, the

country's higher position in the world. We must remember that the country's position, its prosperity and well-being do not come of themselves. They can be achieved only through collective wisdom, sustained collective labor, everyday collective discipline. Such are our national aspirations, as consistently expressed by the Polish United Workers' Party," Gierek said.

The First Secretary expressed confidence that these tasks will be successfully accomplished. "We rely first of all on the Polish working class, on its understanding of the nation's interests, its discipline and profound patriotism. We will never swerve from the road charted by the Sixth and Seventh congresses," Gierek stressed in conclusion.

Abridged from *Trybuna Ludu*, July 3, 1976.

SOME IMMEDIATE CONCLUSIONS FROM THE ELECTION RESULTS

Statement of Political Commission, Portuguese Communist Party

1. The Political Commission, having acquainted itself with the results of the presidential elections and anticipating an analysis of the ensuing political situation, intends to make some observations concerning them.

2. General Ramalho Eanes, polling more than 50 per cent of the votes, was elected President of the Republic already in the first round. Now it is a matter of the head of state keeping his word regarding the protection of the Constitution, his publicly declared commitment to recognize and abide by it.

3. The support of his candidature by the right reactionary parties and organizations brought about confusion. On the other hand, the nomination of various candidatures by the military confused the situation even more, and the elections passed in an atmosphere of apprehension, which was the principal cause for the significant shift of votes in all the major parties. We must draw conclusions from this, but the elections should not be seen as a new distribution of votes according to Party affiliation.

4. About a million adherents of the parties which supported the candidature of Ramalho Eanes violated the instructions of the corres-

ponding parties and abstained from voting or voted for other candidates. This happened primarily because the electors from the reactionary parties did not consider him their candidate. It was also due to the obvious inability of the Socialist Party members and voters to reach understanding with the Popular Democrats and the Social Democratic center.

5. In view of the complexity and unclarity of the situation, the Communist Party, with the aim of fulfilling the tasks facing our country and working people, decided to put forward its own candidate.

6. The candidature of Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, despite the concrete conditions in which it was put forward and the support of minor leftist parties, would not have been so successful had it not been for the demagogic propaganda portraying him as a continuer of the April 25 cause and as a possible victor. Many leftist voters supported the military candidate, who using revolutionary phraseology promised them what he did not have and what he obviously could not fulfill.

7. In view of this the Communist Party and other forces upholding its candidate used the short period of the election campaign also for explanatory work among those who harbored hopes of an illusory success. Though in a number of instances the campaign was successful, the fact is that on a countrywide scale hundreds of thousands of Communist voters did not heed the warnings. They supported the illusory candidate and only now realize that this in no way helped the revolutionary process, the defense of important democratic gains, formation of a left government capable of compelling the reactionaries to respect it and of implementing a program in the interests of the working people.

8. Today we see that the Communist Party was right in warning that the candidature of Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho could not be victorious. The Communist Party cautioned that whatever divides the democratic forces and weakens the position of our Party is grist to the mill of reaction. Obviously, there is now a greater danger of a right government than before. The Communist Party warned against the adventurist radicalism, which had already done so much harm to our revolutionary process. And experience shows that this danger is increasing.

9. Understandably, the reactionaries and other anti-communist forces are trying to capitalize on the fact that the Communist candidate polled less votes than in the elections to the National Assembly, "forgetting" about the vast difference between the two campaigns

and the concrete circumstances in which the presidential elections were held.

10. The Political Commission points out to all Communists that the election campaign around the candidature of Octavio Pato was a broad political action needed for dispelling leftist and adventurist illusions. As a result of this campaign the Party has been ideologically strengthened, which is important for its future successes and for the development of our democratic process.

The Political Commission calls on all Communists not to permit aggravation of relations with those who, influenced by false illusions, did not vote for our candidates. Explanatory work and reality itself will once again bring them to our side, along with others who have been enriched by political experience.

The Political Commission warns the membership against succumbing to the subterfuges of the reactionaries and pseudo-revolutionaries designed to undermine confidence in our Party.

11. The Communist Party calls the attention of the working people to the fact that only a stable unity of the left forces can rebuff reaction's intentions to direct the country along the capitalist road and to eliminate democratic freedoms. The recent presidential elections convincingly prove that everything that disunites the democratic forces whether civilian or military, is prejudicial to the democratic process.

The Political Commission calls on the entire membership to strengthen organization, promote ties with the masses, and show daily concern for broad unity of the working masses and all democratic forces — the fundamental directions of the present moment. It equally calls attention to the need for large-scale united action by all working people in the enterprises and trade unions, by the small and medium farmers, all strata of society who do not want a return to April 24, but stand for development of the revolution begun just over two years ago.

12. The key aspect of the present political situation remains the task of forming a left majority in Parliament and a left government. This possibility continues to exist. To translate it into reality, joint efforts are needed by the Communist and Socialist parties, which together have a majority in the National Assembly. The results of the presidential elections emphasize the importance of reaching agreement between the two parties.

The Political Commission is confident of the Party's future and expresses the hope for consolidation of the positions of the left forces,

which will lead the democratic process to a renewal of Portugal, on its way toward socialism.

Political Commission,
Portuguese Communist Party.
Avante! July 1, 1976.

HIGH ASSESSMENT OF THE COMMUNIST FORUM

The leading bodies of the fraternal parties which took part in the Berlin conference highly assessed this forum of the European Communists, stressing its great importance for the struggle for peace, security, cooperation and social progress. Below we print the decision adopted by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

ON THE RESULTS OF THE BERLIN CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF EUROPE

Having considered the report of the CPSU delegation, led by the General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev, on the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, held in Berlin on June 29-30, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee fully approves the delegation's work and believes that the holding and the results of the Conference are an important contribution to the struggle for a Europe of peace, security, cooperation and social progress.

The document, unanimously adopted by the Conference, is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and contains joint appraisals and conclusions of the Communist and Workers' Parties on a number of topical problems of tremendous importance for the peoples of Europe and the whole world. The working class, the broad masses, the peoples of Europe have been given an orientation which will contribute toward their intensified struggle for an end to the arms race, the strengthening of détente, and for their vital interests.

The achievement of the goals set out by the Conference requires concerted actions by Communist and Workers' Parties, all progressive democratic forces in Europe. The Communist Party of the Soviet

Union will vigorously and persistently struggle for the attainment of these goals.

The Conference was held in an international situation in which the principle of peaceful coexistence has become the leading trend in the relations among states. At the same time the Conference took account of the fact that various enemies of détente have become more active, that the arms race is continuing and even intensifying in a number of capitalist states, and that hotbeds of military danger exist.

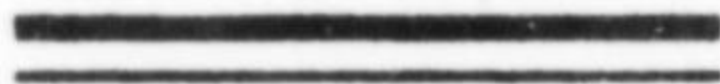
The Conference has clearly identified the main revolutionary forces — the socialist states, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement — capable, together with all the democratic peace-loving forces, of overcoming the resistance of the reactionaries and of warding off a new world war.

The Conference has demonstrated the inseparable link between the struggle for peace and the struggle for social progress, the common determination of the parties participating in the Conference to uphold the cause of democracy and socialism, with due account of the situation and national traditions in various countries and the general laws of social development.

Of immense importance are the propositions of the document adopted by the Conference concerning the need "to isolate and defeat anti-communism," and the struggle against the forces which unleash campaigns against the Communist Parties, socialist countries, starting with the Soviet Union, against the forces of socialism and progress.

The Communists of Europe have stressed that they reject any policy or world outlook that boils down to a subjugation of the working class to the capitalist system and that the Communist Parties will develop international cooperation and solidarity on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The Conference has become a factor for strengthening the interaction of the fraternal parties on the European continent, the development of internationalist cooperation among the fraternal parties on the basis of generally accepted norms of relations.

The Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee expresses confidence that the Soviet people, by their creative labor in building a communist society, will continue to make their contribution to the general internationalist cause of the communist movement, all the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces the cause of their struggle for peace, security of nations, democracy and socialism.



SOCIALISM: HISTORIC ROAD OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

*Report by Le Duan, First Secretary of the WPPV,
at the first session of the National Assembly
of unified Vietnam*

The new stage in the history of Vietnam, Le Duan emphasized, is a stage of socialist revolution on the territory of the entire country. The Third Congress of the Working people's Party of Vietnam, held in 1960, elaborated the strategy of socialist development in the North. The concrete objectives for this were defined at plenary meetings of the WPPV Central Committee.

The Party holds that after the complete liberation of the South the following factors determine the situation in the country. Vietnam has achieved peace, independence and unity. It is developing under the guidance of the Working People's Party, in conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a stable alliance of the working class and the peasantry — the basis of the joint National Front and revolutionary power of the people. The transition from small-commodity production to large-scale socialist production, bypassing the capitalist stage, is now under way on a countrywide scale.

Vietnam is forging ahead along the road to socialism in conditions when its international position is being consolidated, the revolution in Laos and Cambodia has triumphed, the socialist world system is gaining in strength and developing, and the forces of national independence, democracy and peace are growing stronger.

The present session, he said, is an historic act which concludes the reunification of the country on the state level. It is an event of exceptional importance in the political life of Vietnam.

Le Duan noted that the victory of the Vietnamese people in the war of resistance against the USA and for national salvation meant the defeat of imperialism's biggest counter-offensive against the revolutionary movement since World War II. It was a blow at the global aggressive strategy of U.S. imperialism. This victory weakened the imperialist forces, enhanced the might and promoted the forward movement of the three revolutionary streams of our epoch; it was a source of powerful inspiration for the hundreds of millions who are fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Our victory, Le Duan said, is also the result of the militant unity of

three countries of Indochina, which grew strong in the crucible of the battles against the common enemy.

We use the occasion to express our profound gratitude to the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, which provided immense and valuable aid in our struggle and are now helping us in healing the wounds inflicted by the war, and in building socialism. We sincerely thank all our friends on the five continents for their assistance and support in the just struggle of our people.

Further Le Duan remarked that as a result of the complete and final victory in the struggle against the USA and for national salvation, the Vietnamese revolution has entered a new stage — the stage of implementing the socialist revolution on the scale of the entire country.

Socialism is the historically necessary path of the Vietnamese revolution. This path accords with the laws of development of human society in the present epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. In our time, when socialism is the sole way of solving all the problems that stand in the way of humanity's advance to progress, national independence and socialism are inseparable and closely interrelated.

Le Duan emphasized that only socialism will give the working people of Vietnam the right to be master in their country. Only under socialism can Vietnam have a modern economy, culture and advanced science, powerful defenses, and attain everlasting independence and a happy life. Only under socialism, he said, will our homeland have the opportunity to become fully united in the cultural, social and economic fields.

In his report Le Duan noted that after the liberation of South Vietnam the WPPV Central Committee, drawing on the experience of socialist revolution in North Vietnam and proceeding from the new situation in the country, charted a common revolutionary course for the whole country and set concrete objectives for the North and South at the new stage of the Vietnamese revolution.

The speaker noted that now Vietnam is living in conditions of peace and independence. Under the guidance of the Working People's Party, the Vietnamese people are following the time-tested policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of firm alliance of workers and peasants on the basis of a national united front and a popular revolutionary administration.

Our country, Le Duan continued, is moving toward socialism in a favorable climate. The revolutions in Laos and Cambodia have triumphed. The world socialist system and the forces of national

independence, democracy and peace are developing apace, and the three revolutionary streams are being consolidated. On the international arena, the prestige and political role of Vietnam is growing.

The strategic objective of the Vietnamese revolution, Le Duan stressed, is the reunification of the country, and its rapid, confident and steadfast advance to socialism.

Le Duan noted that the central task of the period of transition to socialism is socialist industrialization, which will bring the economy of the country to large-scale socialist production.

Speaking of the directions of building the socialist economy, the First Secretary stressed the need to give priority to branches producing the means of production, as well as the need for planning, the chief lever of managing the economy.

We must, Le Duan pointed out, complete in the main the building of the material and technical base of socialism within the next 15 to 20 years.

To implement the charted economic course, he said further, we must continue improving socialist production relations in North Vietnam and actively transform production relations in the South, bringing them closer together on a socialist basis. To this end we must direct all our efforts at promoting the state sector, the cooperative farms, at establishing cooperation between the state sector of the economy and the cooperatives, at organizing the management of private and handicrafts production. In South Vietnam, along with the elimination of the compradore bourgeoisie and the elements of the feudal-landlord class, we must resolutely weed out and punish those who monopolize the market, exploiting the temporary difficulties for their own enrichment.

Le Duan called for an all-out effort to create, develop and strengthen a large-scale state sector in industry, agriculture, building, transport and trade, for the socialist reconstruction of the capitalist sector by setting up mixed enterprises, and by establishing leadership of the socialist state over private production which will honestly serve the people. It is also necessary to transform small private farming into large-scale socialist agriculture by establishing cooperatives in the villages, which will be accompanied by irrigation and mechanization.

The tasks of the state and the people in the foreign policy sphere at the new stage, Le Duan said, consist in maximum use of the extremely favorable international climate for rapidly healing the wounds inflicted by the war and for the rehabilitation and development of the economy, culture and science, to strengthen the country's defense

and build the material and technical foundations of socialism.

We will march shoulder to shoulder with the socialist nations who are waging a tireless struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, Le Duan declared. We will actively support the struggle of the peoples against the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist forces headed by U.S. imperialism. At the same time we will help to promote the military unity and relations of cooperation between all revolutionary forces. We will make our contribution to promoting the solidarity of the socialist countries with the world communist movement, cementing the anti-imperialist front of all the peoples.

Speaking of reunified Vietnam's relations with its neighbors, Le Duan emphasized the resolve of the Vietnamese people to continue promoting the militant solidarity and mutual confidence and developing lasting cooperation and mutual aid with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia. We uphold the just struggle of the peoples of Southeast Asia for national independence, democracy and social progress. We are ready to uphold the affirmation of countries in this region as truly independent, peace-loving and neutral states without imperialist bases or troops on their territories. We are ready, he said, to establish and develop relations of friendship and cooperation with the countries of Southeast Asia on the basis of respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

Reunified Vietnam will fully support the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, will come out against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, in the name of independence, democracy and social progress, the speaker noted. The Vietnamese people will uphold the just cause of the working class and working people of the capitalist countries.

Reunified Vietnam, Le Duan stressed, wants to establish relations with all countries irrespective of their social system, on the basis of respect for independence, equality and mutual benefit. The Vietnamese people, together with the fraternal countries and all progressives, will carry on a struggle against the aggressive policy of the imperialists, headed by U.S. imperialism, and will actively contribute to the cause of strengthening peace and security in Southeast Asia and throughout the world, the First Secretary added.

The deputies of the National Assembly expressed their approval of the propositions contained in Le Duan's report by a standing ovation.

Abridged from *Pravda*, June 26, 1976.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

ANGOLA: PAST AND PRESENT

THE GRIM HERITAGE OF COLONIALISM

Five hundred years of Portuguese colonial rule left a grim heritage to the Angolan people, which was further aggravated by the imperialist military intervention.

Although Angola was Portugal's biggest and richest colony, it remained economically undeveloped. Mining and the rudimentary consumer goods industry were completely in the hands of foreign capitalists and oriented primarily on export.

Eighty-five per cent of the population lives in the rural areas, without electricity, running water and plumbing. In agriculture, besides capitalist relations, feudal and even pre-feudal production relations still exist. Although up to 1973-74 the annual increase in the gross national product averaged 10 per cent — that is, a little higher than in other African countries — and per capita income was \$333 in 1973, the condition of the masses was extremely hard. As a result of the military operations, some branches of the economy which the republic had inherited from colonial rule have virtually collapsed.

Under the influence of imperialist propaganda a mass exodus of the Portuguese inhabitants began before November 11, 1975. As a result, Angola now lacks 85 per cent of the skilled workers, specialists and technicians it needs. This unfavorably affects, first of all, the industrial enterprises, transport, administrative bodies, the services and agriculture. In the port of Luanda, for instance, only one pilot remained. Formerly, more than 100 fishing boats put out to sea daily, but now there are only 15, with 13 of them damaged during a recent storm.

The adverse effect of the colonial heritage is felt even more in the health service. In a country with a population of six million, there are only 40 doctors (even earlier there were only 450), most of whom carry on their practice in Luanda. There are very few nurses and a shortage of hospitals and medical supplies. Child mortality is espe-

cially high in the hinterland (the average for the country is 40 out of 1,000). Average life expectancy in Angola is 40 years.

More than 80 per cent of the population is illiterate. Despite the efforts of the people's councils in towns and settlements, the majority of school-age children still do not attend classes. There is a shortage of teachers, schools and textbooks.

The most acute problem in Angola is the shortage of food. In a country with favorable climatic conditions, millions of people do not know the taste of milk, butter, meat or bread. The capital, which even formerly was supplied with only 50,000 litres of milk a day, now gets about one-hundredth of that amount. In Luanda, people line up for hours for bread, rice and sugar.

Dieter Coburger

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN THE ANGOLAN ECONOMY

"Angola possesses the entire range of the known minerals." Though this statement of the journal *African Development* is probably exaggerated, Angola nevertheless is considered one of the richest countries in mineral resources in Africa. But to whom did this wealth belong? Up till now, the country's economy had been dominated by foreign monopolies which resorted to every means to maintain and expand these sources of profit.

A recent law on nationalization adopted by the Revolutionary Council establishes that in future the national economy will consist of three sectors: state economic amalgamations, cooperatives and private enterprises.

Up to the late 50s non-Portuguese capital played a very minor role in Angola's economy. The Salazar government sought to give the leading Portuguese economic interests a monopoly over the country's natural wealth and to maintain the colony as a market for Portuguese manufactured goods which could not compete on the world market.

Soon after the liberation struggle began in 1961, Portugal, in view of its political and economic weakness, sought to encourage foreign capital investments in this colony. The attempt to maintain its domination primarily by military means (which is also evidence of its weakness), increased the regime's dependence on the political, military, material and financial support of the NATO member-countries and the racist South African regime.

The military and political aid provided by the major imperialist states during the colonial war was directly connected with the increasing monopoly penetration of the country's economy. This is

most clearly seen in the stand taken by the FRG. A few months after the Angolan people had launched their armed liberation struggle, the FRG extended to Portugal credits to the sum of 150 million West German marks and dispatched 10,000 submachine guns. In return, the Krupp company (despite Japanese competition) was given access to the richest iron ore deposits in Africa (with reserves running up to two billion tons and a concentration of 60-65 per cent).

Most of the country's ore comes from the Cassinga mines belonging to the Companhia Mineira do Lobito. Besides the Krupp-Konzern, this company involves French, British, South African and United States' monopoly capital.

U.S. monopolies hold the biggest interests in Angola. Under the 1962 U.S.-Portuguese treaty, the Portuguese government undertook to promote in the interests of the USA the "production and transport of raw materials and semi-finished products from Portugal and the colonies." The U.S. oil monopolies were granted more favorable terms than their competitors on the basis of concessions concluded with Portugal. In contrast to many other monopolies, they usually operate without foreign partners.

U.S. capital is represented in all branches of the mining and processing industry. A leading role was played by the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, which operated the promising oil deposits in Cabinda with reserves of 600 million tons, according to the company's data. But these reserves are apparently much larger. This U.S. company up till now owned all the oil wells in Cabinda. By 1973 it had invested 333 million dollars there, and two years later its profits were double the sum of its investments.

In 1974 Angola accounted for about eight per cent of world diamond extraction. The deposits in the Kwango River valley are especially rich, most of which (208) are owned by the Diamang Company (South Africa, USA, Belgium and Britain). Forty per cent of the shares of this group belong to the De-Beer-Konzern, owned by the South African multimillionaire Harry Oppenheimer. The company has its own roads, energy and water supplies, schools and shops, as well as its own police equipped with modern weapons. The U.S. Morgan Bank and the Société Générale de Belgique also derive huge profits from the mining of Angolan diamonds.

Angola produces five per cent of the world's coffee and holds third place in its exports. About one-sixth of the coffee is supplied by farmers, and 85 per cent by three companies owning vast tracts of land: Companhia Angolana de Agricultura, Companhia Agricola de

Angola and Companhia Africa de Cazengo. All three are controlled by the Rallet et Compagnie Bank (France). Angolan coffee is exported through the South African Inex-Cafe company.

Up to 1974 Angola had a favorable foreign trade balance. This was due to the fact that foreign monopolies used the wealth they extracted not for developing the country's economy but took it out of the country, making a huge profit. They concentrated mainly on oil, coffee, diamonds and iron ore.

Dieter Volk

PEACEFUL DAYS IN LUANDA

This is one of the most beautiful cities on the Atlantic coast of Africa. And it may be that tens of thousands of its inhabitants, who until recently had been considered only as servants, are for the first time seeing their city in all its magnificence.

The main thing now, as President Agostinho Neto recently stressed, is to ensure food supplies for the population, and the efficient working of industrial enterprises and offices. I met with members of district people's commissions of Luanda. They all had inflamed eyes from a chronic lack of sleep. At the front there was not much time to sleep and so it goes on in times of peace. Misled by reactionary propaganda, hundreds of thousands of Portuguese left Angola. The country lost many specialists. Farmers abandoned their land, merchants closed their shops and officials left their offices. It was the job of activists of the ruling MPLA organization to avert ruin and chaos. And they are coping with this task. Though there are still long queues at the food shops, supplies are coming in quite regularly. There are crowds at bus stops, but in the end they all reach their destination because buses are again running. In place of the former calls to armed resistance, the posters now stress work and discipline.

Eduardo Gomes, political commissar of the People's Army of Angola, is responsible for the administration of the city. He is not yet 30, but has spent 15 years in guerrilla detachments. Now Gomes has to tackle affairs that have nothing to do with his former activities: to find an engineer for a factory, a dispatcher for the airport, ensure the delivery of food to a hospital. To solve the city's vital problems it is necessary to rely on the masses. But the masses still have to be educated and drawn into the affairs of the popular government.

"We began laying the foundations of people's power while the war was still going on," Gomes told me. "Now they have to be expanded. Elections to the Luanda city and district councils will be held in June.

We defended Angola against the enemies, now we are going to build it up."

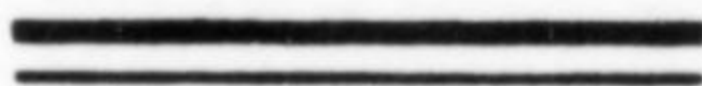
The first bricks of this vast construction are now being laid. Luanda is a city of tall buildings, sumptuous villas and cosy private houses. But it is also a city of slums in the suburbs where the indigenous Angolans live. The working people of Luanda are certain that the people's power will show concern for their well-being. Today there is a new atmosphere among the inhabitants. Everywhere one can hear the formerly unfamiliar address — *Camarada!* It rings out with a sense of satisfaction and pride, sounding like a password.

This year in the first May Day demonstration in the country's history thousands of demonstrators passed through the city's main square, which was decorated with huge portraits of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

At every opportunity people seek to express their gratitude for the fraternal aid which embattled Angola received from the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries. They are also extending fraternal aid to the young republic in launching peaceful construction. The Soviet steamship *Paide* is now standing at the moorings of Luanda port. It has brought canned fish to Angola and will take away Angolan coffee bought here. This is the first commercial transaction between our countries.

In the evenings the city is brightly lit up. And the ships arriving at Luanda harbor cheerfully salute the city with a blast of their whistles, while respectfully raising the flag of the new republic.

L. Pochivalov
Luanda, May 1976.



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