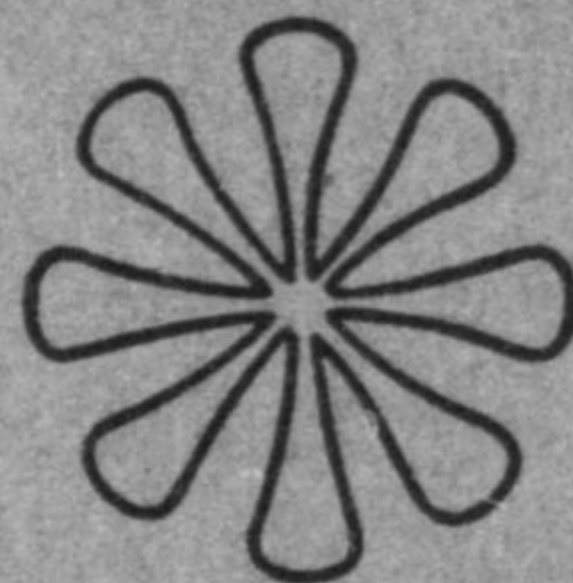


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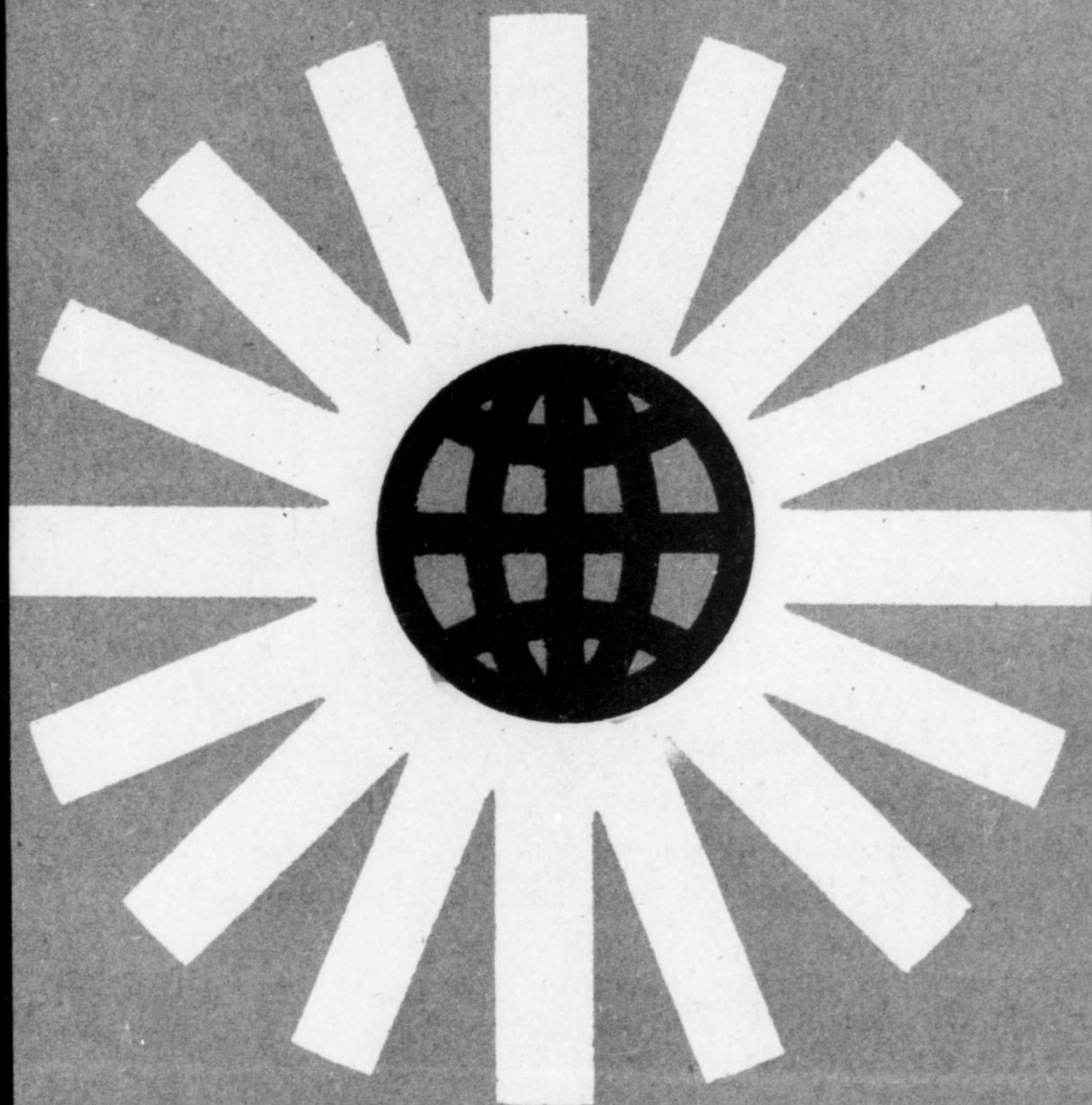


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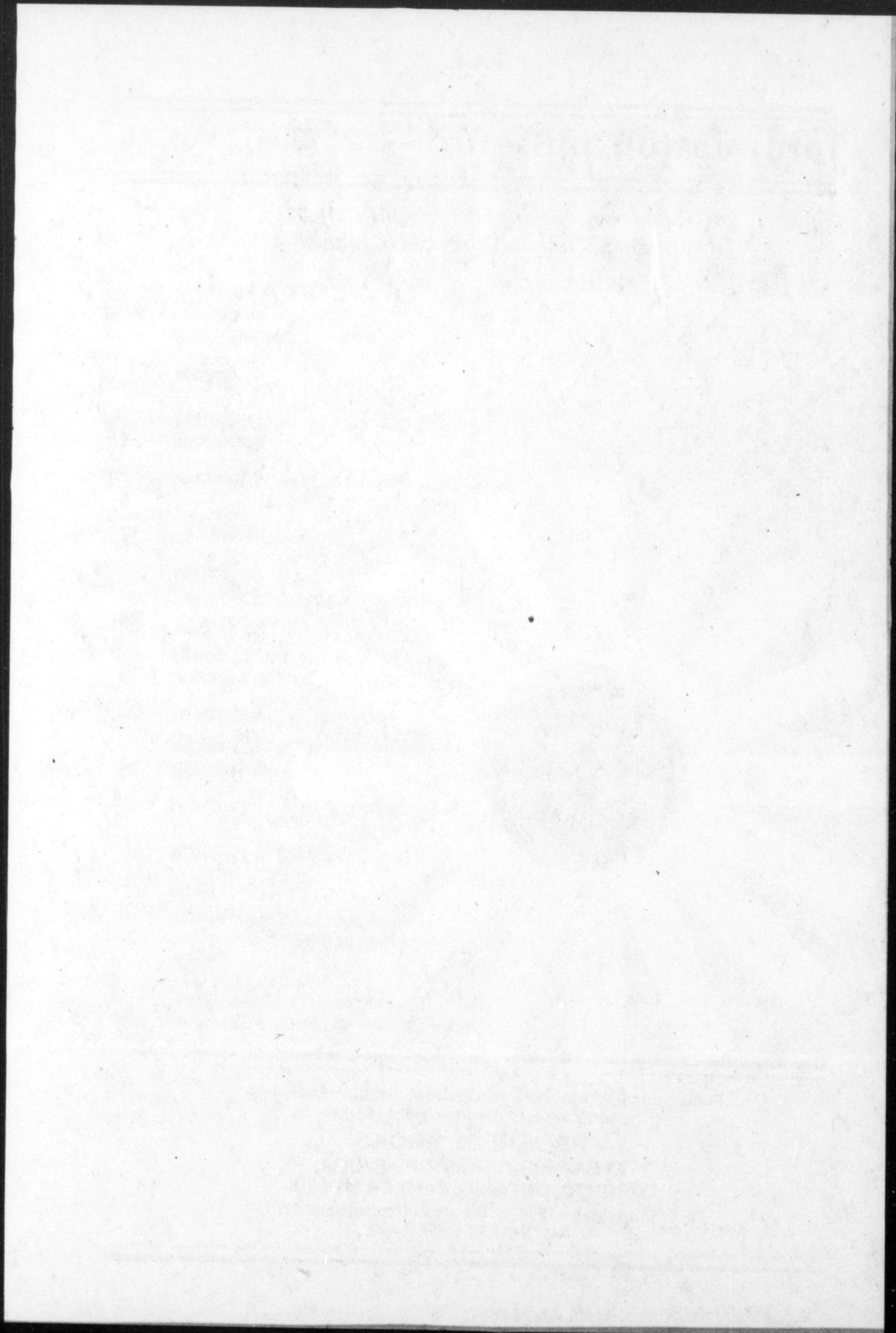
**CP OF GREAT
BRITAIN CONGRESS**

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**POPULAR UNITY
MESSAGE TO
CHILEAN PEOPLE**

2

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FIRST CONGRESS OF THE POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

The First Congress of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was held in Luanda over December 4 to 10. Of the 250 delegates, representing all 16 provinces of the country, 41 per cent had taken part in the armed struggle for liberation, 20 per cent had worked underground and 30 per cent had been incarcerated in jails and concentration camps.

Also present at the Congress were foreign guests — representatives of a number of communist and workers' parties, including a CPSU delegation led by Andrei Kirilenko, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU.

The opening speech was made by Lucio Lara, permanent secretary of the CC MPLA Political Bureau. He expressed deep gratitude to the CPSU, the Communist Party of Cuba, all socialist community countries, progressive forces in Africa and to world democratic opinion for their solidarity with the struggle of the Angolan people.

Antonio Agostinho Neto, Chairman of the MPLA and President of the People's Republic of Angola, delivered the report (published below).

Messages of greetings to the congress delegates were delivered by the head of the CPSU delegation Andrei Kirilenko (published below), Raul Castro, Second Secretary of the CC CP of Cuba, Luiz Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the CC Brazilian Communist Party, Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CC CP Uruguay, Manuel dos Santos, member of the FRELIMO Central Committee, Dein Ninya, representative of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and others.

The delegates adopted a resolution on transforming the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola into the MPLA — Party of Labor, which in its activity will be guided by the principles of

Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism, and sets itself the aim of building a new society, free from the exploitation of man by man. The congress unanimously adopted the Program and Constitution of the party and elected its leading bodies. Antonio Agostinho Neto was elected Chairman of the MPLA — Party of Labor.

The congress adopted a resolution on the guidelines of socio-economic development of the People's Republic of Angola in 1978-1980. It stresses the need to strengthen the state sector in industry, form production cooperatives in the rural areas, raise labor productivity and improve the working people's well-being.

REPORT BY MPLA CHAIRMAN AGOSTINHO NETO

Almost 21 years have passed since the formation of the MPLA and 16 years since the start of the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism, Agostinho Neto said, before the historic possibility was opened up for holding the congress of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. The peoples of the socialist countries, progressive African countries, as well as the progressive forces of all continents helped Angola in winning its freedom and independence, the speaker said.

He emphasized in particular the importance of the third plenum of the MPLA Central Committee (October 1976), an event of momentous significance. The plenum drew up guidelines for the development of the republic and the MPLA, declaring the building of socialism as its primary aim.

The MPLA, which provided the leadership during the successful struggle for national liberation and at the initial stage of creating the material basis for socialist construction, fulfilled its historic mission as a popular movement fighting for national liberation.

The building of popular democracy and socialism require qualitative changes on the political, ideological and organizational plane, Agostinho Neto said. We need a forward-looking organization capable of effectively fulfilling its role in governing society.

A vanguard party of the working class, set up in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles to lead the revolutionary classes, will be such an organization. It will unite in a firm alliance the workers, peasants, revolutionary intelligentsia and working people in general who are loyal to the cause of the proletariat.

Using the experience of struggle for national liberation, experience of revolutionary struggle of other peoples, guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the party will become the leading force of the Angolan state and society. Under its leadership popular-democratic power will be established and strengthened in all spheres, the ideological unity of the working class will be enhanced and revolutionary changes in production relations will be carried out.

Aware of the fact that the struggle of the Angolan people is part of the general struggle of the peoples to eliminate the system of exploitation and to build a more just society, the MPLA will steadfastly uphold and implement the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The Congress, the speaker noted, will adopt the program and constitution of the party. The program will define the objectives the party will have to resolve at the stage of the popular-democratic revolution, which will provide the conditions for the transition to the stage of socialist transformations. The working class, in alliance with the peasantry and revolutionary intelligentsia will implement at that stage a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship aimed against the internal and external reaction, while creating conditions for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat at the stage of socialist construction.

Marxism-Leninism, Agostinho Neto continued, teaches, and experience shows that the basic and decisive question of a revolution is the question of state power. The working class and its allies need political power and a state, which must be strengthened to break down the resistance of the exploiter classes and to put an end to all attempts to restore the former regime, in order to defend the revolution, arms in hand if necessary, to direct and organize socialist construction and mobilize the working masses to this end.

The working class realizes its political power through the party. It is the guiding and organizing force, it is the core of power. There can be neither political power of the working class, nor a socialist state without the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party. The party is the leading force of the revolution, and a state apparatus is the chief instrument in the hands of the working class in realizing, under the party's leadership, political supremacy and popular power.

The formation of the party is a decisive factor in expanding and strengthening popular power, since without the party popular power could not exist. This power should be implemented on the basis of party decisions.

Revolutionary power, the speaker said, cannot be established and

preserved without the means for its defense. The MPLA was born in the struggle against the colonialists and for the defense of the population. It persistently improved the organization of its armed forces.

The Angolan People's Republic's concern for the organization of its defence is fully justified. The covert aggression against our country began in April 1974 and in 1975 the South African Republic openly invaded our territory. This we must not forget.

We must not underestimate the fact that Angola borders on a number of countries whose ruling regimes nurture expansionist designs and bow to imperialist diktat. Provocations are continuing from Zaire and South Africa, conducted both directly by these countries and by bands of internal counter-revolutionaries.

Imperialism sees Angola as an obstacle in realizing its ambitions for supremacy in Africa. The People's Republic of Angola must uphold its independence by every means.

Defense of the socialist state is an objective necessity. The system of united popular defense, which must become a priority matter for the entire society, the mobilization of all material and human resources for the needs of defense fully respond to the genuine interests of our people.

Shortly after the declaration of independence, the MPLA chairman continued, the PRA government appealed to friendly countries for aid to withstand the joint onslaught of the imperialists and their agents. It was at this stage, Neto emphasized, that the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba extended Angola substantial aid in defending its revolutionary gains. With the help of its allies, Angola stood firm and emerged victorious.

Cuba sent not only equipment but military experts, without whom we could not have used it in view of the insufficient training of our servicemen. Some Cuban military experts gave their lives for the Angolan revolution.

The speaker dealt in detail with the aid fraternal Cuba extended to independent Angola in the liquidation of the consequences of colonialism.

Then Agostinho Neto went on to say: the Soviet Union — the homeland of Lenin — has always supported the struggle of the Angolan people and the MPLA. The Soviet Union has always been, is and will remain the most reliable bastion of the people's struggle for liberation, for economic and social progress.

In the foreign policy section of his report, Agostinho Neto set forth the party's foreign policy principles.

The People's Republic of Angola will maintain diplomatic relations with all countries on the principles of mutual respect, national sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and peaceful co-existence between states with differing social systems.

The PRA will pursue a policy of non-alignment, rejection of international commitments signed in Angola's name by the colonial Portuguese government and will not permit installation of foreign bases on its territory. It will strengthen friendship and cooperation with the socialist community and the anti-imperialist forces of all continents, consolidate the fighting solidarity with the oppressed peoples, with the national-liberation movements and will support their armed struggles for their rights. The party will strengthen its solidarity with the struggle of the world's working people on the principles of proletarian internationalism; it will support the actions of the socialist countries, democratic and progressive forces in implementing détente and general disarmament.

The revolutionary process developing now is of historic importance. It is the stage of the general transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The extensive celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution throughout the world once again demonstrated its enormous revolutionizing influence in the struggle for peace, freedom, social progress and human dignity. The world relation of forces is increasingly changing in favor of the forces of socialism. Its ideas are winning new positions also on the African continent. The young People's Republic of Angola, led by the MPLA, is among the African countries which opted for socialism.

This option determines our special relations with the socialist states, our natural allies. V.I. Lenin repeatedly stressed the interconnection between the struggle of the proletariat of the developed states with the struggle for national liberation. The alliance with the states of the socialist community is of decisive importance for the victory and successes of our struggle. This is an undeniable and objective requirement.

The chief force of the community of socialist states, the MPLA Chairman declared to the loud applause of the delegates, is the Soviet Union. It is the Russian workers and peasants, led by the party of Lenin, who were the first to carry out a victorious socialist revolution in world history. It can be definitely said that the Soviet Union is the main bulwark in humanity's struggle for peace, democracy and social

progress. Undeniably, without an alliance with the socialist states, countries that have just won independence would be unable to effectively rebuff the political, economic and military pressure of the imperialist powers. Seeking to regain lost positions, the imperialist forces are doing everything in their power to weaken the alliance between the socialist camp and the national-liberation movements.

The PRA's strengthening friendship and all-round deepening of ties with the socialist community states, Agostinho Neto said, does not run counter to its foreign policy, which is based on non-alignment.

The MPLA Chairman then declared the Angolan people's solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and other national-liberation movements against colonialism, racism and apartheid.

Developments, the speaker continued, invariably confirm that only scientific socialism is capable of providing the correct answer to complex problems of our time, and to resolve them in the interests of the peoples and human progress. There is no African or European socialism, socialism for the developed and for the developing countries, Neto went on to say. There is only one scientific socialism, which has become a reality in a large part of the globe. All other so-called models of socialism have proven their total inviability, their inability to free the popular masses from exploitation and oppression. We intend to translate into life the brilliant teaching of Marxism-Leninism, proceeding from the concrete conditions of class struggle in Angola.

This country, which we freed from colonialism, the speaker continued, was distinguished by poorly developed productive forces, uneven development of various branches of the economy and of its regions.

Immediately after independence the MPLA and PRA government set out to improve the socio-economic situation and the people's living conditions.

Now the nationalized enterprises are being turned into state economic units. They act on the principles of cost-accounting. They are being run by the working people themselves.

Expansion of the state sector, and the setting up of agricultural cooperatives is the practical embodiment of the emerging new production relations, destined to form the basis of economic and social development in the period of transition to socialism.

Creation of a Marxist-Leninist party will enable conscious implementation of socio-economic transformations on the basis of plan-

ned national development. The Central Committee considers it essential to draw up and adopt "The Main Guidelines for Socio-Economic Development of the People's Republic of Angola in 1978-1980." They will indicate the primary aims and the ways of achieving them. They are the directives of the party in the socio-economic development of the country.

The speaker pointed to the need to strengthen and expand the socialist sector and first of all the state sector, the leading sector of the national economy and the material basis for carrying out the revolutionary political and economic transformations. We, said Agostinho Neto, intend to continue the policy of nationalization, setting up state enterprises and cooperatives, and to see that they operate with maximum efficiency. The state sector should become a stable and basic source of the country's revenue. That is our primary objective.

Restoration of production with the aim of achieving the 1973 level, in the speaker's words, is the second primary objective.

In this period special attention should be paid to training of national personnel capable of realizing the party's political line in the sphere of economic development.

It is essential also to launch a broad cooperative movement in the rural areas, and to set up agricultural production cooperatives parallel with the state farms.

As defined by our Central Committee, the speaker remarked, agriculture is the basic, and industry the decisive factor of socio-economic development at the popular-democratic stage of the revolution.

The motive force of social development, the sole source of progress, the MPLA Chairman declared, is labor. The MPLA is intent on building a society in which labor will be the right and duty of all citizens, and will become a matter of honor rather than a source of existence for each citizen. In the period of transition to socialism the party and state are faced with the task of extolling labor and of stringently fulfilling the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

A fundamental objective is to constantly raise the revolutionary consciousness of the working people, and to educate them in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist principles, Agostinho Neto stressed. The report of the MPLA Central Committee sums up Angolan people's long struggle under the leadership of their vanguard. It is the history of international relations of our party, it is the guide to action for the years ahead in our forward movement to socialism.

The decisions which our congress will adopt will be of immense importance for the country and will have an impact on the situation in Africa and the world over.

Enriched by experience, true to our history, guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, we will proudly march along the road leading us to a wonderful future.

SPEECH BY ANDREI KIRILENKO

Dear Comrade Agostinho Neto,
Esteemed delegates to the congress,
Comrades and friends,

We express our sincere gratitude for the invitation of a delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to your congress and convey to you and to all the patriots fighting for Angola's better future fraternal greetings from the Central Committee of our Leninist Party, from the Soviet communists and from the whole Soviet people. On the day of our departure from Moscow, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade Leonid Brezhnev asked us to convey to the congress delegates, to all the members of the MPLA and to the working people of all the People's Republic of Angola his heartfelt greetings and best wishes for new successes and your country's prosperity.

Your congress is a major political event in the formation of a new Angola, an Angola which has thrown off the colonial yoke for good, an Angola which has chosen the path of freedom, people's democracy and socialism.

Your road to this day has been long and hard. We in the Soviet Union well remember the arduous but heroic time when a small group of patriotic-minded revolutionaries, led by Comrade Agostinho Neto, a courageous son of the Angolan people, raised the banner of struggle to overthrow the colonial regime and to set up an independent, united and democratic Angola. The MPLA founders' impassioned call met with a whole-hearted response among the people and the flames of liberation struggle swept across the country.

Many heroes have given their life for freedom, for the triumph of your just cause. The MPLA and the whole Angolan people have written a fine chapter into the history of Africa's liberation, into the history of the worldwide struggle for national freedom and social progress.

The selfless struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, the democratic forces of Portugal, and the movement of international solidarity with the fighters against racism, fascism and colonialism led to the collapse of the Portuguese empire, the last colonial empire. The triumph of your just cause, following the victory of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea (Cambodia), has shown once again that the imperialists' attempts to hold former colonies in subordination, be it in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are doomed to fail.

The whole of progressive mankind wholeheartedly welcomed the birth of the People's Republic of Angola. The fact that representatives of socialist countries, and of the world communist, working-class and national-democratic movement are present at your congress clearly shows that the Angolan revolution enjoys broad sympathy and the solidarity of all the anti-imperialist forces.

We heard with great interest the Report given by MPLA Chairman and President of the Republic Comrade Agostinho Neto. This outstanding political document, which has the character of a program, sums up the impressive results of the MPLA's activity and gives a thorough analysis of the problems in the country's further development. Their solution is to ensure the consolidation of the people's power, the rehabilitation and growth of the national economy, the transformation of socio-political relations in the interests of the working people, and improvement of their living conditions.

We are happy that the people of Angola have won the possibility of channeling their revolutionary energies into constructive tasks. To consolidate the young Republic and its capability of defending itself, to strengthen the country's armed forces, to overcome the postwar dislocation and the hard legacy of colonialism, and to create the prerequisites for building a society free from exploitation of man by man, those are the tasks which the MPLA justly, in our opinion, regards as the substance of the present stage of the Angolan revolution.

The main frontline in the struggle for the new Angola is now shifting to the factories, plants and mines, the peasants' fields, the lumber camps and construction sites, the schools and personnel training centers. It is no longer so much the roar of battle as the peaceful symphony of construction that now becomes the music of the revolution. What the MPLA CC Report to the congress said about arranging rational and thrifty economic activity, utmost boosting of labor productivity, stringent control and accounting in production and distri-

bution, all these seemingly routine everyday tasks are now the crucial factor in consolidating the military and political victories. That is the orientation of the congress's three-year plan for developing the national economy.

The practical solution of these new tasks is now of vital importance for the future not only of the Angolan people. Your every success is a success for the progressive forces of Africa. Your every success is a contribution to the strengthening of the cause of peace and social progress.

The new Angola has many friends on whose support it can confidently rely, but it also has its enemies, internal and external, who seek to prevent the Angolan people from advancing along its chosen way. Consequently, the situation itself dictates the need unswervingly to enhance political vigilance, strengthen the people's unity and build up its capability to stand up for the country's freedom and independence.

Comrades, the attention of your congress is centered on the question of transforming the MPLA into a vanguard party, armed with the theory of scientific socialism. The founding and strengthening of such a party is undoubtedly the key element in the whole complex of problems in fortifying the new power and the country's development along the path of socialist orientation.

On the evidence of the socialist countries' experience, one is convinced that only a party based on Leninist principles is capable of giving correct expression to the interests of the working people and determining the way for realizing these, and of ensuring a high level of political consciousness and organization among the masses. Only a party which has realized Lenin's idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, a party uniting in its ranks the forward-looking representatives of the workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and all the other working people, only such a party can rouse the masses to the revolutionary transformation of society and a selfless labor effort for the sake of a happy future. This experience also shows how important it is to safeguard and strengthen the unity of the party ranks and to give resolute rebuffs to factionalists and splitters.

We think that your activity in transforming the MPLA into a revolutionary party guided by the ideology of the working class will evoke interest in other countries as well. Indeed, we are witnessing a historic reorientation in the development of a sizable group of African states. Their assumption is that the future of the peoples of Africa, as of other continents and their all-round progress can be ensured only

through the construction of a new, free society, which is not oriented upon capitalism, but upon socialism.

We Soviet communists cherish and understand the goals to whose attainment you have dedicated your efforts. The Soviet Union, loyal to its internationalist duty, from the very outset came out resolutely in support of the Angolan patriots' just struggle. At the time of ordeal, when the Angolan revolution found itself facing the joint blows of foreign racists and internal splitting forces, the Soviet Union together with the other socialist-community countries, stretched a hand of fraternal assistance to people's Angola. We express our gratitude for the high evaluation given to this assistance in Comrade Agostinho Neto's Report. The resolute support given to the PRA by socialist Cuba and its Communist Party, headed by Comrade Fidel Castro, had a great role to play.

Our party is also with you today. Our relations are reliably based on the Soviet-Angolan Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed by Comrade Brezhnev and Comrade Neto in 1976.

The unwavering line of the CPSU is to promote to the utmost the strengthening and upward development of Soviet-Angolan relations. Characterizing the political substance of this line, Comrade Brezhnev said: "We Soviet people sincerely want to see People's Angola an independent, strong and flourishing state, and wish the Angolan people new victories in strengthening their country's independence and in building a free life."

With good reason the CPSU and the MPLA regard each other as comrades-in-arms in their joint struggle for the triumph of the ideals of peace, national liberation, democracy and scientific socialism. Not long ago, a party and government delegation, led by Comrade Agostinho Neto, paid a second visit to the Soviet Union, while a month ago we were happy to welcome your delegation, which took part in the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. That noteworthy anniversary, which was broadly marked throughout the world, including your country, once again vividly brought out the international solidarity of the revolutionary parties and movements, and of all the progressive forces of our day.

Your congress is being held in this year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, which opened a new era in world history, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism, the collapse of the colonial system, the elimination of the relations of exploitation and oppression, an era of the social and national revival of the peoples. Although the Soviet Union and Angola are at different stages

of historical development, the peoples of our two countries are participants in the common international cause, working to realize the ideals of peace, freedom and happiness for the working man.

Fraternal cooperation between the CPSU and the MPLA, which has stood the test of time, is a solid instrument for the further deepening of the multifaceted relations between our states and peoples.

Comrades, for six decades now our country has been advancing along the path of socialism and communism, which the great Lenin indicated. The imperialist powers tried to crush our revolution by force of arms and to strangle the young Republic of Soviets in the grip of an economic and political blockade. The fascist hordes, with Hitler's Germany at their head, treacherously attacked the Soviet Union and forced us to fight a savage war. Imperialism started a "cold war" against us. But the Soviet people, rallied round the Communist Party, has stood all these trials and won out.

The working people of our country have successfully coped with the task of construction, which is the most important and most complicated task of the revolution. We had to be the first to tackle it and, besides, in exceptionally difficult conditions. The old exploitative system left us a hard legacy. The economy had suffered badly from the First World War and the imperialist intervention, and then from the Hitler aggression. Yet through persistent and dedicated work our people succeeded in overcoming all the difficulties and in building a society of developed socialism in a relatively short historical period.

Thanks to our party's consistent implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy, more than 100 big and small nations, speaking different languages, have voluntarily united in a well-knit international family.

Today, we can say that the Soviet people's creative efforts have yielded remarkable results and they have something to be proud of. A powerful industrial, scientific and technical potential and a socialist agriculture have been built up. Today, it takes our industry only two and a half days to turn out as much as was produced in the whole of 1913, the last year of peaceful development under the tsarist regime.

Much has been done and is being done constantly to improve the people's living and working conditions. The working people's real incomes have been growing. The Soviet citizen does not face unemployment and is confident in the morrow. He enjoys broad and reliably guaranteed social rights and democratic freedoms, including

the right to work, to education, free medical service, housing and social security.

Socialism has unfettered our people's spiritual forces. In pre-revolutionary Russia, three-quarters of the adult population were illiterate, whereas now over three-quarters of the working people have either a higher or secondary education. Our country has reared numerous highly skilled personnel in every field of activity.

An event of tremendous historical importance was the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. It formalized the results of the revolutionary transformative activity of the party and the people, and the achievements of mature socialism in our country. At the same time, the new Constitution has opened up broad vistas in building a communist society.

What is the secret of our success? There is, in fact, no secret at all. The basis of our successes and achievements is correct political leadership, which is provided by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. At the steepest and most involved turns of history, our Leninist Party has confidently led the Soviet people along the path to a radiant future. Today, closely rallied round its Central Committee, our party is the architect of the great plans for communist construction, and the organizer and inspirer of our country's all-round progress.

The party's strength lies in its close bonds with the working people, and its policy and the whole of its activity are oriented upon the people's well-being. The party's policy and the tasks it sets out are cherished and understood by the people and enjoy their boundless support.

Comrades, the world situation in which your congress is taking place, for all its complexity and contradictory character, is on the whole marked by a growth and consolidation of the international détente. The policy of peace and peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries, is having an ever deeper impact on the relations among states.

Our Leninist Party, its Central Committee, and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade Brezhnev, an outstanding political leader of our day, have spared no effort to have lasting peace established on the globe, the international situation improved, and favorable conditions created for the people's constructive activity and cooperation. By his tireless activity for these noble goals, Comrade

Brezhnev has won the profound respect of all the progressive forces of mankind.

The détente, warding off the threat of nuclear war from mankind and meeting the profoundest aspirations of all the peoples, also creates favorable conditions for the struggle for national liberation and social progress. In these conditions, the liberated countries have intensified their resistance to the plunder by the international monopolies, resolutely working for a restructuring of economic relations with the capitalist world and asserting their right to dispose of their national resources as they see fit.

On the African continent, the struggle against the remnants of colonialism has entered its final phase. The pillars of the last few bastions of racism in the south of Africa are cracking. The Soviet people are wholly on the side of the just struggle being carried on by the oppressed African masses in Namibia, Zimbabwe and the Republic of South Africa. We are sure that the day when they will win their freedom is not far off!

In face of the powerful sweep of the national-liberation movement, the imperialists have to maneuver and pretend to be friends of the African peoples. Actually, this is only a screen for their urge to erode their unity, by provoking fratricidal conflicts and installing puppet regimes. They have strained especially hard to undermine the friendly relations between the liberated countries and the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries by spreading the most malicious inventions about their policy.

But in this they will fail. Our policy is clear-cut and understandable. The 25th Congress of the CPSU emphasized that in helping the liberated states, the Soviet Union does not seek any advantages for itself, does not hunt for concessions, does not seek political domination or clamor for military bases. The Soviet people have been acting on their revolutionary conscience and their internationalist convictions. The Soviet Union has resolutely condemned the schemes of world reaction against the People's Republic of Angola and other progressive states.

At the October celebrations, Comrade Brezhnev said that "no power on earth can wipe out the results of the heroic liberation struggle of the millions upon millions of people in the former colonies and semi-colonies of imperialism. The cause of the people's liberation is invincible. The future belongs to it. The light kindled by the October Revolution will not fail at this front of history either."

Allow me, comrades, to convey to you a message of greetings from

the CPSU Central Committee to the First Congress of the MPLA.

May the fraternal friendship between the CPSU and the MPLA, between the Soviet and the Angolan peoples grow stronger and develop!

Long live the Angolan Revolution!

Long live independent, free and democratic people's Angola!

Pravda, December 6, 1977

THIRTY-FIFTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The Communist Party of Great Britain held its 35th Congress in London over November 12 to 15. The main subject was discussion of the draft new variant of the party program, *The British Road to Socialism*.

Party Chairman Michael McGahey opened the Congress. General Secretary Gordon McLennan delivered the main report.

Taking part in the Congress were numerous delegates and foreign guests: delegations from the Communist Parties of Ireland, Chile, Israel, the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), the Palestine Liberation Organization, representatives of the liberation movements in southern Africa, as well as a CPSU delegation led by D.A. Kunayev, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, who addressed the Congress.

After a thorough discussion of the draft program *The British Road to Socialism*, the delegates instructed the new Executive Committee to do the final editing of the text, taking account of the congress debate.

The delegates elected a new Executive Committee and adopted a number of resolutions on topical issues, among them on the situation of the British working people, the growing threat of racism and fascism in the country, on the Northern Ireland problem, the Common Market, the problem of peace and détente, on South Africa, and a declaration on the Middle East and on solidarity with the democratic forces of Chile, Cyprus and Bangladesh.

Below we print some materials of the 35th Congress of the CPGB.

Excerpts from General Secretary Gordon McLennan's Speech on the new draft party program, *The British Road to Socialism*.

Britain, Gordon McLennan said, is in deep economic, social and political crisis.

There is an urgent need to show how the crisis can be tackled in the interests of the people and a new and brighter perspective opened up for Britain by transition from capitalism to socialism.

This is what the new draft of our program, *The British Road to Socialism*, does.

The depth of the crisis and the determination of the ruling class to solve it in their interests is behind the sustained attack on democratic institutions and rights, particularly of the trades unions, highlighted today in the Grunwick dispute.

The foul growth of racist and fascist propaganda and organizations is also an expression of capitalist crisis.

Government policies do not tackle, far less resolve, Britain's fundamental problems.

The Communist Party calls for expansion of the economy through increased wages and pensions; a freeze on prices and rents; restoration of the cuts; control of imports and capital expenditure abroad; greater investment and public ownership; a drastic cut in military expenditure and heavier taxation of big business and the rich.

Left unity and leadership is essential for the development of the united action necessary to force the government to change course. In this our party has a key role to play.

Our counter-crisis policy has a three-fold aim:

To shift the burden of capitalist crisis from the backs of the working people.

To tackle the deep-rooted problems of the economy produced by imperialist policies.

To start changing the balance of class and political forces in the country necessary for longer term socialist change.

We set out the essential positions of the *British Road to Socialism* in 1951 and elaborated them in subsequent editions of the program in 1952, 1958 and 1968.

When commentators in the press ask whether our party is going to accept or reject "Eurocommunism" they display their lack of knowledge of our party and how it works.

We do not consider the term "Eurocommunism" is a useful or accurate one to describe this reality.

It would be a grave error to underestimate imperialism's continued strength. But world-changing victories for democracy, national liberation and socialism in Western Europe, Southern Africa and Indochina in the past ten years, coupled with the advance of the socialist countries, particularly of the Soviet Union, marked during the celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution, have, despite Chile's tragedy, further tilted the world balance of forces against imperialism.

In the same period capitalism's crisis deepened, technological and social change accelerated, monopoly domination grew, and the EEC increasingly attempted to coordinate imperialist economic and political strategy in Western Europe to complement NATO's aggressive military aims.

Associated with the impact of these developments, new social and political forces came into action in Britain on a wide range of issues, and an important, though limited, shift to the left was won in the labor and trade union movement.

The central issue of the transition from capitalism to socialism is the winning and exercise of political power by the working class and its allies.

The interests of the working class, as a class, are totally bound up with finishing with capitalism.

Because of this and its position in society, its size and discipline, it is able to take up the cause of the other forces in the alliance, act as a unifier, win its position of leadership, learning from others in the alliance as they learn from the working class.

The working class, however, exercises its main influence on society through the labor movement, at present largely dominated by right-wing Labor ideas and leadership, which restrict and narrow the role of the labor movement.

Therefore for the working class to fully play its leading role in society at the center of a broad democratic alliance demands the winning of left policy and leadership in the labor movement.

We do not share the illusions of the Fabian gradualists, who envisage a painless and imperceptible transformation of capitalism into socialism, without struggle, without conflict, and without a series of sharp confrontations between the forces of progress and of reaction.

But we are confident that, by uniting all the democratic forces under the leadership of the working class, it will be possible to isolate the big monopolists and their agents, defeat them in the successive stages of the struggle, and finally effect the transfer of political and

economic power into the hands of the working class and its allies.

Internationalism is as natural to British communists as the air we breathe.

It is expressed in our joint struggle with all other progressive forces against imperialism, in our activity for British withdrawal from the EEC and NATO, in our work for friendship between Britain and the socialist countries, in our campaigning as part of the worldwide movement for peace and disarmament.

It is appropriate that we have at this Congress on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution, a delegation from a brother party making a decisive contribution in that worldwide movement — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Capitalism, said Gordon McLennan in conclusion, crushes human individuality, subordinates men and women to the needs of the profit system, sets them against each other.

Communists want a society in which the great and varied capacities of men and women can be fully developed.

A society where human beings will be able to realize their full individual potentialities and work with others for the common good, instead of being divided by class, sex or race.

A socialist system of society in which exploitation and poverty are ended and the new marvels of technology and science are employed to make possible a vast increase in leisure, creative work and cultural activity and in which individuality flourishes in all its infinite variety.

Britain is enormously rich, in its natural resources, in its great industries, in the enormous talent and skills of its people.

To release all these forces and unite them together is impossible under capitalism. This is why Britain is in crisis and will remain in crisis as long as the monopolies dominate in Britain.

Britain needs socialism.

Abridged from *Morning Star*, November 14, 1977

SPEECH OF COMRADE D.A. KUNAYEV, HEAD OF THE CPSU DELEGATION AT THE 35TH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE CPGB

Our Central Committee accepted with satisfaction the invitation to send a CPSU delegation to the 35th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Allow me to thank you for this and for the opportunity to speak here and to extend greetings to you all on behalf of the almost 16 million members of our party.

In fulfillment of an honorary assignment from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, I am very happy to convey to you, to your Congress and to the whole fraternal Communist Party of Great Britain heartfelt greetings from the communists of the Soviet Union, from our party's leadership and from Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee.

In our day, every communist, whichever country he may be working in, cannot fail to be proud of being a part of the mighty international political force whose influence and prestige are unequalled anywhere in the world. He cannot fail to be proud of taking part in a movement which has not merely proclaimed as its purpose the building of the most just, most humane and democratic society, but which has already achieved a great deal in this direction.

Communist parties now work in most countries of the world — in highly dissimilar, specific and diverse conditions. Each party defines its policy absolutely independently and on its own, and each seeks to muster the whole of its experience and skill in order to apply in the best possible way the greatest revolutionary doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, in its country's concrete situation.

We have been watching with sincere interest and understanding the work you are doing here in Great Britain. The communist movement is strong precisely because each of its constituent parties can fully draw on the experience of the others and take account of it in its theoretical and practical activity. You are well aware that Lenin believed it to be exceptionally important to take a careful and thoughtful attitude to the experience of foreign friends. We are true to this rule.

A few days ago, the whole world marked the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

"The achievements of the October Revolution and the potentialities of socialism are today the surest guarantee of mankind's

In conclusion, D.A. Kunayev said: I should like on behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union again to stress that we believe it to be our internationalist duty to maintain, safeguard and deepen the solidarity between the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Great Britain. This is in the interests of the British and the Soviet people, in the interests of peace and progress, and serves the cause of democracy and socialism. Such is our policy and we intend invariably to pursue it in the future as well.

Pravda, November 14, 1977

RESOLUTION OF THE 35TH CONGRESS OF THE CPGB

On the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution the Congress sends warmest fraternal greetings to all the people of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It placed on record the great debt owed to the Soviet Union and the CPSU for the example and inspiration of the October Revolution and of the triumphs of socialism over 60 years, both in peace and war.

Without the Soviet Union, fascism might well have triumphed in the Second World War and the British people among others would now be paying a terrible price. Without the strong aid of the Soviet Union, other countries would not now be firmly on the socialist road, and colonized countries would have faced much greater obstacles in winning their liberation and building their countries.

Congress acknowledged that class struggle is not restricted by national boundaries and that there is much more in common between the working people of all countries than between them and the monopolists and their political representatives in their own countries.

Therefore Congress pledged redoubled efforts to win the British people for socialist advance and to recognize the importance to progress and peace of strong socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union, the mightiest country in the socialist family.

Despite differences on some aspects of policy and practice, in socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, and recognizing, as the CPSU does, that each country will pursue its own road to socialism, this Congress is determined to strengthen its bonds with the Soviet Union and all socialist countries and their communist parties.

Morning Star, Nov. 14, 1977

SUMMARIES

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The CC CPCz held its Ninth Plenum in Prague on December 1. The meeting discussed the country's main economic targets for 1978. On behalf of the CC CPCz Presidium, Vaclav Hula, member of the Presidium, CC CPCz, Chairman of the State Planning Commission, presented a report on the 1978 plan.

The meeting elected Milos Jakes to be an alternate member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC CPCz, member of the CC Secretariat, and Chairman of the CC Commission for Agriculture and Food; Mikulas Beno to be a member of the Secretariat and Secretary of the CC CPCz, and Jindrich Polednik, to be Secretary of the CC CPCz and Chairman of the CC Commission for Work among Youth.

On the recommendation of the meeting, the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPCz elected Miroslav Capka Chairman of the Commission.

Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPCz, President of the CSSR, offered concluding remarks.

DENMARK

The CC CPD held an enlarged meeting in Copenhagen on November 26 and 27. The meeting concerned itself with inner political problems and the party's tasks in preparing for the communal elections due in March 1978. It also discussed the problem of Denmark's participation in direct elections to the European Parliament.

The meeting adopted a statement on inner political matters stressing that the so-called August agreement endorsed by the Folketing had aggravated an already serious domestic economic situation. Unemployment persisted on a massive scale and there was an increase in the balance of payments deficit and the foreign debt. Yet employers' profits had gone up 88 per cent over the year.

The statement proposes measures to improve the economic situation.

If the communists win stronger positions in the communal elections, the statement notes, they will be in a better position to help adopt a new policy in the interests of the working people.

The CC CPD which met in plenary session in Copenhagen early in December elected Jorgen Jensen, member of its Executive Committee, member of the Folketing, to be Chairman of the CPD.

GREECE

The CC CPG, which met in Athens early in December, discussed the results of the general election.

The outcome of the election shows, says the communiqué on the meeting, that the Communist Party achieved a big victory in its arduous struggle for national independence, democracy and social progress under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This success was a result of the party's correct policy, of its effective struggle in defense of the interests of the working class and the whole people.

The meeting noted that the party was faced with new serious tasks. It pointed to the need for sustained effort by all communists to strengthen the party's ties with the people and improve its activity in and outside parliament.

The CC CPG, the communiqué says, stressed the importance of cooperation and joint effort by all democratic forces to fulfill specific tasks and uphold the interests of the people and the nation; it also emphasized the need for still closer left unity.

IRAQ

The CC ICP held an extraordinary plenum in Baghdad on December 3. The statement adopted by the meeting says that unity of Arab progressive and national forces on the basis of a clear-cut and obligatory program, and closer alliance with the forces of progress at whose head are the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, are the only guarantees of defeating the policy of surrender being pursued by Egypt in collaboration with the United States and its dangerous consequences for the future of the Arabs' struggle, the only guarantees of changing the balance of forces in the region in favor of the Arab national-liberation forces.

The Arab national-liberation movement was faced with a dangerous conspiracy aimed at removing the problem of Palestine from the agenda, splitting the progressive Arabs' rank, striking at the revolutionary forces, abolishing their political, economic and social gains, undermining their friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, imposing U.S.-Israeli domination in the Middle East and turning the area into a U.S. strategic base.

PORTUGAL

The CC PCP met in Lisbon early in December. It examined domes-

tic political developments over the past weeks and the problems arising from the government's appeal for a vote of confidence.

The meeting reaffirmed the party's confidence in the possibility of ending the current national crisis and of a democratic alternative to the government's present policies. It instructed the CC Political Commission to take at an appropriate moment a decision concerning the voting on the resolution of confidence in Parliament.

The motion on the note of confidence was a consequence of the failure of the policy of restoring capitalism, the latifundia and imperialism, a policy which has pushed the country to the brink of catastrophe, the meeting stated.

Whatever the outcome of the vote, events showed that a new policy and new government were needed to resolve the crisis and the serious problems facing the country.

The CC PCP saw two constitutional solutions to the political crisis: either forming a government on the basis of a democratic program, or setting up a caretaker government that would see to current matters and hold mid-term parliamentary elections.

RUMANIA

The Rumanian Communist Party held its National Conference in Bucharest from December 7 to 9. The conference discussed the progress made in carrying out the decisions of the 11th RCP Congress and problems of the country's social and economic development in the current and next five-year periods. Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, President of the SRR, submitted a report "On Fulfillment of the Decisions of the 11th Party Congress and the RCP Program and on Further Tasks."

He pointed out that the first two years of the current five-year plan (1976-80) had seen important gains in all social and economic spheres. On the other hand, fulfillment of the capital investment plan had fallen short of targets.

The country had all that it needed to carry out an additional program for increased industrial production in the current five-year period. It was necessary to improve the quality of the output and expand the raw material base at a higher rate; in agriculture, the task was to use the land better and increase the livestock population.

Nicolae Ceausescu set out the main lines of economic development for the next five-year period (1981-85). To ensure the accomplishment of the important socio-economic tasks facing the country, the party must improve its activity and increase its leading role in society.

The speaker next dealt in detail with various aspects of the international situation. The RCP devoted particular attention to measures for the promotion of relations with all socialist countries and for greater cooperation and solidarity among them in the struggle for socialism, security and peace.

Describing relations with the Soviet Union, Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized the importance of the negotiations held with Leonid Brezhnev this year, as well as of Brezhnev's visit to Rumania in the autumn of last year. In keeping with the traditional relations of friendship and good-neighborliness between the two parties and people and with the principles laid down in the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance and in the joint statement signed last year, Rumania would go on doing all in its power for the expansion of all-round cooperation between the RCP and the CPSU, between the SRR and the Soviet Union, for this meets the interests of the parties and peoples of both countries and the interests of the cause of socialism and world peace.

SPAIN

The Executive Committee of the CPS met in Madrid on December 1 to discuss the party's attitude to the "Moncloa pact," the agreement between the government and the opposition providing for a series of political and economic measures.

In a communiqué circulated after the meeting, the CPS calls on the workers and people of Spain to help implement the agreement. The Communist Party, it states, still considers that the understanding reached at Moncloa is the only way to overcome the economic crisis and further democracy in Spain. The "Moncloa pact" was the banner of democracy in the period of transition through which the country was passing. It was the only basis on which all the maneuvers of the enemies of democracy could be foiled.

On the other hand, the communiqué criticizes the decree passed by the government to curb wages for all workers who had concluded collective agreements before the "Moncloa pact" was signed. The EC CPS regarded the decree as a "one-sided interpretation" of the Moncloa agreement. Accordingly, the Communist Party proposed setting up consultative bodies comprising representatives of the government, the political parties which have signed the agreement, the trade unions, and employers' and peasants' organizations. These bodies should supervise the implementation and interpretation of the "Moncloa pact" provisions.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

MESSAGE OF THE POPULAR UNITY PARTIES TO THE CHILEAN PEOPLE

In Chile a new political situation has taken shape. The irresistibly growing anti-fascist forces are undertaking ever more open actions. The socio-political bloc which enabled the military junta's coming to power, is disintegrating.

A change has come about in the life of the country, characterized above all by the reactivation of the masses, their intensified struggle for satisfaction of their vital demands.

The situation of Pinochet and the military junta is deteriorating before our eyes.

The country's economy remains in crisis. A very low level of production investment, deformation of the economy in the interests of a tiny group, inefficient use or plain squandering of the production reserves accruing from economic activity — and all this on the basis of super-exploitation and increasing dependency — show that the economic policy imposed on the country by Pinochet in the interests of the oligarchy and imperialism is imperilling Chile's future.

This is affecting the vast majority of Chileans, particularly the working people and middle strata of town and country. Their rights and dignity are continually infringed, their living standards are falling, and their organizations are being subjected to repression. Unemployment is running at a high level. Poverty remains the most characteristic feature of the country's life. Even a large part of the small and medium entrepreneurs are on the brink of ruin.

The dramatic internal socio-economic situation is aggravated by Chile's critical international position. As before, the crimes of Pinochet and his national intelligence agency (DINA), now renamed the National Information Center, are universally condemned. As before, the junta is compromising itself in the eyes of world public opinion by refusing to provide any information on the fate of the disappeared citizens. By declining to honor the commitment to the

United Nations, Pinochet has violated its Charter and established himself as a promoter of "state terrorism". Moreover, as a result of the inept foreign policy, relations with neighboring countries have been aggravated, which is fraught with unpredictable complications. The open support of imperialism — which participated in the coup — will not avert the international isolation of the fascists. The latest instance of such support was the United States President's meeting with the dictator. Universal condemnation of fascism remains the overwhelming tendency, however. This is seen particularly in the decision of the recent Rotterdam conference of the Socialist International to intensify solidarity with the Chilean people in the struggle against the junta.

No true Chilean can look on passively at the worsening of the country's internal and international situation. The resolve to risk speaking the truth under fascism and to actively facilitate its debacle — that is what characterizes the present movement.

The statements issued by the trade unions this year are evidence of their strength and unity, which frustrated the junta's intention of destroying them.

The actions of the workers, peasants and unemployed are coupled with those of hundreds of youth activists and broad circles of the intelligentsia who demanded freedom and justice, and urgent democratic renewal.

A substantial contribution to this struggle is being made by the relatives of the disappeared. By their heroic hunger strike they have asserted their right to fight for the lives of their near and dear ones.

The dictatorship cannot conceal this general atmosphere of opposition to its policy. Its maneuverability is narrowing with every passing day.

The dictatorship's crimes are becoming the subject of public discussion.

The new situation is due largely to the efforts of the Popular Unity parties, fighting in harsh conditions in the country. They have strengthened their ties with the masses and in providing leadership display a deep sense of responsibility and heroism, helping decisively to weaken the dictatorship.

In these circumstances the junta was obliged to announce its intention to go over to a new stage, which it refers to as "institutionalization," but is simply an attempt to strengthen fascism in Chile. This proposal was generally rejected. It served only to prompt a public discussion of the very existence of the dictatorship.

In this context, the Christian Democrat Party (CDP) issued a document, "A Fatherland for Everyone." In our view it substantially contributes to the quest for common solutions that would express the sentiments of the majority of Chileans and facilitate actions making the present developments — clearly inauspicious for the fascists — irreversible.

In its document the CDP advocates formation of a broad movement to promote mobilization of the masses on the basis of the real forces representing broad strata of the population who want democracy and are energetically fighting to this end. Thus the CDP expresses its readiness to fight against the dictatorship, and its will to overcome any discrimination against anyone in this matter, which is in the interests of all Chileans.

CDP's statement on the need to unite without exception all the Chileans who seek to open the way to democracy in Chile, coincides with our permanent orientation.

We are convinced that only by uniting in a broad democratic coalition can the Chilean patriots defeat fascism and bring about the inevitable downfall of the dictatorship.

That is the permanent orientation of Popular Unity, the embodiment and continuer of the national and democratic traditions; inspired by the image of our forefathers and the example of Balmaceda, Recabarren, Aguirre Cerda and Salvador Allende, it has always sought to achieve unity in struggle against the enemies of Chile and its people.

The Popular Unity's stand is thus clear and unequivocal. We consider it possible, essential and urgent to reach a national consensus that would open the way to democracy in Chile. This would help to mobilize all organizations, institutions, ideological currents, in a word, all Chileans whether affiliated to parties or not, uniting their actions and struggle on all fronts.

This of course implies a total and open break with the fascist regime. Pinochet and his regime constitute the very negation of democracy and the country's return to democracy is unthinkable without deposing them, without the total dismantling of the fascist police state.

We are well aware that the road of building democracy is a thorny and complex one. It requires persistency in advancing to new forms of national coexistence. Therefore this process can be qualified as gradual. But this does not signify postponing till the next stage legalization of one or another democratic current. To see the democratiza-

tion process in this light is tantamount to its negation. Therefore we appreciate the CDP's pluralistic conception of this process and affirm that its emergence and development require the immediate elimination of the fascist repressive apparatus, release of all political prisoners, full clarity as to the destinies of the disappeared citizens, liquidation of the concentration camps and the unconditional return of all emigrants.

A genuine democratic process is unthinkable without full restoration of fundamental political and human rights. This presupposes legalization of all political parties, which will make their contribution to overthrowing the dictatorship, and unrestricted rights of the pre-coup trade unions. This will guarantee effective participation of the majority of the population in drawing up a new constitution.

Our duty to Chile is not limited to overthrowing Pinochet. It is indispensable to guarantee continuity of the democratic process.

A joint struggle for bread, work and freedom for the people will reveal the need for a consensus and then for political accord between the parties and organizations, which, despite the fascist dictatorship, continued to express democratic aspirations in Chile.

To Pinochet's despair, the democratic parties remained at the head of the struggle for the freedom of the homeland, thereby showing that they are vitally linked with the people. This applies both to our parties and to the CDP itself. Certainly, it is essential to eliminate the former politicizing, which was primarily the result of the inadequacy of democracy prior to the fascist coup. Our proposal for agreement is aimed precisely at surmounting these inadequacies, which would guarantee a reliable democratic course for Chile. Therefore it would be more appropriate to speak of a process of democratic renewal than of restoration of democracy. There is no return to the past. Experience shows that a mere return to the structures which were incapable of ensuring the existence of democracy in Chile is not in the interests of our people.

We are convinced that the best way to ensure such a renewal will be to create a provisional anti-fascist government of all forces, both civilian and military, who will make their contribution to the destruction of fascism. This government should prepare the ground for a broad discussion by the citizenry of the future Chilean constitution.

From this point of view, we positively assess the proposal of basing the new constitution on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Whatever agreement the anti-fascists will arrive at, it must include adoption of immediate measures to solve the major economic prob-

lems and above all for a real improvement in the life of the working people and middle strata. The working class and the people as a whole will advance their just demands with a sense of responsibility but will never agree to their fulfillment being postponed.

The provisional government should set in motion economic transformations that will put an end to the domination of the big national monopolies and imperialist capital, which have garnered huge profits in the recent period, and lead Chile on to the road of independent development.

Undeniably the best contribution to the cause of uniting all democratic forces is to clearly define the common points of view and to explain our differences to the people. This will help to create an atmosphere of democratic discussion, making for deeper and more sincere agreement.

We have long since expressed the conviction that the process of building democracy demands total eradication of fascism. Only in this way can we guarantee the people that there will never be a repetition of today's experience.

For this, it is essential above all to investigate the heinous crimes committed under fascism and to punish the guilty, whether military or civilian. This applies first of all to the DINA agents and their chief, Pinochet. They must be judged in accordance with the pre-coup penal code and military law, in accordance with the norms of international law relating to social, political and human rights and in conformity with the universal concept of crimes against humanity.

Fulfillment of these demands hinges on the existence of independent courts. The country is witnessing the complicity of higher judicial organs in grave crimes. Therefore they do not meet political and moral requirements and cannot guarantee adequate condemnation of these crimes. For this, it is essential to set up permanent courts and to ensure their competency and independence, and procedural guarantees for the accused.

Opening up a new road for Chile requires active participation of the military not compromised by participation in the crimes of the fascist leadership. The struggle for democracy should not be seen as a case of civilians versus the military. It is a struggle between the democrats and fascists, whether military or civilian. The real position of each is determined only by his attitude toward Pinochet and the repressive apparatus headed by him.

For the future of democracy it is essential to define the role the armed forces are to play. Experience shows that evading public

discussion of the issue, denying the people the right to participate in resolving this question will only lead to an erroneous attitude to the armed forces as to an "exclusive" part of society, isolated from it. This discussion should be conducted on the basis of certain general principles resulting from recent experience and aimed at closely linking the functions of the armed forces with the national objectives after the overthrow of fascism. This would make it impossible for the armed forces to take action against their people. Therefore already now the question should be posed of democratizing the recruitment and promotion of officers, of supervision by democratic bodies of their designation and control over their activities, their fidelity to the cause of fulfilling the objectives facing the country. All this should take place in the framework of the new concept of national security, which will be a guideline for professional and civic education and which will be based on loyalty — not just formal, but real — to the national, democratic and progressive ideals of the Chilean people. Thus the armed forces will share with all the people the ideas of solidarity, peace and justice, which will characterize the Chile of tomorrow.

It is in Chile's interests to effect the transition to democracy with a minimum of conflict and clashes. However, a realistic analysis of the present situation prompts the conclusion that the fascists in the armed forces will not relinquish power without resistance. The terroristic character of the ruling dictatorship and its violence against the majority of the people fully legitimizes the use of force, should it be necessary, for its overthrow. This general statement does not imply acceptance of indiscriminate use of violence nor prejudice the solution of the question of concrete forms of overthrowing the dictatorship.

We consider that in the framework of popular consensus the various social forces can and should contribute to the renewal of the country in line with their interpretation of national reality. Popular Unity is convinced that only by following the socialist road can Chile definitely resolve its fundamental problems. Other forces, like the CDP for instance, propose other roads of developing democracy in Chile. For either of them to achieve their goal, fascism must be overthrown and democracy won, thereby providing the concrete possibility for realization of the people's aspiration for complete social and individual emancipation. It is this that brings us together. Only the Chilean people, having won freedom, will decide what road our society will take. We will abide by their verdict.

The struggle to unite the entire Chilean people against fascism is not a question for tomorrow, but for today.

All anti-fascists have common interests, which have already found expression in similar actions and in the deeper and expanding unity of all left forces. In the new situation, reflected in the CDP statement, the possibility exists of substantially strengthening the unity and effectiveness of the democratic forces. We come out for tackling this task already now by creating organs which will make this work purposeful and effective.

Unity of the working people is the principal factor in creating this movement. Their actions, above all, have made possible the open expression of opposition to the regime. Their unity will enable exerting ever stronger pressure on the junta.

The possibility of effectively uniting all Chileans in the coming struggle is closely linked with the existence of a powerful and united trade union movement. Those who really want unity of the Chileans must proceed from this premise. It is the principal indication of each anti-fascist contingent's striving for unity.

It is essential to organize on this basis common actions on all fronts of the struggle for democratic freedoms and rights, responding to the vital demands of the people and combining them with the general objective of ridding the homeland of fascism.

Thus, hundreds of smaller clashes, composing the great battle of the Chilean people for freedom, will find their organizational expression. Thus, every Chilean will find his place in this decisive battle for the country's future.

Popular Unity of Chile
October 31, 1977



THE HAMBURG CONGRESS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY

Statement by the Presidium of the German Communist Party

The Hamburg Congress of the SDPG (November 1977) was held at a time characterized by inroads against democracy, the policy of détente and the working people's social gains. The capitalist system's baneful consequences for the working people are becoming ever clearer. At the same time, a growing number of trade unions, members of the intelligentsia and the young generation are alerting the people against a further rightward trend. Many members of the numerous organizations fighting for democratic rights, against the banning of progressives from jobs (Berufsverbote) and the witch-hunt against the intelligentsia, for disarmament, more work places and expansion of study opportunities, express their resolve to counter the pressure of the rightist forces.

The concern and fears of rank-and-file social democrats — blue- and white-collar workers — were expressed also in numerous resolutions and speeches and quite often in the reports of leading social democrats at the SDPG Hamburg Congress. Notable was the concern shown for safeguarding democratic human rights expressed by delegates and by guests, particularly by Max Frisch.

We communists share this concern. Therefore we consider it a dangerous sign that the congress nevertheless adopted by a majority a decision preparing the ground for the further erosion of democratic rights. The GCP appeals to all democratic forces, communists and social democrats, to unite in the name of this common concern and to organize joint actions.

This relates also to the consistent pursuance of the policy of peace and détente, which the people want. The SDPG congress noted that there is no real alternative to the policy of détente. The resolution demanding continuation of the policy of détente, as well as statements by SDPG leaders who came out for new agreements with the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries, clearly show that the SDPG leadership finds it advisable to continue a policy better reflecting the world political realities.

But the disquieting thing is that despite the SDPG leaders' avowals regarding disarmament, not a single point of the resolution deals with

the need to put an end also in our country to the "senseless arms drive." By not saying a clear and unequivocal "no" to the neutron bomb, calling instead on the federal government to see that the neutron weapon would not have to be deployed on the territory of the Federal Republic, the SDPG congress acted against the will of the peace-loving public of our country. A struggle must be launched for a clear "no" to deploying the neutron bomb in the Federal Republic.

The correct emphasis in the Federal Chancellor's speech on the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and of CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, it would appear, demands a positive answer to the recent far-ranging proposals of the USSR on peace and disarmament. Our national interests and the interests of peace in general demand that the Federal Republic make constructive steps for disarmament. The communists and many social democrats are convinced of this. And they are taking joint steps in that direction.

On many major issues, the SDPG leadership upheld a policy oriented primarily in the interests of big capital. This was manifested in its repeatedly expressed approval of the capitalist system, its appeals to exercise restraint in social demands, and its proposals on further state aid to big capital.

True, congress declared its primary objective was to eliminate mass unemployment, but advanced no concrete proposals for this. The concrete proposals and programs of the German Trade Union Association and some of its constituent unions which demand raising the purchasing power of the masses, a shorter week and a lower pension age, have on the whole been ignored.

The three-point basic energy policy proposal stipulates, first, the use primarily of coal, second, maximum concern for safety measures at nuclear power stations, and third, permits the construction of nuclear power stations in present-day conditions "to the extent of their necessity." Whereas the first two points express our people's fear in view of the unbridled nuclear program of the companies and the Bonn government, the third point virtually ignores these fears: it sets no obstacles to the Federal Government's program favoring the companies.

The GCP, which advocates the peaceful use of nuclear energy, rejects the nuclear program of the Federal Government and the companies. Conditions for the protection of man and the environment and for democratic control over the energy companies are lacking and therefore we insist on our demand to put a stop to the construction of new nuclear power stations. The use primarily of domestic coal, rapid

building of coal-fuelled power stations conforming to the norms of environmental protection are imperative in the interests of creating new jobs and ensuring a reliable energy supply.

The SDPG congress posed many questions agitating the working people of our country. But in its answers, in its resolutions, the congress fell short of the objectives facing the working people and the progressive forces. The congress either limited itself to blaming the circumstances, which must be changed, or provided answers which do not coincide with the interests of our people. In many congress resolutions the demands advanced by social democrats in the interests of a progressive policy were subordinated to government policy oriented in the interests of the companies.

The congress provided another confirmation of the need for non-parliamentary movements, civic initiatives and actions. In these actions, the GCP will in future too prove itself a reliable partner in the cases which concern the interests of the citizenry. That is why a strong Communist Party corresponds also to the interests of the social democrats, particularly those whose correct assessment of the situation in the Federal Republic was not recognized at the congress and whose proposals were not reflected in the resolutions. We agree with many of the demands advanced by social democrats, particularly those in defense of democracy and the policy of détente. We communists want the federal government to advance its own proposals on disarmament. We are struggling for more jobs and for expansion of the educational system. That is why we advocate joint actions of the communists, social democrats and other democratic forces.

The SDPG congress also showed that our country needs a strong Communist Party which, as the only party in the Federal Republic with a consistent anti-monopoly program, proves by its proposals regarding the road to socialism that it wants to eliminate the capitalist system in our country.

Unsere Zeit, November 21, 1977

FOR MORE ACTIVE LEADERSHIP OF THE POPULAR STRUGGLE

Statement by the Political Bureau, CC CP of Greece

The CC CPG Political Bureau issued the following statement:

The CC CPG Political Bureau congratulates the whole democratic people on their successful election struggle, on the vote for a policy of democratic change, for national independence, democracy, improvement of their life and for progress.

The Political Bureau conveys with a feeling of pride militant greetings to the workers, peasants and working people in general, the young people who by their vote made possible the Communist Party's victory at the polls, thus substantially strengthening its position in Parliament and among the people.

The importance of the election struggle consists in the fact that the people's condemnation of the policy of subordination, authoritarianism and worsening living standards found its expression in the weakening of the "new democracy" — the chief bearer of this policy. An important election result was the condemnation of the policy of conciliation with the ruling class, the division of the working-class and popular movement, the policy of the false renovators of communism; a blow has been dealt at opportunism, which is of more general significance.

The importance of the election struggle lies in the fact that the people of Greece gave the biggest vote to the parties which to one or another degree advocated a program of change, and that as a result of the elections the party of the working class was strengthened both in Parliament and among the people.

This enhanced strength of the party was the result of struggle and sacrifices, of the clear and firm line of the CPG, as expressed in its election program. It was the result of the selfless work of its rank and file and leading cadre, CPG's supporters and friends and the Communist Youth of Greece, who fought at the elections in unequal conditions, were subjected to discrimination, attacks, anti-communist slander and who won new positions to more effectively continue the struggle for stronger popular unity.

As a result of the elections a new relation of political forces emerged. In Parliament there appeared a grouping of ultra-right forces and new liberals, the parliamentary majority of the "new democracy"

was diminished, and the democratic forces advocating change gained in strength. This new relation of forces creates new opportunities which will help to further the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly cohesion and struggle of the people, cooperation of the democratic political forces. The Communist Party of Greece, relying on the will and fighting unity of the people, will continue to work for democratic cooperation on the basis of a concrete program expressing the interests of the people and the country and opening the way to progress.

The Political Bureau calls on all party members, its cadre, supporters and friends and the communist youth to come out more actively in the van of the struggle for popular and national demands. It calls on them to duly assess the election success, the vast and varied experience of struggle at the elections, and primarily to strengthen, intensify and expand our party's influence among the people, deepen and expand its ties with them, and to draw all active participants in our election struggle into the ranks of the party and the Communist Youth of Greece.

We must make our party even stronger and more massive to enable it better to live up to the confidence of the people, as expressed in the election results; we must make it a more effective force in the struggle for an independent and democratic Greece.

Political Bureau, CC CPG

November 21, 1977

Rizospastis, November 22, 1977

as of February 1st., 1978
our new address will be
71 BATHURST STREET
3rd Floor
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA
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MEETINGS AND TALKS

A meeting was held early in November between delegations of the Communist Parties of Israel and Turkey.

A joint communiqué on the results of the meeting published in the CPI organ *Zu Haderech* notes that the delegations led by CPI General Secretary Meir Vilner and CPT General Secretary I. Bilen, discussed a wide range of questions of mutual interest.

In connection with the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and adoption of the new Soviet Constitution, the communiqué notes, both sides highly appraised the activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist policy of peace and proletarian internationalism.

The communiqué paid especial attention to the conflicts imperilling peace in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, and to the dangerous arms race in that region.

The delegations, the communiqué notes, emphasized the need for immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops and dismantling of military bases in Cyprus in the interest of safeguarding its sovereignty, independence and non-alignment.

In conclusion the communiqué stressed that both parties reaffirmed the existence of fraternal inter-party relations which united them on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

CUBA

A delegation of the Communist Party of Finland visited Cuba from November 15 to 24.

The delegation met for talks with the leaders of the Communist Party and the government of the republic. Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CC CPC, Chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, met with the head of the CPF delegation, Party Chairman Aarne Saarinen.

As a communiqué issued here notes, the Communist Parties of Cuba and Finland declared their intention to continue strengthening the unity of the international communist movement, promote the consolidation of all forces coming out for social progress and the national liberation of the peoples, for peace and socialism.

The Communist Parties of Cuba and Finland, the communiqué notes, highly assess the consistent foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which has become the crucial factor for détente.

ETHIOPIA

A delegation of the Italian Communist Party led by Gian-Carlo Pajetta, member of the ICP Secretariat and chairman of the CC ICP commission on international policy, visited Ethiopia late in November.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), stated on receiving the delegation that the Ethiopian revolution had entered a decisive stage of struggle with internal and external reaction. He emphasized his government's desire for a peaceful settlement of the Eritrean problem inherited from the feudal monarchy. The separatist movement in that province, Mengistu Haile Mariam said, does not enjoy the support of the population, leaning only on the aid of reactionary Arab regimes.

The PMAC Chairman informed the delegation of the situation in the southeast of the country, where the national armed forces are fighting the Somali troops invading Ethiopian territory. He noted Ethiopia's desire to live in peace and friendship with all states, and above all with its neighbors.

The head of the ICP delegation expressed on behalf of his party full support for the Ethiopian revolution, a component of the enslaved peoples' struggle against oppression and exploitation, for social justice. He stressed that the ICP comes out for the inviolability of the frontiers of African countries, unity and territorial integrity of the independent states of the continent. The Ethiopian revolution, Pajetta noted, guarantees equal rights and opportunities to all nationalities of the country. Ethiopia is now confidently following the road of building a new society in fierce struggles against internal and external reaction and in defense of its territorial integrity.

The head of the delegation of Italian communists expressed confidence in the Ethiopian revolution's victory over its enemies.

FRANCE

A delegation of the Mexican Communist Party, led by General Secretary Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo, visited France in mid-November. The joint statement issued by the two parties at the conclusion of the visit stressed the need for persistent struggle against the monopolies and the big multinationals, against imperialism. Both parties, the

statement notes, are working for peace, in defense of national sovereignty and independence. They are struggling to unite the majority of their peoples, a prerequisite in achieving the important changes needed by society.

HUNGARY

Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, was on a friendly visit to the Hungarian People's Republic from November 24 to 27 at the invitation of Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

During the talks the sides informed each other of their parties' activities, and exchanged views on a broad range of topical international issues and the world communist and working-class movement, a communiqué issued in Budapest says. The leaders of the HSWP and the FCP stressed the significance of the struggle waged by both parties jointly with other democratic, progressive and peace-loving forces to put an end to the arms race, for progress, general and complete disarmament, to develop cooperation and friendly relations between the European peoples, for a lasting peace and security of the peoples.

RUMANIA

Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY and Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, visited Rumania early in December at the invitation of Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP and President of the SRR.

During the ensuing talks the leaders of both countries noted the successful developments of Rumanian-Yugoslav cooperation and exchanged views on topical international issues, discussing, in particular, problems of security and cooperation in the Balkans.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Josip Broz Tito attended the opening ceremony at the Iron Gates Two hydropower and navigation system on the Danube, a joint Rumanian-Yugoslav project.

SOVIET UNION

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Andrei Gromyko, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau, USSR Foreign Minister, received Abdel Halim Khaddam, member of the Leadership of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and

Foreign Minister of the Syrian Arab Republic, who was on a friendly visit to the Soviet Union.

Abdel Halim Khaddam handed Leonid Brezhnev a personal message from Hafiz al-Asad, General Secretary of the ASRP and President of the SAR.

During the talk, held in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding, the two sides noted their identity of views on the Middle East situation, establishment of a just and lasting peace in the area and promotion of Soviet-Syrian relations.

The two sides expressed satisfaction with the successful development of all-round cooperation between the two countries and stressed that the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic regard further consolidation and deepening of their friendly relations as an important foreign policy objective. The Soviet Union and Syria will vigorously rebuff any attempts to undermine friendship and cooperation between them.

The Soviet Union and Syria expressed their mutual determination to seek a comprehensive Middle East settlement in conditions excluding the possibility of separate deals — as the leaders of certain Arab countries are still intent on doing — and with the participation on an equal footing of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. Should it so happen that the Geneva Conference was exploded, those who would have a hand in this would bear a heavy responsibility.

Leonid Brezhnev said that the Soviet Union, guided by the Leninist principles of international solidarity, firmly sides with the forces of freedom and progress in the Arab East in their struggle against the machinations of imperialism and to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression.

Abdel Halim Khaddam, speaking on behalf of the leadership and people of the Syrian Arab Republic, highly assessed Soviet foreign policy which is aimed at easing international tensions and strengthening world peace. He expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union and its unfailing support of the just cause of the Arab peoples and their struggle for a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

Leonid Brezhnev and Andrei Gromyko received the special representative of the President of the Iraqi Republic Tariq Aziz, member of the Leadership of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party and of the Revolutionary Command Council of Iraq.

Tariq Aziz handed Leonid Brezhnev a personal message from President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr.

During the talk, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, it was noted with satisfaction that relations between the Soviet Union and the Iraqi Republic were developing successfully and growing deeper. Both countries were resolved to promote ties of fraternal friendship between them, to expand their all-round fruitful cooperation on the sound basis of the 1972 Soviet-Iraqi Treaty.

Attention was focused on the Middle East situation.

Both sides emphasized the importance of consolidating the progressive forces of the Arab world on an anti-imperialist basis and further strengthening cooperation with their natural allies — the USSR and the other socialist community countries.

Leonid Brezhnev stressed that the Soviet Union, true to the Leninist foreign policy principles, will in future, too, invariably come out in support of the just struggle of the Arab peoples, for the complete liberation of the Arab lands occupied by Israel, against the intrigues of imperialism and reaction, for a lasting democratic peace in the Middle East.

Also expressed was vigorous support for the courageous struggle of the Palestinian Arabs for their legitimate national rights, and readiness to continue extending aid to the Palestine resistance movement, an advanced contingent of the Arab national-liberation movement.

SYRIA

Representatives of the Syrian and Jordanian Communist Parties met in Damascus early in December. Their joint statement on the results of the meeting says that the sides exchanged views on Middle East developments in connection with the Egyptian President's visit to Jerusalem and reaffirmed the importance of strengthening ties between the two fraternal parties.

The representatives of the SCP and the JCP declared that Sadat's visit to Israel was nothing but a betrayal of the Arab national-liberation movement, a perfidious blow at the Palestinian Arab's struggle for their rights. A primary aim of the visit is to remove Egypt once and for all from the camp opposing imperialism and Zionism.

The visit, the statement notes, gave final shape to Sadat's policy expressed in a virulent hate campaign against the Soviet Union. By attempting, at the bidding of the Zionists and imperialists, to isolate

the Arabs from their truest friends, headed by the USSR, Sadat seriously jeopardized efforts for a just Middle East peace.

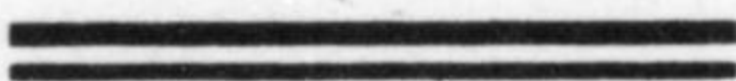
The actions of the ARE President aroused the indignation of the broad masses throughout the Arab world, and the sharp protest of the progressive patriotic forces, the statement says. The communists of Syria and Jordan hold that the SAR's and the Palestine resistance movement's stand on this question reflects the will of the Arab peoples and progressive national forces.

Both parties regard the struggle against imperialism and Zionism as the genuine basis of Arab solidarity. Special significance at the present stage, they emphasize, attaches to cooperation and coordination of this great struggle with the forces of progress and socialism led by the Soviet Union, a true friend of the Arab national-liberation movement.

VIETNAM

A GDR Party and government delegation led by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG and Chairman of the GDR State Council, was on an official friendly visit to Vietnam over December 1 to 4.

During its stay in Vietnam talks were held between the GDR delegation and a delegation of the SRV led by Le Duan, General Secretary of the SRV Central Committee, and a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the SRV and the GDR and a joint statement were signed.



PATRIOTIC AND REVOLUTIONARY DUTY OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

*Excerpts from Statement by the Socialist Vanguard Party
of Algeria*

This summer we witnessed an intensification of the political and social situation compared with previous years.¹ It is characterized by aggravated social conflicts and complex problems, involving numerous professional affiliations of the country. The reactionary and rightist elements sought, as usual, to create difficulties and, exploiting them, feverishly spread slander and alarming rumors. The imperialists on their part, particularly the Americans, French and West Germans, while pursuing common strategic aims, used diversified tactics in line with their specific interests. Manipulating the weapon of anti-communism and seeking to cause a rupture among the progressive forces, they are, once again each in their own way, imperiling the vital gains of our people. And they are doing the same thing in other countries of the Arab world, in Africa and in the Mediterranean.

It would be dangerous to shut our eyes to the serious threat to our gains. How to consolidate the gains which are so disquieting to imperialism and reaction? We must accomplish this in circumstances when the progressive forces are confronted by growing economic, social and political difficulties; inflation, the consequence of both internal and external causes, deterioration of purchasing power of the lower income bracket, numerous disquieting economic shortcomings, political subversion, provocations, etc.

A consistent struggle to overcome backwardness, for liberation from the tentacles of imperialism, local exploiters and parasites always comes up against objective difficulties. In addition there are

subjective difficulties, varying with the level of maturity of the anti-imperialist movement which can and must be surmounted: erroneous orientation, inexperience, lack of mutual understanding between the masses and the leaders of progressive circles, between the various progressive and patriotic forces, etc.

These difficulties have engendered disenchantment and confusion in some progressive circles in the recent period. They pose a danger inasmuch as they could hamper our forward movement. And real possibilities for such an advance exist.

As we indicated last summer,² the social movement of the working people could — depending on their orientation and the stand adopted in relation to them by the progressive forces — become either a *“destabilizing” factor and a threat to our gains, or, conversely, a powerful lever of mobilization capable of frustrating the reactionaries’ designs.*

Circumstances now favor the further isolation and weakening of reaction, in view of the big successes in uniting the people on the basis of a voluntary movement for the objectives of the agrarian revolution, encompassing the peasants and workers, the youth, students, women and soldiers. We can lean on the growing comprehension by the popular masses — which emerged in the course of the discussion of the National Charter — of the problems of the *anti-imperialist struggle, social progress, revolutionary democracy* — three levers that are of decisive importance for our country, for our people, for our revolution. This capital, accumulated by the revolutionary forces, is one of the first results of the profound changes implemented over the previous years.

New successes have been achieved, as manifested in the first ever readjustment of salaries, announced in various sectors, and the measures and work plans envisaged by many ministries in sensitive fields, such as health care, housing construction, education, etc.

There were fewer irregularities this year in food supplies caused by depletion of stocks than previously, though prices were higher. . . .

The strikes occasioned divergent interpretations. Everyone noted that the Executive Commission of the General Union of the Working People of Algeria (GUWP) — which did not side with the working people either before or during the strike and bears a grave responsibility for the consequences of these conflicts — sought to “absolve” itself by condemning the working people whom it is supposed to represent.

Unfortunately this does not enhance the GUWP’s prestige or the

authorities' or the working people's confidence in it. Certainly, the working people and trade union activists in alliance with all the forces of progress must exert greater efforts so that their organization would really fulfill its two main functions at the present stage and at the succeeding stage of socialism: *vigilantly defend the interests of the working people in their everyday life and the interests of national construction and the revolution.*

The workers of different sectors were *compelled* — unlike the medical personnel who fell into the trap set by reactionary elements — to hold strikes which they would have preferred to avoid. Over many months they repeatedly and futilely appealed to the administration and the FLN³ seeking to act within the framework of the official trade union organizations. They found no support there, however, inasmuch as "responsible workers" in these organizations do not as a rule represent the workers and are appointed against their will. This seriously prejudiced the country and the revolution, while serving as a basis for the reactionaries' criminal actions.

That is why these strikes provided on the whole a beneficial lesson, despite the accompanying secondary negative phenomena. They cut the ground from under the feet of the reactionaries, drawing attention to the existing problems and dangers, in relation to which many responsible workers and leading cadre remained deaf, blind and indifferent. They revealed the dangerous gap between official policy and its application, the real state of affairs and the real image of some organizations and leading organs. The hopes, demands and actions of the working masses were definitively inscribed in the progressive option of our people and the Charter⁴....

Today, in the new situation, to which the recent strikes brought clarity, *the condemnation or non-condemnation of the strikers does not determine one's progressivity and loyalty to national interests. The question is: what is he really doing for a radical and timely solution of any given social problem so as not to prejudice the cause of the construction and united action of all forces of the country? ...* To all progressives who ask, what is the way out, *what reliable and fundamental forces can be counted on in our further advance*, we answer: such forces exist. *They are to be found among the masses, including some patriotic-minded elements of the middle strata to whom the national interests are dear.*

In our view, proceeding from the problems demanding immediate solution and the common interests and objectives, the way to turn this enormous force into an invincible instrument of the revolution is

through united and concerted actions in applying the Charter to solve the vital tasks of construction and social progress.

There is a close interconnection between the progressive aspirations of the popular masses and consolidation of national independence on the basis of economic development. It is the duty of every patriot and progressive, whatever his post, to help explain this basic interconnection to the principal interested sides: the producers and those who take part in management and distribution of the results of labor.

In a recent speech and in his statement in the National Assembly in March, the head of state, touching on the very essence of certain problems, embarked on the explanation of some important orientations. To respond to the hopes and concern of the masses, to their desire for information, explanatory work should not be limited to episodic campaigns. A broad nationwide debate should be developed in depth and on a correct basis with the aid of well thought-out measures with a view to renovating all levels of the official apparatus and to increase the role of the press

And, finally, there is a need to persistently and vigorously counter a phenomenon which is becoming increasingly disquieting inasmuch as it is in evidence at the highest levels: *underestimation in concrete everyday life of the role of revolutionary democracy and the need for struggle against the subtle and covert actions of imperialism* (today the main direction of its activity) in spheres vital for our country, starting with the battle for the development or production.

Given a minimum of explanatory political work by the leading elements, the masses will be prepared for more effective struggle and even to making sacrifices to implement the Charter and surmount temporary difficulties, which are only partly due to the balance of forces in the state apparatus.

It should also be stressed that the masses and progressive forces must not remain passive, "awaiting" instructions from above. They should not demand *everything* from the top levels of power.

They should raise their political consciousness and organizational level, *daily improving the social and political instruments for their mobilization*, if they want social progress and revolutionary democracy. They should step up their activity against the reactionary poison, against tendencies to self-isolation. We tell some of our progressive friends that all talk about the need to wait until the situation has totally deteriorated — merely for it to be more clearly in evidence — is fraught with a grave danger. Equally dangerous is the idea that

only the President of the Republic should take action inasmuch as he has the full mandate for this. These actions are possible only given the support of the popular and progressive forces. The other extreme — authoritarian tendencies of the leadership, could also undermine the sense of responsibility of the masses and progressive forces and lead to their demobilization.

In stepping up their activity, all patriots and revolutionaries agree on one point: definite conservative, opportunistic and frankly hostile elements are seriously and stubbornly opposing the option made by the FLN leadership and other leading organizations. How to surmount this opposition so that the fundamental orientation of the Charter would not seem in the eyes of the masses an object of false propaganda, which they will reject?

In our view the activity of these circles should be directed at fulfilling the officially announced progressive objectives *while concurrently combining two factors which will have a positive effect:*

- actions of the masses, mass organizations and activists of primary organizations who support the Charter;

- participation of progressively oriented sectors of the state apparatus (including the FLN)

Higher demands with respect to the content and nature of the policy upheld by the FLN does not imply hostility toward it or opposition to the Charter when it comes out in favor of efforts capable of transforming the FLN into a truly leading party of the revolution. Such an approach, conforming to the spirit of the Charter, signifies that *we should already today facilitate the FLN's democratic and revolutionary renovation. . . .*

For the leading role of the party consists above all in *its ability, acquired in prolonged struggle, to convince and lead the broad masses, forces and organizations*, a great majority of whom are not and cannot be its members.

We on our part attach great importance to the structures that serve the anti-imperialist struggle and the revolution, particularly the future "broad political movement led by the vanguard party," mentioned in the Charter. Consequently, we, together with all patriots and consistent revolutionaries, make higher demands *on the policy and methods that will help gradually to forge these structures in the course of the struggle and to breathe life into them.*

The imperialist threat, the objective demands of construction (including the legitimate social and democratic demands of the masses)

dictate the need and urgency of implementing the revolutionary policy.

The multitude of urgent problems in all spheres demand already today that such criteria as fealty to commitments, integrity and competence should be filled with their true and real content. It is only natural that the exploiters and those who stand to gain in whatever degree from the exploitation of the masses or from pillaging the resources of the state and the people, as well as the enemies of democracy and social progress, oppose the ideas of the Charter in all spheres of the nation's life. And it is even more natural for the forces of progress to work persistently to *show by deed* the correctness and fruitfulness of the policy endorsed by the masses. . . .

In the fight to develop production, as in other related vital matters (improving the quality of education and medical services, defense of the homeland and the revolution, the cultural and linguistic problems which the imperialists and reactionaries seek to exploit to engineer a division, etc.), *a scientific and dynamic approach must be adopted. And success will hinge primarily on the support of the masses and the principal sides concerned.* In this we should avoid impatience, which could alienate people of good will or serve as a pretext for subversion. Such an approach is possible, given the assimilation and consolidation of the progressive and democratic provisions of the Charter. No important national objective can now be resolved with the aid of rigid, arbitrary and anti-democratic practices or simply on the basis of "modernistic" administrative recipes and methods modelled on the "developed" capitalist societies.

The communists will continue making a positive contribution to the realization of these complex tasks.

Some, mostly without any ulterior motive, will again refer to us as "unconditional" supporters of power. Others, and also often without ulterior motive, will consider us sectarians seeking only to exploit the events to grab a bigger slice for ourselves. There will certainly be maneuvering aimed at dividing the progressive forces, at destroying the ties formed between them in past battles, and those that will be established in future battles. There will be "denouncers" and "well-informed" individuals who will again repeat that the communists are divided and are displaying indecision.

This is only wishful thinking by the reactionaries. Let the opportunists, whether right or "left," go on with their speculations which are ultimately designed to impel the working class and the socialist vanguard to blindly follow one or another petty-bourgeois political

clan which seeks "redistribution" of power, particularly whenever they believe the wind might change.

The communists are guided by their principled line. Yes, we are "unconditional" supporters of the progressive and democratic orientation reflecting the common interests of the working class and socialism, and will always remain so. *This is what lends our policy of alliances a lasting strategic character.* We uphold, in the interests of our country and the revolution, the anti-imperialist and progressive objectives of the regime, which emerged immediately following independence as a result of the defeat of the "liberal" bourgeoisie, which had intended to make a deal with neocolonialism. We are doing everything so that this policy should predominate and ultimately determine our country's development in the direction of socialism, the only possible way to achieve progress and a definitive solution of the national and democratic objectives.

For this it is necessary to promote in every way the favorable impact made by the working class on the country's life and the organizational and ideological achievements of scientific socialism. This task is inseparable from the support which the *broad patriotic forces*, including the communists, should provide to the activity of the President of the Republic, irrespective of possible differences in assessing one or another event. Why? Because this activity, both in view of the mandate conferred on the President by the Constitution and its close alignment with the content of the Charter, is objectively at the very center of this *broad anti-imperialist alliance*, which our country needs. For a revolutionary today no task is more important than that of defeating the attempts of imperialism and reaction to compel the head of state to take the responsibility of adopting on his own initiative a decision to conduct a policy differing from the fundamental provisions of the National Charter.

This far-ranging policy of progressive alliances is not exclusive in character. It presupposes the participation of all those who hold that our people have *one enemy — imperialism and its reactionary allies, one objective — to build an independent country*, and of all those who set *united actions above all else*.

Let it be the duty of each to fight for the development of production — the most important of all tasks — with its many economic, social, political and ideological demands.

Let the working people raise the level of their mass movement, let their everyday concern be the activity of the Assembly of Working People⁵ and the trade union organizations, the struggle for the im-

plementation of democratic and trade union rights. As a patriotic class linked with economic and social progress and the future of the revolution, let it be their *national responsibility to develop production*. They will thus be in a more favorable position to advance the cause of revolutionary democracy, ensure their participation in adopting decisions concerning them and in enhancing the weight of the working class and all champions of the socialist option in the relation of political forces in the country.

Let all progressives — at the lower and higher levels, organized and unorganized — take into their own hands realization of the Charter's provisions.

Let them lend a new magnitude and force to united actions, dialogue and agreement, to whatever will frustrate the insidious splitting maneuvers designed to cause disenchantment and demobilization.

Let everyone engage in struggle for the solution of urgent problems, irrespective of their difficulty.

Let some trade union section, Assembly of Working People or territorial union of the GUWP take the initiative, let it proceed either from the qasma,⁶ a responsible worker of the FLN, the military sector, or from the wilaya,⁷ the national Union of Algerian Women, a committee of teachers and university students, a parents' committee or a sports club. *The only condition is that it should deal with concrete aims, responding to the fundamental provisions of the Charter. The only condition is that these actions should enhance that which unites, and reject that which divides.*

This is the road of defense of national interests, the road of social progress and genuine democracy. It is a hard but reliable road to the formation of an anti-imperialist National Front and a big vanguard party. It is the sole correct line, which has been confirmed by the complex situation the country is living through in the period of transition to socialism, for which we must fight to make it irreversible.

¹Numerous strikes took place throughout the summer. There were more strikes in the first nine months of 1977 than in any previous year — Ed.

²See Statement of the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, August 18, 1977.

³National Liberation Front. — Ed.

⁴The National Charter defines the general progressive anti-imperialist objectives of the Algerian revolution. It was adopted in June 1976 as a result of a referendum.

⁵An assembly of the Working People is elected by the workers of a state enterprise and participates in the management of that enterprise. — Ed.

⁶Qasma — an alliance of several primary FLN organizations. — Ed.

⁷Wilaya — an administrative region. — Ed.

