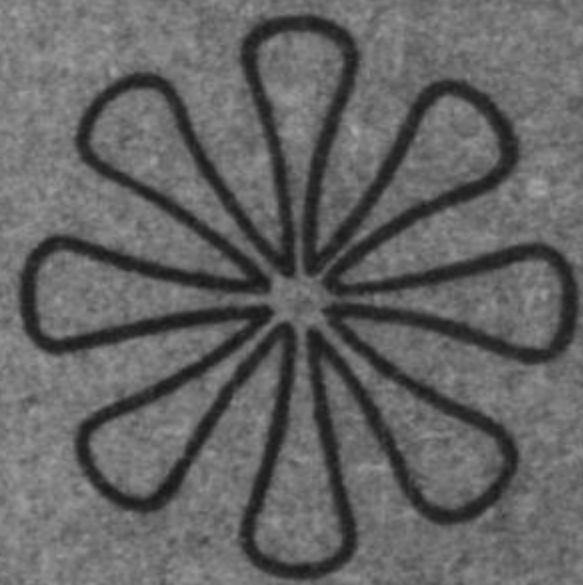


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**DISARMAMENT
AND STABLE
PEACE**

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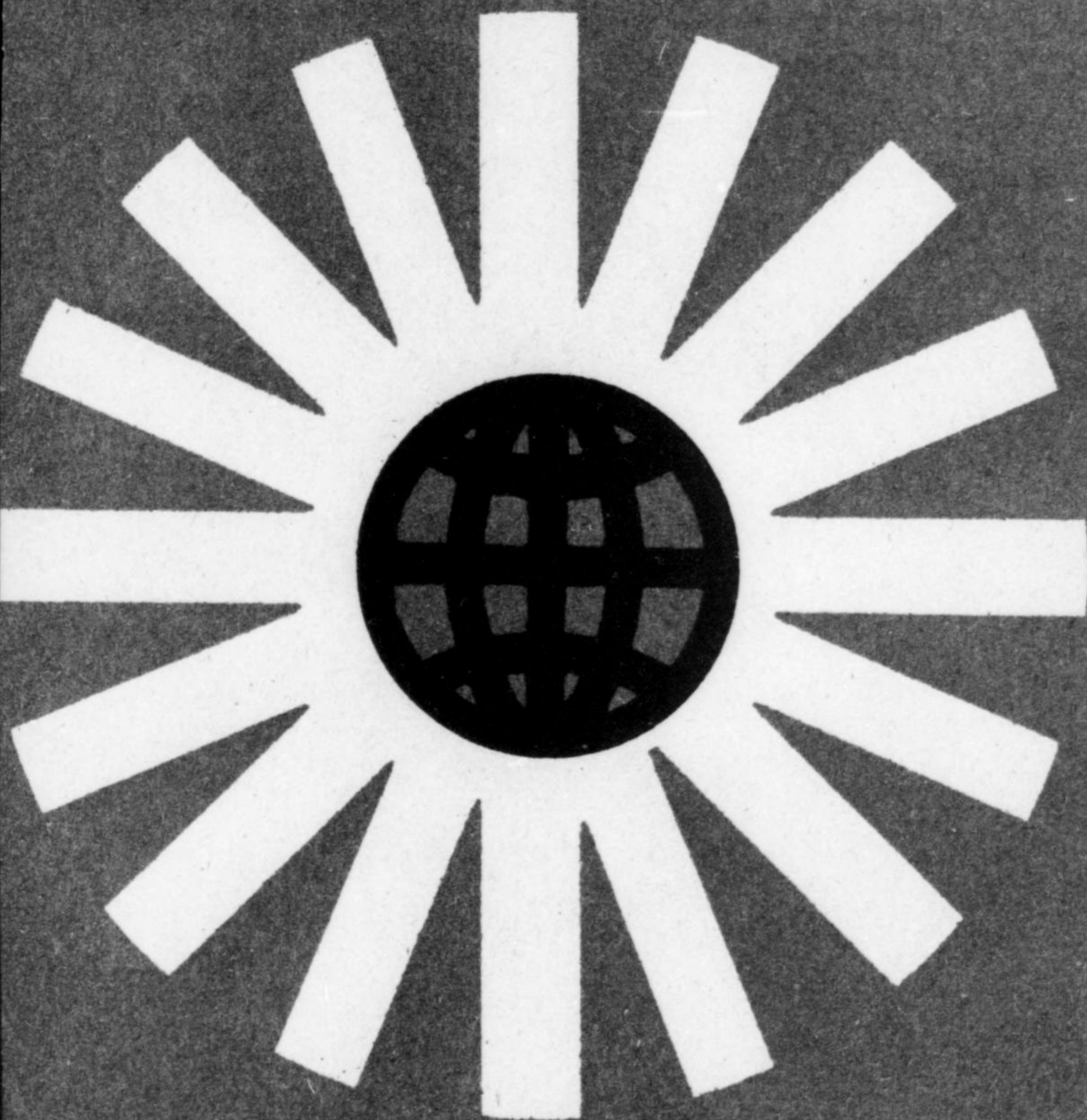
**TROPICAL AND
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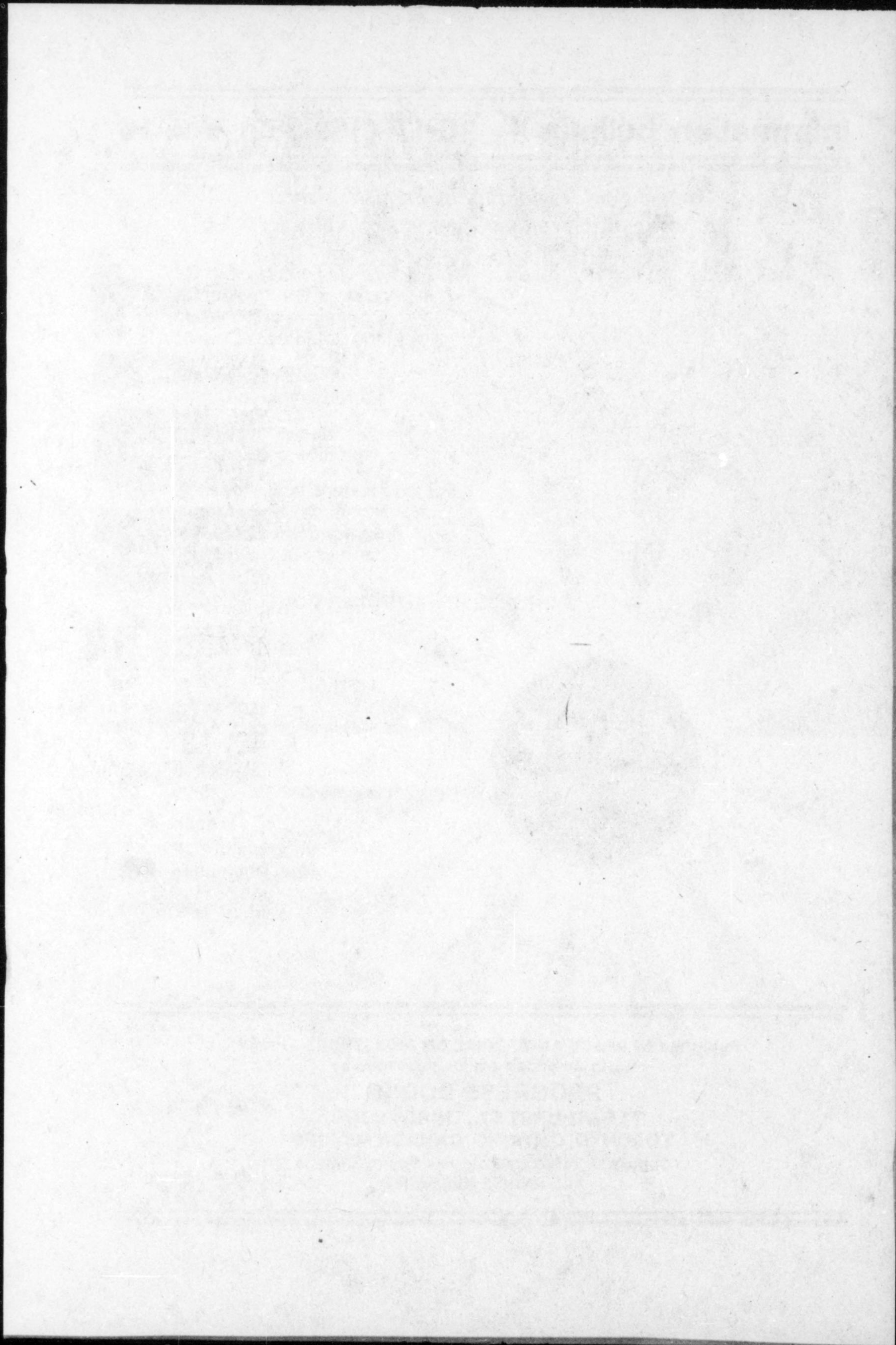
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APPEAL OF THE PRESIDENTIAL COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

*The need to defend the gains of détente,
to prevent a return to cold war*

We feel profound concern and anxiety over the fate of détente which is threatened by a grave danger, caused by new plans for escalation of the arms race.

The recent time has been witnessing stepped-up actions of the most aggressive forces of imperialism which provoke escalation of the arms race, recurrence in international relations of tough confrontation in the cold war spirit. This has found its concentrated expression in the decisions of the NATO Council's session, in Washington in May this year, which was defiantly held at the time of the Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament. The NATO Council adopted an unprecedented long-term program of an additional buildup of armaments.

These actions are a grave menace to the positive changes in international relations, attained through the tireless actions of all peace forces. This is a challenge to the will of the peoples, a deliberate disregard for the efforts of the participants in the UN General Assembly's Special Session on Disarmament, the positive results of which open up new vistas for negotiations on ending the arms race and consolidating the process of the relaxation of international tension.

Despite mass protests of the world public, the militarist forces have not given up the intention to start the production and deployment of the neutron weapon. It is their responsibility that there is no headway in the negotiations aimed at ensuring détente in the military sphere.

The actions of the forces of imperialism, racism and apartheid, directed against the national-liberation movements, against sovereignty and free development of independent states, are becoming more menacing in their character. In this connection, particularly dangerous are the attempts of a number of countries to broaden the geographical sphere of the use of the NATO military machine.

The forces coming out against détente cover up their actions by

propaganda campaigns, arranged internationally and aimed at fanning up hostility and mistrust between peoples of different countries.

The World Peace Council draws the attention of all the peace forces to the gravity of the shaping situation. The World Peace Council urges them to defend the accomplishments of détente and to prevent a return to cold war — to ensure a steady, progressive advance to a durable peace and international security.

For this it is necessary, above all, to do the utmost to see to it that those who are shaping the foreign policy line of states should heed the will of the peoples and give up plans of having another twist in the arms spiral. It is necessary to see to it that they should respect every people's right to determine independently the way of development of their country.

Disarmament is the decisive condition for preventing a world nuclear war. Disarmament is also essentially necessary for solution of acute socio-economic problems facing the people of many countries.

The peace forces are able to effectively influence the state of affairs in the world. For this, it is necessary to act jointly, comprehensively expanding and strengthening cooperation and mutual assistance in the noble cause of ensuring universal peace and the security of all people.

The World Peace Council reaffirms its readiness for cooperation in attaining these aims with all political forces, mass movements and non-governmental organizations.

We appeal to the working people, the women, the youth, the intellectuals — all who cherish peace and progress: let us all together stop the arms race!

All together — prevent the production of the neutron weapon, attain nuclear disarmament!

All together — achieve a ban on new types of weapons of mass destruction!

All together — ensure practical implementation of the recommendations of the UN General Assembly's Special Session on Disarmament!

All together — attain the earliest convocation of a World Disarmament Conference which is bound to take concrete measures toward the attainment of universal and complete disarmament!

All together — bar the road to new colonial adventures, attain the final deliverance of the peoples from the racist regimes and vestiges of colonialism, from all forms of imperialist interference and oppression!

All together — attain establishment of fair international economic

relations; create conditions for an accelerated development of young independent states!

The cause of peace, détente, disarmament, national liberation and development is the common vital matter of all people. Let us spare no effort and energy for the sake of its victory!

Pravda, July 16, 1978

A BOLD AND REALISTIC DISARMAMENT PROGRAM

Excerpts from a speech by Leonid Brezhnev, Secretary of the CC CPSU, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at a meeting devoted to the presentation of the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star medal to the hero city of Minsk.

Comrades, here in Byelorussia, where the bells of Khatyn sound a tragic warning, one feels most acutely the importance of the Soviet Union's persistent struggle for peace, its struggle to ward off a new world war.

The UN General Assembly special session on disarmament is drawing to a close in New York. It reiterated humanity's profound interest in halting the arms race. The overwhelming majority of the UN members came out in favor of disarmament.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries put forward at the session a broad, bold and realistic program of stopping the arms race. Their proposals were at the center of the businesslike discussion at the Assembly.

The session also showed that the leaders of some major NATO countries, above all the USA, are clearly unwilling to approach constructively the solution of the disarmament problem. How else is one to assess the holding of the NATO Council session in Washington, where a new long-term arms program was adopted, at the time when the UN General Assembly special disarmament session was discussing the very opposite — how to curb the arms race and implement disarmament? Does not this show scorn for the vital concerns and aspirations of the peace-loving peoples? It appears that the NATO countries are drawing up a "real policy" in Washington, while their participation in the discussions in New York served as a blind to avoid justified criticism and condemnation.

The Peking rulers are in accord with this position. It would appear that their representative had accidentally mounted the wrong rostrum. His bellicose speech would have been more appropriate at the NATO bloc session than at the United Nations.

Washington, by the way, fully appreciates this line of Peking's. Attempts are being made lately in the U.S. at a high level and in a rather cynical form, to play the "Chinese card" against the USSR. This is a shortsighted and dangerous policy. Its architects may bitterly regret it.

The General Assembly session is drawing to a close. But the ideas and proposals advanced at it will undoubtedly continue exerting their influence. The struggle for effective measures in the sphere of curbing the arms race, in the sphere of disarmament goes on and should be intensified.

Important in this sense are the Vienna negotiations on limiting armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. I have on several occasions dealt with this problem and, to tell the truth, with a heavy heart. Indeed, the negotiations are off on their 15th round and well into their fifth year, but with virtually no practical results. And this is not a minor question by far, but an extremely important one for Europe, as well as for the international climate as a whole.

The socialist countries, having thoroughly considered the situation, took a new important step to lead, at long last, the Vienna negotiations out of the deadlock. Our countries put forward in Vienna new broad and concrete proposals, which take account of the substantial experience acquired at these negotiations.

What are their main points?

First, these are absolutely clear and precise proposals. They cite the number of Soviet and U.S. troops to be withdrawn at the first stage. And these numbers are impressive. The Soviet Union, on its part, is prepared to withdraw within a year a total of three divisions with the corresponding military equipment, including approximately a thousand tanks.

Second, reduction of the armed forces of the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty should be carried out in such a way as to preserve their balance or, as they say, parity. Accordingly, it is proposed to establish, after the reduction, an equal overall ceiling for the troops of each group in Central Europe.

By the way, the very idea of such a ceiling corresponds to the Western countries' proposals. Though we firmly believe, of course, that none of the negotiators has the right, while hiding behind the

back of others, to evade reduction, let alone increase their military potential as a result of arms reductions by others.

The socialist countries propose to their partners a reasonable, realistic compromise. In advancing their proposals they have met the other side more than half way. We call on the NATO countries: let us get down to business at last. A basis for agreement definitely exists. It is now up to the political will of the West.

Reaching agreement in Vienna would make it possible to go over subsequently to a discussion of other concrete questions of relaxation of military tension in Europe with which both sides are concerned.

The improvement of the European political climate over the past decade is a most important gain for peace. This was especially in evidence during our recent visit to the FRG.

I doubt whether in any other European country so many obstacles — both objective and subjective — had to be surmounted, and where every single step on the road to improving mutual relations was so complicated. However, today relations between the USSR and the FRG — without closing our eyes to negative aspects — have become an important element of stability and détente on the European continent.

The Soviet Union and France have gone a long way in developing mutual relations; our ties with Italy, Sweden and Austria, let alone our neighbor — friendly Finland — are developing well in all spheres.

The visit of Premier Bulent Ecevit of Turkey to the Soviet Union contributed substantially to developing peaceful cooperation between countries participants in the European conference. Negotiations with him and the signing of a political document on the principles of good-neighbor relations and friendly cooperation between the USSR and Turkey constitute an important stage in the development of our relations along the road charted in their time by Lenin and Ataturk.

In general I agree with Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who said at the General Assembly that there is much more mutual trust in Europe today than at any time in the past decades.

But this common property of the peace-loving European states must be continuously supported, strengthened and expanded. Particularly now, when the international situation is deteriorating, Europe can demonstrate how to coexist, cooperate and work together.

To work for a lasting peace is the duty not only of governments, but of the peoples as well. As early as the middle of the past century Karl Marx called on the working class to master the secrets of international

policy and to actively fight for peace between the peoples. This idea lives on in the minds and deeds of the broad working masses and their political vanguard.

The vital interests of the working people of all countries require that we should not permit all the good achieved over the past years on the world arena to be struck out, that we move forward to a genuinely stable peace for all the peoples. Through the joint efforts of all peace-loving forces this goal can and, we believe, will be reached.

Pravda, June 26, 1978

STABLE PEACE IS THE ASPIRATION OF ALL PEOPLES

Addressing the session of the World Peace Council, held in Moscow from July 11 to 14, 1978, Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in part:

A positive change took place in international relations in the early and mid-1970s as a result of the efforts of the Soviet Union, the other socialist-community countries, all peaceful states and as a result of the vigorous actions of public movements. These relations came largely to be determined by the principles of peaceful coexistence, by growing and deepening cooperation between countries with different social systems. The danger of a new world war has weakened and receded somewhat. But it has not yet been totally eliminated, the arms race is continuing and is even gaining momentum.

Recent developments show that representatives of various reactionary quarters who do not stand to gain from positive changes on the international arena have launched an attack against détente. A clear example of this is the recent NATO Council's session, which adopted a long-term (15-year) program envisaging a substantial quantitative and qualitative build-up in armaments. And the fact that it is already being implemented poses a threat for all humanity. Funds are already being earmarked for practical plans of modernizing various weapons systems. The North Atlantic bloc has set about modifying and expanding the NATO communications satellite and monitoring systems. In terms of expenditure and scale this plan is the biggest in NATO

history. The defense ministers of a number of West European countries are already calling for enlarged military budgets. And one would think that the arms race had already reached all conceivable bounds.

At the NATO Council's session the U.S. ruling circles sought to subordinate this military bloc to their global neo-colonialist strategy, to make it a direct instrument in the struggle against the national-liberation movement, above all in Africa. The intention is to extend NATO activity to an area far surpassing its original framework. Recent developments, especially the flagrant intervention by some Western countries in the internal affairs of Zaire, expose the aggressive nature of such actions.

The results of the NATO Council's session show that an "escalation of convergence," if one can use the expression, is taking place in the relations between NATO and China. The Pentagon is actively prodding China's gravitation to this aggressive bloc. Like many of you, we witness with deep regret the degradation of that state's foreign policy. The PRC leaders are preaching the inevitability of another world war while in practice they are sabotaging disarmament, aligning themselves with the most reactionary and militarist forces and seeking to undermine détente.

Seeing the Soviet Union and its peace policy as the main obstacle in pursuing its line, Peking is zealously working to set up an anti-Soviet front. Now is the time to give serious thought to whether these plans and their realization are damaging to the Soviet Union alone. For behind them lie hegemonistic, chauvinistic aims fraught with grave danger for many countries. This is evident from the PRC's policy toward heroic Vietnam, the Vietnamese people, who have only recently upheld their country's freedom.

And what is the Soviet Union's policy at this crucial time? Its main content is the strong resolve to safeguard and multiply everything positive that has been attained in the struggle for détente, to bring about a fundamental turn in curbing the arms race. As Leonid Brezhnev put it in his speech in Minsk: "The vital interests of the working people of all countries require that we should not permit all the good achieved over the past years on the world arena to be struck out, that we move forward to a genuinely stable peace for all the peoples." We do not want to be, nor shall we be, accomplices in any plot against détente.

Recently the Soviet Union put forward an integral program of new constructive and realistic initiatives aimed at curbing the arms race. These include concrete proposals formulated in a number of speeches

by Leonid Brezhnev, in the document "On Practical Ways for Ending the Arms Race," submitted to the UN General Assembly special disarmament session, which was widely supported at the session and broadly hailed by world opinion.

The Assembly recently concluded its work. It was a major step in the quest for a solution to the problem of halting the arms race. At the same time the discussion at the session produced further evidence of the enormous barriers that are being erected to disarmament by its various opponents.

The socialist states recently advanced important proposals at the Vienna talks on the reduction of arms and armed forces in Central Europe, Ponomarev went on to say. Our proposals meet some wishes of our Western partners and are, at the same time, based on the main principle that can ensure real progress at the talks, that is: the principle of equal security of all participants.

The Soviet proposals are not predicated on the demand: all or nothing, but are aimed at reaching reasonable agreements. They are not in the nature of ultimatum but open up possibilities for discussion and mutual adjustment of positions. Our stand, as Leonid Brezhnev put it, is that there is no type of arms, let alone mass destruction weapons, which the Soviet Union is not prepared to see limited and banned reciprocally in agreement with other states, and then removed altogether from the arsenals.

The highest body of state power in the USSR — the Supreme Soviet — at a recent session held in Moscow once again forcefully reaffirmed the Leninist foreign policy line aimed at consolidating détente and halting the arms race, as expressed in the program of measures submitted to all states.

That is our answer to the challenge of the enemies of détente. Today, as always, the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state pursues the aim of providing reliable defense for the socialist homeland, the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, the security of other peoples while helping to create conditions for eliminating the danger of war for ever from the life of humanity.

The questions of foreign policy, including those of disarmament, have a direct and immediate bearing on the vital interests of all peoples. We are happy to note that the public is increasingly affirming itself as an influential international force. We are happy to note its growing impact on the drafting and implementation of the foreign policy of states, on the decisions of inter-governmental organizations.

It is absolutely clear that a halt to the arms race and disarmament

will not come about of themselves. For the forces of aggression, militarism and the military-industrial complex are still strong. These sinister forces must be counterposed by a powerful coalition of fighters for peace, democracy and progress, all those who seek not the annihilation of people and destruction, but the well-being and happiness of the peoples.

Experience shows that today the peoples have much greater opportunities of influencing the so-called big policy. These opportunities are growing, parallel with the ever fuller affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The point is to make the best possible use of these opportunities.

The experience gained in the cooperation of the peace-loving forces has prepared the ground for, and facilitated, the launching of a worldwide protest campaign against the dangerous plans of the Pentagon and NATO, which the peoples call a campaign against neutron death. And it is largely due to the impact of powerful public actions that not a single government of European NATO countries has had the temerity to say "yes" to the neutron bomb, while the U.S. President, as you will recall, declared that the final decision on its production had been deferred.

Numerous facts show, however, that this decision of the U.S. administration may be a maneuver designed to lower the pressures of mass actions and to introduce the neutron weapon into the NATO arsenals, if not through the front entrance, then through the back door. Ranking NATO officials are insisting on the production of this dangerous anti-human type of arms in the USA and its deployment in Europe. It is impossible therefore to relax vigilance. It is essential to expand and intensify the campaign against the neutron weapon.

An ominous alliance has now been formed of the manufacturers of arms and the manufacturers of lies. The output of the latter, their weapon, is already shooting. Tales about the Soviet Union's seeking to attain military superiority, allegedly for the purpose of attacking the well-intentioned, poorly armed and unsuspecting rest of the world, are being persistently insinuated in the minds of people in the West.

This lie, which is repeated daily in thousands of ways, is the key propaganda tool for promoting new arms programs in the capitalist countries. But high officials in the United States and other NATO countries often frankly admit that there exists a balance in armaments and armed forces between the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty countries, on the one hand, and the United States and the other NATO countries, on the other. For instance, President Carter said

recently that there exists extraordinary stability between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in the sphere of strategic armaments and in the balance of conventional armed forces in Europe.

The point is that certain NATO quarters reject the principle of parity and, equal security of states, the very principle that has been written into authoritative international documents. They are unwilling to renounce the idea of their military superiority, considering it the only permissible basis in their relations with other states.

In these circumstances there is much more reason to speak of quite clear threats addressed at the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries than of a mythical "Soviet menace." Indeed, let us recall a very recent statement by the U.S. President to the effect that the United States is a powerful country capable of withstanding, in case of need, even a strategic nuclear attack. Such pronouncements contain the idea that nuclear war is permissible. But such an approach runs counter to the spirit of well-known Soviet-U.S. agreements on the principles of relations between them and on the prevention of nuclear war. Let us recall that the second such agreement directly points out that the sides undertake to act in such a way as to rule out the outbreak of a nuclear war, that they refrain from the threat or use of force, and that they will be guided by these considerations in formulating their foreign policy and in their actions in the sphere of international relations.

In this connection one may ask: why, for what purpose, does the United States need ever new types of weapons? Why is it demanding this of its allies? Why doesn't it accept the proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the real reduction of the stockpiles of lethal weapons?

Let us take another concept — the notorious "Two superpowers" concept. Its advocates equate imperialist policy with the policy of a socialist state, which is seeking to ensure the security of all the peoples and to strengthen peace. This concept aims, in effect, to absolve the United States and NATO from the responsibility for launching and spurring the arms race. In point of fact, however, it is NATO and the USA that bear the entire responsibility for the arms race. The Soviet Union has always been compelled to adopt counter-measures to ensure the security of the Soviet people and their allies.

The Soviet position in international affairs is based on the fact that there are no classes or social groups in our country who stand to gain from the production of arms. In our country war propaganda is

prohibited by law. We make no territorial claims to any state. Our plans, drawn up for years and decades, are aimed at peaceful construction for the happiness and well-being of people. This was demonstrated once again by the July Central Committee plenum of our party which, on the basis of Leonid Brezhnev's speech, adopted a long-term program of nationwide effort for a steady upsurge in agriculture.

Many participants in the present forum have visited our country before. And they have been able to see for themselves that the Soviet people are engaged in creative labor endeavor; all their thoughts and aspirations are directed at construction, not destruction. Their representatives everywhere, in all parts of the globe, come out for peace, for the consolidation of détente.

The past few years have seen a visible invigoration of the peace movement. This is evidenced by the results of the World Congress of Peace Forces, the Brussels Assemblies, which initiated a new public movement for security and cooperation in Europe. It is evidenced by the numerous forums convened by trade union, women's youth and other organizations of different ideological orientations, symposiums of scientists, and meetings of cultural workers of various countries.

In these conditions the search for improved methods of cooperation on the basis of equality of the participants and mutual respect of the partners, is fully justified. It is equally important to support new forms of work, which emerge at grass-roots level in various countries and continents.

Now no task is more urgent and more able than that of uniting the most varied forces to promote détente and to halt the arms race. It is this that guides the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. For instance, the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties came out for a constructive dialogue with all progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces and parties, and with democratic mass organizations.

We attach due importance to the Helsinki disarmament conference of the Socialist International and consider it important to expand the dialogue and cooperation of the communists and social democrats, as well as other political forces.

Today, more than ever before, the purposeful political activity of the masses depends largely on a correct understanding of the true meaning of present-day world events. It is important for the broadest possible masses to be aware of the war danger, to know its source — the aggressive NATO bloc. The activity of the peace movement

shows that the more strongly the efforts of the peace-loving public are backed up by mass actions, both on the national and international scale, the more effective they are, and the better their demands are taken into account.

The World Peace Council, Ponomaryov said in conclusion, has considerable potentialities in order to facilitate more active participation by various groups and associations — trade union, women's youth or religious organizations, parliamentarians, scholars and writers — in the movement of the peace forces, for the goals of this movement respond to the interests of all.

The activity of the champions of peace has its prosaic side, so to say. There are also periods of especially acute, particularly intense struggle. We have now entered precisely such a period. It is important to bring home to the broad masses the danger of war and what should be done to combat it.

The Soviet peace champions will in future too stint no effort or energies in strengthening unity with their colleagues in all countries in the common battle for peace, the battle for life.

Pravda, July 12, 1978

FOR THE FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, NATIONAL REVIVAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLES OF TROPICAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

A number of communist and workers' parties of Africa met and elaborated the following document. They present it as the synthesis of their collective thought on the situation in Tropical and Southern Africa. It is their belief that this document provides a basis for discussion among all parties, militants, patriots, progressives, revolutionaries and Marxists in Africa.

Our day witnesses great historic achievements and revolutionary change. The international influence of the socialist community has become the decisive factor of present-day development. In all conti-

nents the pressure of the progressive forces is mounting. The abolition of the last remnants of colonialism and racism is nearing completion. Neo-colonialism, the essence of which is to preserve with new forms and methods exploitation of developing countries, is encountering increasingly determined resistance from these countries and peoples. They are unremittingly fighting to consolidate their freedom and independence. More and more liberated countries are taking the road that can ensure a socialist orientation in their development. They are resolutely defending their historic option and repulsing the interference of reaction and imperialism in their internal affairs. In our continent the same objective laws of social development operating throughout the world manifest themselves but in a form consistent with the national characteristics and historical features in our continent and its islands.

The collapse of colonial empires, the winning of political independence and the formation of independent nation states in Africa is one of the greatest historic gains of the African peoples. This was made possible by the changes in the international correlation of class forces due to the defeat of the Hitlerite fascist coalition and of Japanese militarism, the weakening of international imperialism, the emergence of the world socialist system, the great upsurge of the national-liberation movement and the unfailing support given to it by the socialist states and the international working-class and communist movement.

The peoples that have won political independence are intensifying their efforts to consolidate it and to achieve economic independence. Life, and the logic of the liberation struggle are repeatedly demonstrating that these objectives are closely related to the struggle for social liberation.

The socialist orientation of the progressive African states is one of the manifestations of the objective laws of the modern epoch, the epoch of transition of a growing number of nations from an exploiting system to socialism.

The glorious victory of the heroic people of Vietnam under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party inflicted upon U.S. imperialist aggression, represents one of the most inspiring pages of the revolutionary movement of our time. Today under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam a reunified Vietnam is on the road of socialism, progress, peace and democracy. This victory, as those of Laos and Kampuchea, galvanized revolutionary energies throughout the world.

The victory of the protracted armed liberation struggles of the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau were events of outstanding historic significance for the continent of Africa generally and Southern Africa in particular. The victorious liberation movements of Angola and Mozambique have set themselves the task of creating conditions for the building of socialism in their countries. To lay the foundations for their new societies they are creating state forms based on the workers and peasantry led by MPLA and FRELIMO which have begun the process of transforming themselves into vanguard parties of the working class guided by the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The ever-growing solidarity of the forces of socialism and national liberation was recently most strikingly in evidence in the struggle of the Angolan peoples against imperialist and racist aggression and African reaction. The glorious victory won by Angola with the support of the Soviet Union, Cuba, other socialist countries, progressive African states and all democratic forces made a significant contribution to wiping out colonial slavery, racism and neo-colonialism in our continent. This victory is an impressive expression of the strength of proletarian internationalism. Now that Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, the republic of Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe have won their independence the African peoples are rising for a decisive assault on the last imperialist strongholds of colonialism and racism in Southern Africa.

1. THE PRESENT PHASE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The era of colonial slavery has left a deep imprint on the social structure of the African countries, on their economy and on their political and cultural life. The socio-economic and technical backwardness of the African peoples is the direct result of imperialist plunder and exploitation. The grim consequences of criminal colonial rule in Africa have not yet been overcome. International imperialism and its chief instrument the multinational monopoly corporations remain the chief enemies of and main obstacle to the progress of the peoples of Africa.

The economy of most African countries is generally dependent on the imperialist monopolies. Monocrop farming, imposed by the metropolitan countries, is still predominant in agriculture, the occupation of the vast majority of the population. The peasants are brutally exploited, especially by the multinational corporations, which control

the world capitalist agricultural raw materials and food market.

As in colonial times, industry in the countries of Tropical Africa is confined to mining and primary processing of raw materials, and key sectors in it remain in the hands of the imperialist monopolies. Industrialization on a national basis is deliberately slowed down by neo-colonialism.

Utilizing new methods such as certain kinds of "aid" and "assistance" under unjust conditions, establishment of puppet regimes and forcing unjust treaties the industrialized capitalist states seek to tie even closer Africa's economy to the world capitalist market and to orient the development of African countries only on the capitalist road.

By means of economic and financial levers of the world capitalist market, the almost excessive monopoly over maritime transport and freight rates, and by dictating the prices of technology international imperialism not only continues to rob substantially the peoples of the fruit of their labor but also increases its economic and financial pressure on them. Under the conditions of the present-day general crisis of the capitalist system imperialism utilizes to the utmost the means available to it to impose on the African peoples the harmful consequences of its own crisis.

After the achievement of independence capitalist development in Africa intensified. At the same time, a specific feature of capitalist development in Africa is that the imperialist monopolies remain the predominant force and that national capitalism is developing in backward and often parasitical forms and having numerous links with the modes of production that preceded. It is developing mainly in the services and circulation sphere and not in the sphere of material production. Consequently even the positive efforts which could evolve objectively from capitalist development are extremely limited.

After achieving independence the economic development rates of the African countries have grown somewhat. However this limited growth is insufficient to ensure in the foreseeable future a solution to the pressing problems involved in abolishing economic backwardness. Between 1960 and 1975 the share of non-agricultural output in the gross national product of the African countries grew from approximately 20 per cent to more than 30 per cent. This growth was due mainly to the mining industry, whose annual growth rates averaged 16 per cent, and was to be observed in a small number of countries. With regard to agriculture its rather limited development takes place mainly in the production of export crops. This corresponds to the interests of

foreign monopolies and not the African peoples who suffer from a chronic lack of food products.

The changes taking place in the economic basis of the African countries have led to changes in the composition and structure of the population.

Here it is necessary to draw attention to the importance of the problem of demographic growth.

This phenomenon is different in different countries (geographic conditions, higher or lower degree of underdevelopment, etc.).

This problem should be considered with due account for each country's particular conditions. But we are convinced that only socialism can offer a suitable solution to this problem.

In Africa socio-class differentiation is deepening — 17 per cent of Africa's population now receives 70 per cent of the national income.

In the period from 1960 to 1975 the number of wage and salary earners in Africa increased from 20 to 32 million, numbering more than 11 million in the Arab countries of North Africa, about 11 million in the countries of Tropical Africa and approximately 10 million in the countries of Southern Africa.

Some of the Tropical African countries now have a working class and in others it is in the process of formation. In spite of the fact that this class is growing slowly and its development is hindered by backwardness of the productive forces it nevertheless represents a considerable political force. Today the African proletariat, especially in South Africa, is thus a formidable force. In Tropical Africa it still retains numerous links with the countryside. Highly concentrated in the main urban centers, in the ports and at the relatively few but often rather large industrial enterprises, its class militancy is growing swiftly. Its political consciousness and organizational forms are developing. The working class has built its own trade unions and in some countries its own party. It is essential that the political role of these parties should be developed and strengthened.

The working class is objectively becoming more and more the defender of the interests of all the working people. From the economic struggle for their own rights and interests many contingents of the proletariat are going over to political actions against neo-colonialism, local reactionaries and international imperialism. At the present stage of the national democratic revolution, even though the proletariat has certain objective and subjective weaknesses, it remains the most consistent revolutionary force in the struggle for national and social liberation, national economic development, indus-

trialization, the promotion of cooperative forms of the economy, the surmounting of tribalism — that blight of the African peoples — and for universal cultural rejuvenation.

In this struggle the peasantry, which in African countries comprises the majority of the population, is the natural and numerically strongest ally of the working class. It is impossible to ensure real social progress for a long period without taking into account the very serious problems of the peasantry, without responding to the aspirations of the peasant masses for socio-economic progress, without active support of the peasantry.

Profound changes are taking place in the agrarian structures of Tropical Africa. These changes are directly linked to the rapid extension of commodity-production in the village. The penetration of foreign capital and capitalist forms of production (setting of prices, loans and credit), leads to the destruction of the simple forms of productive forces and growing erosion of the pre-capitalist patriarchal and feudal structures, resulting in the takeover of communal land for the purpose of capitalist exploitation by traditional landowners or by the leading segment of bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the emergence of rural bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie alongside the large masses of landless and impoverished peasants and agricultural workers. This process leads to the pauperization of the rural masses; this is the social picture of rural areas in Tropical Africa.

The rapidity and the depth of these structural agrarian changes differ from one country to another. The growing heterogeneity of the peasantry inevitably means that opposed social and political interests shall emerge and lead to an intensification of the class struggle. Experience shows that the policies of "modernization" of the rural area, including the cooperative policies, if not accompanied by popular participation, are in favor of rich rural strata and they necessarily entail the pauperization of the broad peasant masses.

This is why it is so important for progressive forces to ensure the widest democratic participation of the peasant masses in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle in the countryside and in the struggle for genuine agrarian reform.

The progressive forces share the demands and aspirations of the working and poor peasantry and try to heighten their social and political consciousness. Naturally therefore the working class and other progressive forces encounter not only the active resistance of the local rich and exploiting classes but also that of imperialism and its instrument the multinational corporations.

As a result of the migration of the rural population to the cities a rapid process of urbanization has taken place. This rapid growth has created tremendous socio-political problems primarily that of spawning large economically unstable and declassed elements.

The process of urbanization has also led to the marked numerical growth of the middle and some transitional strata which includes elements dislocated from the rural areas, small traders, artisans, office workers and intellectuals. These strata also take part with varying degrees of intensity in the struggle for democracy and national and social progress. It is from these strata that such an influential force as revolutionary democrats more or less clearly shaped is emerging, and which in the socialist oriented countries controls state power.

The intellectuals constitute an active political stratum in African society. They play an important role in African political life, particularly during the independence struggle. After independence their number constantly grows, due to the expansion of education and the objective needs of economic rejuvenation. Among them the process of social and political differentiation is deepening. Endeavors to corrupt and to attract some sections of the intellectuals, including from the armed forces, to the positions of reaction is a general practice of the internal and external neo-colonial forces. Nevertheless, a growing number of intellectuals closely connected with the popular masses, forms an integral part of the patriotic and revolutionary forces. There is a growing acceptance, especially among the large number of revolutionary intellectuals, of many of the basic Marxist postulates of revolutionary theory and a broad commitment to the aims of socialist transformation.

Communists in Africa recognize and welcome the important ideological and political role played by this stratum in the struggle for national and social liberation.

In African countries where the capitalist oriented elements came to power after independence there is evidence of a strengthening of the economic positions and even the political influence of the domestic bourgeoisie. The place and field of activity of this class in the national economy varies greatly from country to country and so do the nature and degree of its connection with foreign capital. Nevertheless, despite the emergence of industrial capitalists and agricultural entrepreneurs in a number of countries, the commercial and usury bourgeoisie is by far the largest section of African capitalism. The dominant position of foreign capital, the financial weakness and other

limitations of the domestic bourgeoisie virtually confine the activity of this class to the service industry, real estate and commodity speculation.

The African bourgeoisie is trying to modify its subordinate position in regard to the monopolies dominating a number of spheres of capitalist activity. It openly solicits government assistance to gain more favorable conditions for expansion. Their various programs stress in one form or another the need to transfer to them those privileges previously reserved for foreign companies during colonial times, to give them access to import and export, set up national financial institutions that would deliver them from the discriminatory curbs imposed by the dominant foreign capitalist banks, allocate domestic capitalists an increasing number of public tenders on a priority basis and grant them a share — with government aid — in companies of foreign origin.

These objectives of the domestic bourgeoisie sometimes put them into conflict with the imperialists. Revolutionary forces take into account, not only the contradictions existing or likely to arise between the domestic bourgeoisie and foreign monopolies, but certain objectives of this or that section of domestic capital within the process of the national democratic revolution. However, one must not under-rate the fact that the very nature of the African bourgeoisie's demands is fraught with a deeper involvement of African states in the subjugating structures of the international capitalist system.

One of the focal aspects of capitalist development in Tropical Africa is the formation of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie beginning generally with the high and medium-ranking officials of diverse echelons of the state apparatus. In several countries it is the principal social motor of capital development. Being in control of the economic and political levers of the state, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie is carrying on capitalist accumulation at a high rate to the detriment of the national interest. In practising institutionalized corruption and frittering away the natural resources and public property, it combines explicit submission to the imperatives of the neo-colonialist policy of imperialism with extensive nationalist demagogy. The control it exercises over the state apparatus provides this narrow group with powerful means of gearing key economic mechanisms to the development of all the domestic exploiting strata.

The strategic position of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie links it through diverse interests and stratagems with all the forces interested in establishing a society based on the exploitation of man by man.

This stratum plays a role of the first importance in the relations between the domestic bourgeoisie and imperialism while performing a regulating function between the diverse groups of domestic exploiters.

The bureaucratic bourgeoisie presents a danger even in socialist-oriented countries. It is only natural, therefore, that the communists and progressive forces should intensify their struggle against the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which is an ally of imperialism, a vehicle of neo-colonialist policy and a representative of the domestic exploiters.

The armed forces in Africa are playing an active political role which finds its expression in numerous coups d'état and the establishment of military regimes. After seizing power the socio-political contradictions within the armed forces is greatly intensified and in specific ways the army which is not above the class struggle becomes openly involved in it.

Life itself testifies that in this struggle the military regimes are inevitably confronted by two main ways of development, capitalist or socialist oriented. Consequently they are compelled to seek the support of one or other social force. On the one hand some of the officers sooner or later become mainly the instrument of the international and local exploiting classes and use the organized strength and discipline of the armed forces to strike a blow at the developing revolutionary forces. On the other hand democratic officers seek the support of the working people and use the armed forces in the interests of progressive development. Faced with the reality of resolving the tasks of the national democratic revolution these democratic officers in cooperation with other progressive forces have to democratize the military, civilian and state structures, have confidence in the creative energies of the masses and give them a real opportunity to participate in the revolutionary process.

In the struggle for the fulfillment of general tasks of national revival two coalitions of class forces are formed. The basis of the coalition of the anti-imperialist, patriotic and progressive forces is made up of the working class, exploited peasantry, and other categories of working people; the middle strata and patriotic personalities participate in this coalition to an extent to which they remain loyal to the interests of the masses and to the interests of progressive independent development. This coalition is opposed by the bloc of the privileged reactionary feudal and tribal forces, the compradore and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, foreign imperialist agents and generally those who wish to place their countries along the road of capitalist development. The

solution of the immediate tasks of social and economic progress shall be determined by the result of the struggle between these irreconcilable social forces.

2. TWO TRENDS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

In Africa two opposite trends of social development are at work — one toward socialism and the other toward capitalism. The specific African environment has made its imprint on each of these two trends.

There were no capitalist relations in pre-colonial Africa. In fact, in Africa capitalism is the product and legacy of foreign rule, of colonialism. As a social system, capitalism as yet has no deep national roots in most African countries. The capitalist orientation of some African states was born and is sustained by the combined efforts of international imperialism and the pro-imperialist circles of the local bourgeoisie and the traditional aristocracy. Capitalism's historical lack of a future in Africa is predetermined by its general crisis throughout the world which renders it absolutely unable to solve problems of vital significance for the African states. Needless to say, this does not rule out the possibility and the expediency of making temporary use, under strict state control, of national and foreign capital to promote the productive forces. Given a correct and consistent national policy, the state capitalist sector even in capitalist-oriented countries may acquire an anti-imperialist orientation. In these countries under the pressure of the popular masses it is possible, albeit on a limited scale, to give effect to progressive measures and reforms.

The capitalist tendency of development has become especially manifest in countries such as Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Kenya, Zaire, and others. The positions of foreign monopolies and multinational corporations have become considerably stronger and this poses a grave threat to their political and economic independence. The progressive forces of these countries face the task of creating a broad anti-imperialist, anti-neo-colonialist front. The major tasks of this front are to struggle for the consolidation of independence, for the development of national economy, for the defense of democratic rights and freedoms, for the defense and satisfaction of the urgent demands and needs of the working people — higher living standards, right to education, health service, cultural revival and democratic agrarian reform.

Special conditions have taken shape in the struggle for national and

social liberation in the Republic of South Africa. There, capitalist relations hold unchallenged sway and have acquired a monopoly character. Domination by local and foreign, including multinational monopolies, is being intensified. South African monopoly capitalism which supports and relies upon the racist fascist regime has shown that it is a staunch ally of international, chiefly U.S. imperialism, the sworn enemy of the peoples of South Africa and their most brutal exploiter. The South African Communist Party characterizes South Africa's socio-economic system as "colonialism of a special type," where the colonialists and the colonized peoples live within the same national boundaries. Rhodesia, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa are examples of countries where capitalism has institutionalized racism as the foundation of colonial arbitrary rule and national oppression of the worst kind.

Today, with mass actions against the reactionary and inhuman system of apartheid reaching unprecedented intensity in South Africa and the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia rising to high tide, the communists demand an immediate end to the disgraceful racist Vorster and Smith regimes. With imperialist intrigues the different variants of a "phased settlement" of the problems of the South are designed to weaken the liberation struggle and maintain racist supremacy. Repressions and massacres by the racists cannot halt the liberation struggle or break the will of the fighters for freedom and independence.

In the Republic of South Africa the unity of the African working class, the peasantry and the landless unemployed is growing stronger step by step.

The South African working class, which is increasingly concentrated at large mining, industrial and manufacturing enterprises, is the leading force not only in the vitally important spheres of production but also in the liberation struggle. Lately, it has repeatedly staged general political strikes and convincingly demonstrated its ability to head the revolutionary struggle and lead it to its victorious consummation. In many rural areas the people have also taken part in various militant struggles.

It is also in the long-term interests of the non-exploiting sections of the white population to participate in the anti-racist, anti-fascist struggle. The main content of the struggle at the present stage is the national liberation of the African people — a struggle led by a revolutionary alliance headed by the African National Congress and which includes the South African Communist Party. At the same time

the national-liberation struggle in the Republic of South Africa is inescapably and indivisibly linked with the struggle to abolish capitalism, racism and all forms of exploitation. This plus the fact that the South African working class has its own party and can create the objective material prerequisites for the speedy transition to socialism.

But for the vast majority of the African countries, whose social development has been held up by colonialism, it is not possible to effect a direct transition from pre-capitalist to socialist relations. Before embarking upon socialist construction they have to go through a series of intermediate stages, through a more or less long period of transition. During this transition period spontaneous development gives way to purposeful, conscious policy consistent with the vital interests of the working class, the peasantry and the patriotic intelligentsia, of the broadest national democratic strata. A number of countries of Tropical and Southern Africa have recently chosen the way of socialist orientation. Only during the first half of the 70s Madagascar, Benin, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and some others have been added to the number of such countries and their numbers are growing.

The revolutionary-democratic governments of socialist-oriented countries have to give effect to a large spectrum of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-capitalist reforms and ensure progress in the general direction of socialism, and create the political, material, social and cultural preconditions for the transition to direct socialist construction. Unlike the bourgeois neo-colonialist regimes in capitalist-oriented African countries, which usually have recourse to anti-popular methods or, at best, apply reformist recipes, the revolutionary democrats use revolutionary methods with the support of the masses against imperialism and against the local exploiting classes and strata.

Given its heterogeneous social basis, the ideological and political struggle going on within their circles and external reactionary pressures the revolutionary democrats are subject to vacillation between the two antagonistic orientations — one to socialism, the other to capitalism. Consequently the possibility that some revolutionary democrats may seriously reverse their progressive social policies is very real. The more resolutely they wage the struggle against imperialism and local reaction, stand up for social progress, move ever closer to the ideology of scientific socialism and have confidence in

the working class and poor peasantry the greater their role as a significant political force in present-day Africa.

The maturing of the external and internal factors ensuring the transition to socialist orientation has in recent years been making faster headway in many African countries. Socialist ideals are becoming a realistic goal of a growing number of African nations; this process will continue to gather momentum because it is in keeping with the character and scale of our epoch's world liberation movement and the growing influence of world socialism and the international working-class and communist movement.

As the experience of countries applying it in practice shows, socialist orientation means the pursuance of the following objectives: (1) the overthrow of the neo-colonialist regime of the exploiters and the establishment of a revolutionary-democratic state having an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist orientation; (2) the abolition of imperialism's political rule, the restriction, and then in the future the abolition of its economic domination, the pursuance of an appropriate policy of nationalizing foreign capital, state control of its activities and through gradual removal from the national economy; (3) the abolition of feudal exploitation and the implementation of progressive agrarian policies; (4) the restriction and control of the private capitalist sector; (5) the build-up of a state sector and a cooperative movement, and the creation of the prerequisites for their successful performance in industry and agriculture; (6) a struggle against the ideology of the exploiters which includes all forms and manifestations of anti-communism and the assertion of the ideals of scientific socialism; (7) the enforcement of general democratic reforms with the active participation of the toiling masses at all levels of decision-making, the acceleration of social and cultural progress; (8) a progressive foreign policy, and the utmost support for the struggle for independence, security and the freedom of nations, for peace and détente, for an alliance with the socialist world, and (9) the creation of prerequisites for the building of socialism.

Life itself demonstrates that these objectives cannot be achieved in a complete and consistent manner in every particular case.

It is in particular because these countries remain in the orbit of the capitalist world. Using economic and financial possibilities of the world capitalist market and new instruments (Lome convention, etc.), imperialism has powerful means to undermine the policy of genuine economic independence.

The preservation of socialist orientation in the face of major obsta-

cles raised by imperialism demands in the first place that progressive forces and broad popular masses should be conscious of the complexities of their long struggle, but also of the possibilities available to win it.

The above-mentioned measures have not only an anti-imperialist but also an anti-capitalist and pre-socialist character. They are inevitably at the core of the class struggle between the reactionary forces advocating neo-colonialism and capitalist development and the progressive forces fighting for true national independence and social progress. It is by resolutely giving effect to all these transformations that the possibility opens up in the African countries for expediting progress.

The communists, with all their forces, stand up for the implementation of the above-mentioned measures as an indispensable stage on the road toward a socialist future. They share these goals with the revolutionary-democratic forces whom they consider to be their comrades-in-arms. Experience shows that these measures can only be realized in the course of fierce class-struggle and that they require a firm alliance of all patriotic, democratic and socialist-oriented forces.

The shortage of material resources and trained personnel, the bitter heritage of long colonialist rule, pressure from external imperialist forces and the resistance put up by the local reactionaries naturally create many difficulties and hindrances for the socialist-oriented countries. In some of these countries embezzlement, corruption, mismanagement and money-grubbing are rife, and there is a dangerous trend toward the formation of an anti-national parasitical stratum of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the revival of tribalist and other negative traditions inherited from the colonial past. Many of these phenomena spring from survivals of the era of foreign rule; others from the continued dependence of these countries on the world capitalist market, from the political instability of developing countries, from the ceaseless intrigues of imperialism and the local reactionaries, and from the subversive activities of imperialist intelligence agencies. Still others from haste in the enforcement of some unprepared or ill-prepared socio-economic reforms that leads to an unjustified deterioration of the conditions of the working people.

In the countries of capitalist orientation the ruling circles are primarily aiming at establishing economic and political structures aimed at expediting the growth of the bourgeoisie. In this context contradictions may appear between these political regimes and imperialism. These differences very often reflect the pressure of the

masses for real independence, and of the local bourgeoisie for better economic positions. But the neo-colonialist regimes, while demanding concessions from the foreign monopolies, try to restrain and to resolve the contradictions only within the framework of the neo-colonial system.

The fact that in socialist-oriented countries there are difficulties and sometimes negative phenomena cannot obscure the basic, fundamentally qualitative distinctions between the two orientations of social development — capitalist and socialist. In the countries of socialist orientation attempts are being made to consolidate the national independence and class positions of the working people.

Nor do such weaknesses justify any hypercritical or doctrinaire condemnations which disorient the revolutionary forces in Africa. The communists as well as all conscientious patriotic forces are resolutely on the side of these progressive states in their struggle against imperialism and African reaction. But they are conscious of the fact that the consistency of anti-imperialist positions will, in the long run, be determined by the changing correlation of internal class forces in favor of socialist orientation.

In the vast majority of African countries only socialist orientation opens the door for the oppressed peoples to freedom, independence, prosperity and progress. It is the internationalist duty of African democrats, advocates of social progress, of all convinced socialists and communists, of all the anti-imperialist forces to support the socialist-oriented states. The communists always keep in mind the threat of counter-revolutionary coups that constantly hang over these countries, of the possibility of regressive development in individual countries.

The mercenary acts of piracy against the progressive states are organized with the complicity of imperialist powers which by using these subversive means seek to restore their lost positions. But the failure of the mercenary expeditions against the Republic of Guinea, Angola, Benin and other countries shows that the popular masses are determined to defend their independence and progressive achievements. It is the right and the duty of African progressive states, acting individually or collectively to take all necessary measures to put an end to these new forms of imperialist gun-boat diplomacy. In this context they emphatically advocate strengthening the unity of all the left, democratic and progressive forces on an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist foundation and the utmost consolidation of the socialist-oriented countries.

Revolutionary experience shows that only through the formation of an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist revolutionary organization based on the support of the working people and other patriotic strata is it possible to consistently carry out and to defend fundamental socio-economic reforms. Already many organizations which began their life as broad revolutionary democratic movements have begun the process of transforming themselves. We hail this tendency and regard them as part of the emerging and growing body of Marxist revolutionary vanguards in our continent.

3. AFRICAN COMMUNISTS — ALLIES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATS

The communist movement in Africa took shape more than half a century ago. It was broken neither by colonial arbitrary rule, nor by brutal repressions.

The communists were among the first in the African continent to lay bare the true nature of imperialism, colonialism and racism, and set as the immediate practical goal the realization of the people's demand for independence and self-determination in their revolutionary struggle against foreign enslavers. The communists were the first in the continent to show the African peoples that the struggle against imperialism, for democracy and social progress ultimately meant a struggle for socialism. We see clearly that in this historical epoch it is impossible to overcome the political, economic and social crisis in our countries without resolutely moving toward socialism. That age-old backwardness cannot be abolished and no fundamental socio-economic progress is possible without taking the road of socialist renewal. Today this is acknowledged by many national leaders, who recognize that for the economy of backward African countries there is no road of development more effective than the road of socialism. Together with the revolutionary democrats, the communists have shown that the socialist-oriented development of the African countries in the direction of socialism is both necessary and possible and indicated the motive forces of this process.

The communists stand on the same platform as the revolutionary democrats in the struggle to give effect to progressive reforms, rationally develop the national economy, improve the revolutionary democratic state and its organs (the armed forces, the government apparatus and so on), raise the people's living standards and pursue a policy of alliance with countries of the socialist community.

Furthermore over the past few years a growing number of revolu-

tionary democrats have taken a positive stand in relation to Marxism-Leninism. While upholding the principles of scientific socialism common to all countries the communists consider that the strictest consideration for the local national features of each country is the prime condition for applying these principles in practice.

Working together communists, revolutionary democrats and all progressive forces can solve in an internationalist spirit the important ethnic and national problems. Imperialism and local reaction are using some ethnic differences to destabilize and to disintegrate many African countries, especially progressive ones. African communists fully support the position of the OAU concerning the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers and the resolving of the disputes by negotiations and not war.

The forces of reaction, national and international, use anti-communism, chauvinism, tribalism and religious fanaticism in order to confuse the broad masses and to reverse the process of socialist orientation. It is therefore necessary to carry out in an internationalist spirit a consistent and principled fight against all forms of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The philosophy and religious convictions of the revolutionary democrats cannot be an obstacle to their cooperation with the communists in the joint struggle against the imperialist and racist enemies. The communists urge the closest possible unity of all democratic forces, irrespective of religion, and condemn religious intolerance and fanaticism. Moreover, the communists take into account the low development level of the African countries, the weak class differentiation in many of them, the psychology of the different African peoples, their commitment to religion and much else. However, all this does not mean that each country or even the entire continent will have its 'own' socialism differing from scientific socialism. Neither is this the view of a large section of the revolutionary democrats, who have practically unanimously opted for scientific socialism against "socialism of a national type."

Some reactionary African ideologists supported by imperialist circles utilize the doctrine of "African socialism" to divert the African peoples from the road of revolution, the only possible road to socialism, and to isolate them from the world progressive forces especially the international communist movement on the pretext of "national exclusiveness." The theory of "African socialism" appeared on the soil of anti-imperialist nationalism in a situation in which revolutionary democracy had not yet taken shape as an independent politi-

cal force, when Africa was as yet unfamiliar with scientific socialism. At that time "African socialism" represented for broad masses their elementary protest and rejection of capitalism.

Later a number of African patriots who previously proclaimed the theory of "African socialism," rejected it after having understood its utilization by the neo-colonialists. "African socialism" is used by social democracy to strengthen its influence in Africa. Being the defender of monopoly capital of Western Europe it is striving to retain the continent within the framework of the system of imperialist and neo-colonialist exploitation. In the countries following the road of capitalist development they expand collaboration with the parties and organizations that have taken the position of conciliation with imperialism. To isolate the African states from the socialist community, the international working-class and communist movement is one of the major aims of social democracy on the continent. That constitutes a grave danger to political independence and economic and progressive development of the African peoples. The African communists oppose the attempts to transplant to Africa the reformist doctrines of the social democrats.

The communists believe that the road to socialist society lies through the total abolition of imperialist rule and the influence of the reactionaries, through a class struggle and the creation of a national democratic state of workers, peasants and middle strata, and opening the way for its evolution into a socialist state in which the working class will have the leading role. Such is the historical prospect. Today it is not the socialist but the national-democratic revolution that is on the agenda in most African countries. All the progressive forces must defend it against imperialism and reaction. At the same time there is a need to come out resolutely against ultra-leftist forestalling of developments, against the "infantile disorder" of leaping across historically vital stages, and against neglect of immediate general democratic tasks, whose fulfillment constitutes the essence of the present African revolution and a natural stage of transition on the road to the socialist revolution.

On a wide range of questions the aims of the communists coincide with those of the revolutionary democrats. These are to consolidate political independence, uncompromisingly fight imperialist exploitation, establish state power of the people, promote the economy, raise the living standards and cultural level of the people, stamp out feudal exploitation, restrict the predatory tendencies of the local capitalists, build up a democratic state apparatus loyal to the people, assure

employment for the population, build up the public sector in industry and the cooperative movement in agriculture and apply scientific principles of economic planning. Only socialist orientation will assure success in reaching these objectives through ever closer unity of all democratic and progressive forces.

Communists regard socialism as a historically law-governed stage leading to communism. Communists always recognize and strenuously uphold the vital and crucial role of the working class, its mass organizations and its independent party in the struggle to profoundly transform society along the path of socialism. In all countries which proclaim a path toward an eventual construction of socialism the successful completion of the process will depend, among other things, on whether the working class as an organized force assumes a growing role as the vanguard class force at all levels of society.

The fact that the communists and the revolutionary democrats have a common platform creates in the African countries the possibility for durable unity of all democratic forces in a broad national democratic anti-imperialist front. Neglect for the common interests of the nation and the accentuation of differences of opinion in ideological matters or problems related to the distant future can only harm the unity of the progressive forces.

All the progressive forces within the national democratic alliance and in the first place the communists and revolutionary democrats should be dependable allies in the common struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism, in the struggle to consolidate independence, for peace and security of nations and for their social progress. In the nationalism of oppressed nations the communists see and sincerely support democratic anti-imperialist tendencies. They are resolutely opposed to any division of the anti-imperialist democratic and progressive forces by national or tribal barriers, to the substitution of reactionary bourgeois nationalism or social democratic reformism for scientific socialism.

In the belief that neither the revolutionary democrats nor the communists hold a monopoly on revolutionism, democracy or socialism, the communists and revolutionary democrats extend mutual support to each other, to the progressive aspects of their activity. Both have the great obligation and the responsibility of jointly and honestly serving the people, defending the interests of their nation, the interests of workers, peasants, of all working people. History shows that ultimately the revolutionary movement is led by those who have the support of the masses, who resolutely champion their vital in-

terests, who consistently fight imperialism, racism, feudalism, neo-colonialism and exploitation of man by man.

The communists, the revolutionary democrats and all the other forces of the national democratic front constitute the organizing forces of the people in the struggle for national and social liberation.

4. AFRICAN COMMUNISTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

With the eradication of colonialism the African peoples became active participants and a significant factor in international politics. Many African countries have taken the obligations of pursuing the policy of non-alignment which is an anti-imperialist policy and a means of vigorously supporting the liberation movements.

The consistent and principled support of the socialist community for the struggle of the peoples of Africa for freedom and consolidation of national independence proves that the socialist countries are reliable friends of Africa. Moreover, the progressive African states regard the socialist countries as their natural allies.

The Marxist-Leninists and all other progressive forces support the OAU, reserving the right of constructive criticism when its actions are half-hearted or inconsistent with the historical situation and oppose all attempts at undermining this organization, regardless of who undertakes them or whatever lofty aims are used as a cover.

Following the glorious victory of the MPLA in Angola, world imperialism started a hysterical anti-communist, anti-Soviet campaign. The imperialists use the so-called threat of a "Soviet-Cuban invasion" of Namibia and Rhodesia and their own myth about the "threat of Soviet imperialism" in a bid to isolate the national-liberation movements in Southern Africa from their natural and most dependable allies, from the anti-imperialist African countries and also from the Soviet Union and other socialist states. However, these attempts are doomed to failure. The African peoples have seen for themselves that the socialist countries do not pursue selfish interests and that their actions are permeated solely with the sincere desire to facilitate the liberation of the peoples of Africa.

Africa's communists join world democratic opinion in strongly protesting against the aid given to the inhuman regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia by imperialist politicians and the monopolies of the USA, Britain, France, the FRG, Japan, Italy and Zionist Israel. There can be no détente and no coexistence with these racist colonialist regimes. Mass, unremitting struggle against them in all forms until

complete victory is won by the Southern African peoples with all-African and international support through all-round and effective internationalist solidarity — these are the aims and means of struggle of all African democrats and anti-imperialists. The assault mounted by the freedom fighters of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe makes the abolition of the racist-fascist regimes inevitable.

Today, with the pillars of racism tottering, with the doomed regimes feverishly looking for salvation, the African communists, who have always been in the forefront of the struggle for the freedom of peoples, believe that anti-imperialists, anti-racists, all true democrats and patriots of Africa, all honest people in our long-suffering continent should increasingly unite in order to put an end once and for all to imperialist and racist domination in Southern Africa and to give material and moral assistance to the genuine revolutionary forces led by the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, SWAPO (Namibia) and the Patriotic Front (Zimbabwe).

We call upon all progressive forces to express their militant solidarity with the front-line states in their resolute struggle against racist, fascist and imperialist aggression.

The correlation of forces in Africa is characterized by two main tendencies. On the one hand there is a revolutionary upsurge and on the other hand imperialism is desperately using all the means at its disposal to halt the revolutionary advance in our continent.

In the recent period we have witnessed tremendous successes scored by the peoples of Africa in the struggle for national and social liberation. The revolutionary destruction of Portuguese colonialism and fascism, the heightened struggle in racist and colonialist Southern Africa, the deep revolutionary process going on in Ethiopia, the struggle for self-determination in Western Sahara, the armed resistance against French imperialist troops in Chad and the successes of the progressive forces in the capitalist-oriented states have fundamentally altered the balance of forces in Africa in favor of the revolutionary movements and process.

Of great significance for the worldwide anti-imperialist anti-capitalist struggle, is the increase in the number of progressive states, their maturity and growing links with the socialist community and the adoption by more and more parties and organizations of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

Given the important place of Africa in the world capitalist system these successes have had a powerful impact on the socio-economic crisis of the imperialist countries.

In order to reverse this process and to shift the balance of forces in their favor in the context of the failure of the local African class allies of imperialism to stabilize the system of neo-colonialism the NATO powers acting in concert are increasingly resorting to open naked military aggression and intervention in Africa. This was clearly demonstrated in Zaire, Chad and Western Sahara. Operating from and through their military bases in Africa and the Indian Ocean, the reactionary French government operating as the gendarme of imperialism arrogantly intervenes in the internal affairs of African states. Its troops have murdered and wounded hundreds of African people.

The attempts by NATO under the tutelage of U.S. imperialism with the full support of the most reactionary African states to form political military blocs pose a grave threat to peace and progress in our continent. If set up, these blocs — the decision dictated by Giscard d'Estaing to the African countries regrouped under his auspices at the recent conference in Paris is, in this connection, fraught with dangers for the African peoples and world peace — would be completely subordinated to the worldwide military strategy of imperialism and in clear violation of provisions of the OAU Charter. Undoubtedly the main objectives of such reactionary aggressive political military blocs shall be to legitimize imperialist aggression, undermine African unity by provoking and fomenting inter-state conflicts and to destabilize progressive and revolutionary trends and development in our continent.

The African communists condemn in the strongest possible terms NATO war-mongers, their African allies, and in particular, the aggressive and racist interventionist policy of the French government.

To stop and defeat the imperialist aggression and maneuvers requires the greatest mobilization of the popular masses, strengthening the unity of progressive and democratic forces and coordination of united action at the country level, of the continent, and former colonial metropolises, deepening the alliance with the socialist community especially the Soviet Union and the internationalist solidarity of working class, democratic and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

International imperialism with the complicity of Arab reaction has, following the profound revolution in Ethiopia, intensified its activities to control the Red Sea, place it in the service of its aggressive military strategy and thus turn it into a hotbed of conflict of truly international dimensions. Furthermore through the "Red Sea Security" plan international imperialism with the support of reactionary regimes in Saudi

Arabia, Egypt and Sudan seeks to either reverse the revolutionary process or if possible overthrow the progressive governments in that region. The Red Sea is an international waterway available to the ships of all countries and it is in the vital interests of the people of that region, Africa and the world that this waterway remains peaceful.

The communists declare their full support to the just struggle of the Arab peoples and the Palestinian people. They stand for the complete withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories and for the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to establish their own state. They condemn the presence of U.S. troops in South Korea and support the peaceful unification of the country. The African communists support the courageous struggle of the peoples living under dictatorships as in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil and other countries. They call for an end to the dictatorial regimes and the respect of human rights and democratic freedoms.

The communists of Africa devoted to proletarian internationalism express their militant fraternal solidarity with communist parties and all other anti-imperialist forces struggling in Asia, Latin America and Europe for national independence against monopoly capital, for democracy, peace and socialism.

Together with all other democratic and progressive forces, the African communists actively support the policy of peaceful coexistence and détente between states with different social systems, the mounting struggle of all peoples to achieve disarmament and ban nuclear weapons, and urge Africa's actual conversion into a nuclear-free zone and for the proclamation of the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and dismantling of all military bases on the continent and the islands. They actively support the Final Act of "An All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Helsinki" and call for the broadest possible application of its spirit and principles relative to the independent states of Africa to the continent.

In spite of all efforts of the Soviet Union to achieve general reduction of nuclear stockpiling and to uphold the principles of détente, the NATO countries under the pretext of a "Soviet threat" have escalated to an unprecedented degree the arms race. The stockpiling of nuclear-missile armaments is a threat to the security of every country and people in the world. In an atmosphere of international security it would be possible to divert far greater resources to the promotion of economic development in the developing countries. Thus an end to the arms race is of primary significance for the rapid overcoming of

poverty, economic backwardness, misery and ignorance in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The military-industrial complex of the imperialist countries is seeking to produce that monstrous weapon, the neutron bomb. Everywhere in the world the people are mounting vigorous campaigns against the production of the neutron bomb. We call upon all peace-loving forces in Africa and the world to redouble efforts and struggle to stop the imperialists' plan of the production of the neutron bomb and for a decrease of military stockpiles.

Together with all other democratic forces, the communists actively put forward and support the demands for restructuring on a just and equitable basis the entire system of international relations and the establishment of a new world economic order which assures properly acknowledged interests of the people.

The communists of the African countries are an integral part of their peoples, the vanguard of the African working class, of all working people. By their dedicated struggle in the ranks of the national-liberation movement for the dignity, freedom and independence of Africa they have proved that they selflessly and honestly serve the interests of the African peoples, proved their revolutionary resolve and consistency and their fidelity to proletarian internationalism. For many decades the communists have been sacrificing their lives in the fight for the happiness of the African peoples. Thousands of them have been executed, flung into prisons and concentration camps and brutally tortured by the colonialists, racists and reactionaries. In some African countries the communists and democrats are persecuted to this day by the reactionaries with the support of international imperialism only because they place the struggle for the interests of the working people above all else.

The international communist and workers' movement is the axis of the most important revolutionary changes and is in the forefront of the struggle for the freedom and security of all the peoples. The world socialist system, being the most important achievement of the world communist movement, represents the main source of support for all the forces of national and social liberation.

It is precisely due to this dominant aspect of our life that international reaction mobilizes its forces against the unity of our movement. Maoism in alliance with international reaction also seeks to disrupt the unity of the communist movement. The content of Maoist ideology is alien to Marxism-Leninism.

The disruptive policy of the Maoists which is contrary to the

fundamental interests of the peoples finds its clear expression in the subversive activities aimed at dividing and splitting national-liberation movements, in the growing support given to the reactionary forces in Angola, Western Sahara, Zaire and Chile, in the support given to the policy of military confrontation pursued by the leaders of Kampuchea against socialist reunified Vietnam, in the attempts aimed at undermining the efforts of progressive and peace-loving forces in the world which favor disarmament. After failing in their attempts to woo the most consistent revolutionary forces in Africa the Maoists are now developing the closest links with the reactionary regimes and counter-revolutionary forces of the continent.

It is evident that certain ruling circles and social strata who fail to consistently implement the tasks of the national-democratic revolution, and who retreat from previously declared positions, use the Maoist arsenal of theoretical arguments and demagoguery to justify their drift from the anti-imperialist front, and to disassociate themselves from the alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. Although suffering serious reverses in Africa, Maoism still poses a potential political and ideological danger. It is therefore the patriotic duty of all revolutionary and democratic forces in our continent to firmly reject the Maoist policy of undermining the fight for national independence, peace, democracy and socialism.

This first meeting of the Communist Parties of Tropical and Southern Africa is of great historical significance both for the world communist movement and for the struggle for national and social liberation of our continent. We feel that the communists and revolutionary democrats should hold joint forums, on a bilateral and multilateral basis, which would facilitate the further consolidation of the unity of the anti-imperialist front of all democratic and progressive organizations, the unity of the communists and revolutionary democrats, as the vanguard of all socialist, revolutionary and democratic forces.

The African communists solemnly declare that they are part and parcel of the international working class, communist and national-liberation movements, that they are sincere friends of the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries, of all socialist-oriented states, that they have been and will always remain active fighters for a lasting and unbreakable alliance of the liberation movement of Africa with the socialist world, the international working class, communist and national-liberation movements in all continents, that they have been and always will be consistent internationalists and devoted patriots of their peoples and countries.

CONGRESSES, PLENUMS, CONFERENCES

MANIFESTO OF THE PARAGUAYAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Below we print the document of a recent plenum of the CC, Paraguayan Communist Party (see also *IB* No. 15, 1978).

To the workers and peasants, students and progressive intelligentsia, artisans and employees, clergymen and believers of the Catholic Church and other religions, democrats and patriots of all parties and social strata, to the patriotic-minded officers and men of the Armed Forces of the nation.

Twenty-four years have passed since the Stroessner fascist camarilla seized power, which it is maintaining through the permanent stage of siege, the most criminal methods of police repression and, above all, owing to the support of U.S. imperialism: its systematic economic and military aid, monopoly investments, technical assistance, its participation in the economy, in the educational system, its presence in the army and the police of our country.

The Stroessner government, which professes to be "democratic" and a continuer of our patriotic traditions, is a fascist dictatorship in the service of the transnational corporations, U.S. and Brazilian monopolies and the big landowner and capitalist oligarchy that is linked with imperialism. It is a government of ranking nazi-like military and civilians, who are battenning on the widespread legalized contraband and all manner of shady deals. It is the most corrupt and rotten of all the successive dictatorships since 1870.

Under this dictatorship, the position of the workers, peasants, employees and artisans, the working women, youth and children has deteriorated to the extreme. Whereas in 1950 there were 12,000 fully unemployed, their number is now running at 80,000. More than 100,000 working people are engaged in odd jobs, or peddle to eke out a living, which amounts to concealed unemployment.

In the countryside, only 50 per cent of the able-bodied hold down jobs throughout the year, while the other half has work for only a few months annually.

Paraguay now has the highest rate of infant mortality in the world: out of 1,000 children born alive, 100 to 150 die before the age of one year.

About 30 per cent of the population can neither read nor write, while about 50 per cent can barely read and sign their names. Around 100,000 children do not attend school, and 70 per cent drop out before the fourth grade owing to lack of means and also because they have to work for a living. The exploitation of child labor is growing.

The working people and their children suffer from hunger. Over the past four years wages increased by only 15 per cent, while the prices of consumer goods went up as much as 100 per cent in some cases. In 1977 the Central Bank of Paraguay estimated that the actual monthly expenditure on food, clothing, rent, etc., of a worker's family of four amounts to 25,927 guarani, which is about 75 per cent of the subsistence level. A full-time worker now earns only 11,520 guarani after a 9.5 per cent deduction for social insurance. Teachers and many civil servants earn even less.

While 80 per cent of the population — 2,100,000 people — have a paltry annual per capita income of 95 dollars (11,970 guarani), General Stroessner receives from the state alone, that is from the people, more than one million guarani a month in the form of a salary and for expenditures for the double post of President of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. He and his ministers and the camarilla of fascist generals are amassing fabulous fortunes from the drug traffic, kickbacks from foreign enterprises, gambling houses, big investments in trade and industry and real estate speculation.

A POLICY OF NATIONAL BETRAYAL

Stroessner bears the principal responsibility for the signing of the anti-national Itaipu¹ treaty, handing over vast natural resources of our country to the Brazilian monopolies, which are a front for the U.S. monopolies. As already stated by our party, "the low cost power from the Itaipu power station will be used by a hundred big monopoly enterprises, primarily those of the USA, which own the big industrial complex in the State of San Pablo." That is why the U.S. Federal Power Commission set an insignificant price on the electric power from the Itaipu station (6,300,000 kw/h), which according to the agreement Paraguay will have to sell to Brazil over a period of 50 years at an invariable price.

The traitorous conditions on which Stroessner signed the Itaipu treaty are a manifestation of his policy which serves the interests of

foreign monopolies. This policy also resulted in monopoly concessions for the processing and sale of oil and its derivatives being granted to the U.S. company, BOAC International, hiding behind the revolving signboard of REPSA; granting the right to the prospecting and exploitation of oil in Chaco and the Oriental Region to four U.S. companies; exploration and exploitation of the uranium and all minerals in the Oriental Region to the U.S. Anschutz Corporation, with only 3 to 9 per cent of the raw materials accruing to the state. And this monstrous privilege is supplemented with others. The Anschutz Corporation has been exempted from all state and municipal taxes, both at present and in the future, including customs tariffs, sales tax, etc. Such are the privileges granted to the imperialist monopolies.

Our country's dependence on imperialism is aggravated by the mounting foreign debt, which is already running at \$500 million.

This explains why the U.S. government, despite Carter's demagogic pronouncements on human rights, continues to support the Stroessner fascist dictatorship, extending it increasing economic and military aid.

Our party's Program points out that the latifundist interests are closely linked with the interests of imperialism, and that 1,535 landowners possess 75 per cent of the land while 200,000 peasants are landless.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that the Brazilian latifundists take advantage of Stroessner's so-called agrarian reform to buy up vast tracts of land in our country and resell them at a huge profit. According to the *Jornal do Brasil* (February 13, 1978), 400,000 Brazilians have settled on our territory, along the Paraguayan-Brazilian border. In the frontier area up to about 100 kilometres deep in the direction of Asunción, 95 per cent of the inhabitants are Brazilians.

This virtually amounts to occupation of our territory, which is encouraged by Stroessner and is fraught with the danger of annexation by the Brazilian military-fascist dictatorship in line with its official expansionist policy of "live and mobile borders."

All these facts rouse broad indignation among our public, which is reflected in the patriotic quarters of the military. Owing to the national protest movement the dictatorship has been compelled to leave unchanged the current frequency of our energy system,² which constituted a major victory for our people.

The Paraguayan Communist Party is in the forefront of the struggle in defense of national sovereignty and is continually exposing the venal and traitorous policy of the Stroessner clique. That is why the

dictatorship is attacking above all the communists and all democratic forces fighting for the interests of the homeland and for human rights.

The widespread searches, mass murders, torture and disappearance of imprisoned patriots have become everyday occurrences in our country. Still missing are Miguel Angel Soler, secretary of the party's Central Committee, the youth leader Derliz Villagra, trade union leaders Ruben Gonzalez Acosta and Juan Jose Penayo, and many other political prisoners. These heroes of our people refused to bow down before the fascist hatchetmen. Stroessner, his Interior Minister, Montanaro, and the sadist-torturer Pastor Coronel bear the responsibility for their fate.

Paraguay remains a country with a record of the longest prison terms in all of South America. The construction worker Severo Acosta Aranda, Idalina Gaona, a worker, and engineer Virgilio Bareiro have been in jail for 14 years already; and Army Captain Napoleon Ortigoza for 16 years. Many women, some with infants who were born in prison, like Celsa Ramirez de Villagra, are still being held in the Emboscada concentration camp, together with workers, peasants, students and outstanding representatives of the Paraguayan intelligentsia.

THE STRUGGLE GOES ON. OUR PEOPLE WILL WIN

Powerful anti-dictatorial forces and political parties of both the recognized and the illegal opposition as well as students are fighting against the regime's repressive policy. They are demanding an end to the tortures and killings, clarification of the fate of the disappeared, release of all political prisoners, repeal of fascist laws Nos. 209 and 294, and lifting the state of siege.

The Catholic Church, which is also subjected to all manner of persecution, condemns the dictatorship's repressive policy and takes an active stand in defense of human rights. This position meets with the sympathy and support of the people.

Pressure on the part of our people and the broad international solidarity campaign headed by the Soviet Union, have compelled Stroessner to release a part of the political prisoners, many of whom had been jailed for 18-19 years. This is a new victory for the national and international movement for the release of imprisoned patriots, which shows that it is possible to wrest important partial concessions from the dictatorship.

Despite the traitorous policy of Modesto Ali, Sotero Ledesma and their accomplices from the Confederation of Paraguayan Workers

(CPT), the working class, the most revolutionary class of Paraguayan society, is waging a sustained struggle for higher wages, against mass dismissals, for punctual payment of wages, against serious shortcomings and corruption in the Institute of Social Insurance. The strike at the Acaray power plant, the actions of the meat-packing plant workers, the protest actions of bus drivers and conductors against violation of the eight-hour working day, the actions of workers in Itaipu and the formation of a trade union there despite a special police interdiction, and the victorious strike at the FINAP woodworking enterprise, all show that the working people cannot be intimidated by terror and repression. This onslaught of the working class compelled the dictatorship to release a number of trade union officials and to announce a 15 per cent wage increase.

The peasants are fighting in various ways: by occupying land tracts, to which they are fully entitled; demanding credits and fair prices for their produce; protesting against the lawlessness, arrests, murders, burning of their ranches by soldiers and policemen, against the deception practised by the dictatorship's agents, who promise to give them land allotments and title deeds to the land they occupy.

The formation of agrarian leagues constitutes an important step in the organization of the working peasantry in defense of their interests. This has incurred the fury of the Stroessner camarilla, who are fiercely attacking the agrarian leagues. Many farmers were killed in their homes, others were thrown into prison. Entire peasant families were sent to the Emboscada concentration camp, after all of them — men, women and children — had been subjected to brutal torture and humiliation. But the rural workers are not retreating. They are seeking persistently to strengthen their united action and their organizations, for only in this way can they defend their rights.

A loyal champion of the oppressed and exploited peasants, the Paraguayan Communist Party vigorously supports the struggle of the peasants, whose alliance with the working class is destined to become a major decisive force in the revolutionary struggle of our people.

We communists also side with the engineering students' struggle against the plans to change the current frequency of our power system; we side with the medical and other students who come out against the entrance exams imposed by the U.S. "advisers" with the aim of restricting further the admission to university, and against the high tuition fees; we are for more places in the faculties, against the inefficient and corrupt Stroessnerite teachers who are supported by

the dictatorship, against the persecution, arrests and torture of the students and teachers.

The independent student movement enjoys popular support because it is fighting against the dictatorship's designs to convert the educational centers into pro-government and police organizations.

The Youth for Human Rights represents an important effort in organizing a united movement of the Paraguayan youth in the fight for democratic freedoms.

United, the students and politically active youth, through joint actions with the workers and other strata of the people, will ensure their rights and facilitate the growing success of the anti-dictatorial, anti-imperialist patriotic struggle of our people.

Apart from these forces which are waging a struggle, various strata of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie which are not linked with the imperialist monopolies, including ranch owners, protest against the excessively high taxes and against other impositions hampering the development of production, against the difficulties of selling their produce on the capitalist market, against the enormous privileges extended to foreign capital to the detriment of the national capitalists.

Blindly following the diktat of the imperialist monopolies, the Stroessner camarilla has prevented our country from benefiting from relations with the socialist countries. Such relations, however, represent a sincere and effective assistance to the developing countries on the basis of genuine respect for the sovereignty of the peoples and mutual benefit. They are and will remain a decisive factor in ridding our country of its dependence and underdevelopment and in its advance along the road of democracy and social progress.

THE NATIONAL ANTI-DICTATORIAL FRONT, PROVISIONAL MILITARY-CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC AND PATRIOTIC UNITY

During the electoral farce last February an atmosphere of a continuous state of siege reigned in the country, with jails packed full with political prisoners, widespread searches, roundups, torture, murder, disappearance of imprisoned patriots, repressions against even the recognized opposition parties and the dictatorship's attempts to split them and to form groups acting under the guise of an opposition, while actually serving as Stroessner's tools. The entire electoral mechanism and the counting of votes was fully controlled by the dictatorship, who "counted" them as they saw fit.

These facts conclusively demonstrated the falsity and total defeat of the so-called "democratization process" imposed on Paraguay by U.S. imperialism. This is added proof that we communists are right in saying that Stroessner's periodically staged elections will not lead to any democratic change and that our people have only one way of doing away with the political oppression and of pulling out of the economic crisis: by destroying the dictatorship through all forms of united struggle of the masses, and by combining one form with another depending on the concrete circumstances.

The forces of the opposition are drawing closer together in the fight for limited but important economic and democratic demands, against Stroessner's policy of handing over our economy and national sovereignty to the U.S. and Brazilian monopolies.

It is essential to intensify and coordinate the actions of all these opposition forces without exception in a broad national anti-dictatorial front to overthrow the dictatorship and to replace it by a provisional military-civilian government of democratic and patriotic unity, paving the way to profound democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist changes. We communists hold that these changes will facilitate our country's further development along the road to socialism.

But the most urgent task of our people now is to destroy the fascist dictatorship, which persecutes everyone and which has aggravated to the utmost the economic crisis and our country's dependence on foreign capital. Therefore the communists are prepared, as always, to reach agreement on joint action with the other democratic forces in the struggle for the release of the political prisoners, to lift the state of siege and for other common demands.

That is why we hail the joint statement of the genuinely Radical, Revolutionary-Februarist³ and Christian-Democratic liberalist parties, which calls on the people to join in the struggle for common democratic goals.

A broad anti-dictatorial front can only come about as a result of joint organized actions by the working class, peasants, students, teachers, employees, intelligentsia and workers in the arts, traders, national industrialists and other strata, and of definite agreements between all forces opposing the Stroessner clique. All this should be aimed at a gradual accumulation of forces in order to engage in ever bigger and more decisive battles that will make it possible to overthrow the dictatorship.

It is in the interests of all patriots and democrats to rebuff anti-

communism, which serves only the policy of the dictatorship and imperialism.

All of us — Liberals, Februarists, non-Stroessnerite Coloradoists,⁴ Christian-Democrats, communists, independents, non-affiliated men and women — must reach agreement. Let us immediately set up at each enterprise, educational institution or faculty, in each neighborhood, in each settlement or country *unity-building commissions* for struggle if only for one point, for any of our most vital common economic and democratic demands.

A sure road to victory is through the joint struggle of all democratic forces and not through a "remedial" coup that would replace one group by another behind the back of the masses, or the premature actions of small armed groups which are doomed to failure.

The Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party proposes that all democratic forces set up a national center or patriotic alliance to coordinate the struggle of our people, and create a force superior to the dictatorship and enjoying the support of the armed forces, in order to replace the Stroessner camarilla by a provisional military-civilian government of democratic and patriotic unity capable of carrying out the minimum program of democratization, comprising in part:

1. Clarification of the situation of the disappeared patriots and release of all political prisoners. Repeal of the state of siege and the fascist laws Nos. 294 and 209. Freedom of activity for all political parties, workers' trade unions, educational institutions, agrarian leagues and other popular organizations. A general amnesty for all without exception. Free and sovereign functioning of the National Constituent Assembly.

2. Higher wages and salaries, in accordance with the growing cost of living. Transfer of land and title deeds to the peasants, fair prices for agricultural produce and granting of credits to them. An increase in the number of vacancies and reduction of tuition fees for students. An end to the practice of legalized contraband.

3. Defense of national sovereignty. Return of the country's natural wealth that has been handed over to the imperialist monopolies. Annuling and renegotiation of the Itaipu treaty. Nationalization of REPSA. Annulment of all agreements infringing on national sovereignty.

4. An independent foreign policy and defense of peace across the world, a policy of friendly cooperation and mutual assistance with the socialist countries and all states which are prepared to maintain

relations with our country on the basis of equality and respect for national sovereignty.

PATRIOTIC OFFICERS AND MEN:

Support the heroic struggle of our people to free our homeland from subjugation to foreign owners and imperialism, to liberate it from fascist oppression.

Do not allow the corrupt Stroessner camarilla and its millionaire generals to go on using the name of the Armed Forces to hand over the natural wealth of our homeland to the greedy U.S. and Brazilian monopolies. Do not allow the continued use of the Paraguayan Army as an instrument of persecuting the people.

THE PARAGUAYAN PEOPLE ARE NOT ALONE. THEY WILL TRIUMPH

Big changes have taken place in the world in the 24 years of the Stroessner tyranny. The first socialist republic on our continent, free Cuba, appeared and gained in strength. The heroic people of Vietnam inflicted a shattering defeat on U.S. imperialism. Fascism was defeated in Portugal, Greece and Spain. Relying on the internationalist solidarity of the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries, the peoples of the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and other African countries victoriously concluded their liberation struggle, and opted for the construction of a new society free from colonialism, and from capitalist and landowner exploitation.

A powerful movement for peace, for general and complete disarmament, to ban the production of the neutron bomb — that monstrous mass destruction weapon — is forging ahead across the world.

The international solidarity movement for the release of all prisoners of imperialism and reaction is growing stronger everywhere.

Our people are not alone. They have on their side the solidarity of all progressive and revolutionary world forces. They have a true and reliable ally in the powerful socialist world system, whose vanguard is the Soviet Union.

WORKING PEOPLE, COMPATRIOTS:

The Paraguayan Communist Party, inspired by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, has strengthened its unity and calls on the best sons of the working class and the entire people, to men and women, youths and girls, to join its ranks and strengthen it to enable it even

better to fulfill its mission of uniting and organizing the democratic and patriotic struggle of our people.

Jointly we will prepare for bigger battles in order to emerge victorious.

Down with the rotten Stroessner fascist dictatorship!

Down with imperialism!

Long live unity in the liberation struggle of the Paraguayan people!

Long live proletarian internationalism! Central Committee,

Paraguayan Communist Party

Asuncion, June 20, 1978

1. Construction of the hydropower station on the Itaipu River, running along the border between Paraguay and Brazil, which is to be used jointly by them. — *Ed.*

2. The current frequency of the Paraguayan power system is 50 cycles per second; that of the Brazilian system, 60 per second. While discussing the Itaipu treaty the Brazilian side posed the question of changing the current frequency of the Paraguayan power system to 60 cycles per second, which would have meant a corresponding change in the entire Paraguayan power system and would have entailed enormous additional expenditures. — *Ed.*

3. The party appeared in February 1935 after the end of the war with Bolivia.

4. A party opposed to the regime, which is in exile. There exists another "Colorado" party on which the Stroessner dictatorship relies.

THE FOURTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF CYPRUS

The 14th Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), the country's biggest political party and recognized vanguard of the Cypriot working people, was held in Nicosia from May 25 to 28, and was attended by more than 1,000 delegates, as well as representatives of over 30 communist and workers' parties and national-liberation movements.

General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou delivered a speech based on the report of the Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission. The delegates approved the Political Resolution, which gives a profound analysis of the domestic and international situation and charts ways of resolving the country's political, economic and social problems. Congress adopted an appeal to the Cypriot people, a message to the President of the Republic, and other documents.

At the concluding session the delegates elected the new Central Committee, CC Political Bureau and Secretariat. Ezekias Papaioannou was re-elected General Secretary.

Below we publish the first section of the Political Resolution.

The 14th Congress of AKEL, held in Nicosia from May 25 to 28, taking account of the report of the Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission, the pre-congress discussion, the opening speech of the General Secretary and the viewpoints of the delegates, resolves:

To approve the report of the Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission and the General Secretary's opening speech. Congress approves the Central Committee's correct approach to problems that faced the party over the past four years, and its enhanced activity. It highly assesses the vanguard role played by our party, under the guidance of its Central Committee, in implementing the line and decisions of the 13th Congress of AKEL.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

1. The 14th Congress assesses as highly essential the changes that have occurred in the international situation over the past four years. Their main feature was the further growth and consolidation of the movement toward détente, security and cooperation both in Europe and throughout the world.

The European Conference on Security and Cooperation held in Helsinki in 1975 marked an important stage in the struggle of the peace forces for international détente. It was a historical success for the peace policy of the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union and showed on a high official level the bankruptcy of the policy of cold war and aggression. The principles of the Conference Final Act, given their respect by all, provide a new impulse to the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

2. The congresses of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist and other countries, first of all the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the June 1976 Berlin Meeting of European Communist and Workers' Parties, contributed substantially to the cause of détente and stronger peace.

Our Congress expresses its firm belief in the correctness of the policy of peaceful coexistence, détente and cooperation. It is convinced that, given a consistent and sustained struggle by all the peace-loving forces, despite any obstruction of the most reactionary

bellicose imperialist quarters, this policy will be ultimately affirmed as the dominant factor in international relations.

3. The extension of détente from the political to the military sphere is an essential condition for the final victory of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Prohibition of the production and proliferation of old and new types of nuclear weapons, particularly the neutron bomb, reduction of nuclear armaments and of the armed forces of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries, now confronting each other, the need for which has been repeatedly stressed by the socialist countries and above all by the Soviet Union, will be an important step toward general and complete disarmament in the interests of all humanity.

4. The 14th Congress highly assesses the gains won in this period by the forces fighting for national independence, democracy, economic and social progress.

In Europe the democratic and especially the left forces, now on the upgrade, have made substantial headway. In Portugal and Spain we have witnessed the downfall of the last dictatorial fascist regimes which have oppressed their peoples for decades. Their downfall led to the restoration of democracy and provided conditions favoring democratization of political life and development, the goals for which the communist parties and other patriotic forces of these countries have waged a vigorous struggle.

GREECE AND TURKEY

5. In Greece the military dictatorship which ruled the country for seven years has been defeated. The debacle of the junta, restoration of democracy, legalization of the Communist Party and other organizations and the fact that the country is now ruled by a democratically elected government that is accountable to Parliament, are all important gains of the embattled Greek people. The legalization of the Communist Party was an important victory for the workers and other working people of Greece. By its struggle the Communist Party of Greece is demonstrating that it is a party wielding enormous and decisive influence in the working class and the working people in general, a party capable of rallying the progressive left forces fighting for the expansion and consolidation of democracy, to free Greece from American influence, the NATO and the EEC, for the solution of national problems in the interests of the Greek people, for a policy of détente and peace.

6. In Turkey, which is in the throes of an economic and political crisis, the situation has further deteriorated. The deep economic

crisis, excessive foreign debts, political unrest and murders, mass unemployment and emigration of workers in search of jobs — all this adds up to an explosive situation prompting the ruling circles to pursue an aggressive chauvinistic policy both in relation to the Cyprus problem and in settling disputes with Greece.

The democratic, progressive forces led by the working class are waging a heroic struggle against this reactionary regime and the chauvinistic policy of the Turkish ruling circles.

The Communist Party of Turkey, the only European Communist party working in clandestinity, is in the forefront of the struggle to extricate Turkey from the present situation, for a genuine national policy and democratic development, for a just, peaceful and democratic solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the UN resolutions.

7. The Arab peoples of the Middle East, despite the rift caused by the policy of the reactionary quarters, are courageously fighting against imperialism, which seeks to impose its domination in the region, against Zionism and the expansionist policy of the Israeli ruling circles who are acting as a tool of imperialism. The Arab peoples led by the patriotic democratic forces are fighting to liberate their territories from Israeli occupation, to restore the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to set up their own state.

THE PEOPLES' SUCCESSES

8. The peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are fighting with fortitude against imperialism and the foreign monopolies which seek to maintain or to establish domination over these countries, as well as against racism, chauvinism and reaction.

By overthrowing the backward feudal regime, the people of Afghanistan have won a resounding victory, opening up the way for radical socio-economic transformations of a socialist nature.

The peoples of countries like Angola and Ethiopia, by their courageous struggle and with the decisive aid of the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba, and the solidarity of progressive forces across the world, have rebuffed the aggression of the imperialists and their stooges and are now following the road of non-capitalist development.

9. In the competition of the two main social systems — socialism and capitalism — the socialist system is increasingly demonstrating its superiority over capitalism in all spheres.

Relying on public ownership of the means of production and planning, the economies of the socialist countries, primarily that of the

Soviet Union, are affirming their superiority in development rates. They are developing steadfastly, without crises and, consequently, increasingly meeting the steadily growing social, material and cultural requirements of their people.

10. As distinct from the stable economic progress of the socialist countries, the economy of state-monopoly capitalism is suffering from the chronic deep and general crisis endemic to this system. A feature of this crisis in the period under review was that it embraced simultaneously all the industrially developed countries and was manifested simultaneously in all spheres. This led to the further aggravation of mass unemployment, deterioration of living standards, inter-capitalist contradictions and rivalry.

THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

11. The movement of the non-aligned countries to which Cyprus belongs is playing a positive and growing role in international development, in and outside the United Nations, despite the different socio-political systems, ideology and development levels of the participating countries. Despite the attempts of imperialism and other forces to split this movement, to neutralize it or to align it with one or another organization, it remains anti-imperialist and comes out against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, for national independence, peace and a more equitable political and economic order.

As part of the non-aligned movement and other international organizations, Cyprus takes a basically correct stand on crucial international problems such as détente, cooperation, disarmament and the struggle for peace, and is doing everything in its power to facilitate a correct solution of these major problems of our day.

Our Congress expresses full support for this policy, which is the most acceptable in present conditions and best responds to the interests of our people's struggle. The interests of Cyprus require that the government should follow this policy even more consistently and resolutely. Our party will do everything to help fulfill this task.

12. Our Congress, taking account of the international situation, sets the following objectives:

(a) to facilitate in every way the common struggle of the peoples for the ultimate victory of the policy of peaceful coexistence on the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, for the consolidation of détente and its extension to the military sphere;

(b) to facilitate in every way the common struggle against the arms

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race, against the production of the neutron bomb and for general and complete disarmament;

(c) vigorously to support and display our solidarity in every way with the common struggle of the peoples for freedom, national independence, democracy, economic and social progress;

(d) to further promote ties between Cyprus and the non-aligned and other friendly countries which are in solidarity with and extend valuable support to our struggle.

Haravghi, June 8, 1978

FOR A DEMOCRATIC CHANGE

Political Document of the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Finland

The 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Finland, held in its 60th anniversary year, was convened in Helsinki from June 1 to 3. About 500 delegates, party veterans, guests and representatives from fraternal parties took part in the work of the Congress.

Party Chairman Aarne Saarinen delivered the report. The delegates discussed and approved the Central Committee report and the political document "For a Democratic Change."

Congress also adopted a resolution "For Peace, Disarmament and the Security of the Peoples," a special resolution vigorously denouncing U.S. plans to produce the neutron weapon, "A CPF Appeal to the Youth" and other documents.

Congress elected the leading party bodies. The newly-elected Central Committee consists of 50 full and 15 alternate members. Aarne Saarinen was re-elected Chairman of the CPF, Taisto Sinisalo and Olavi Hänninen as deputy chairmen and Alvar Aalto as General Secretary.

Below we print excerpts from the political document "For a Democratic Change" which was adopted by the Congress.

The crisis of our society has grown deeper, affecting ever new spheres of life.

For the hundreds of thousands the crisis signifies unemployment with the ensuing hardship and feeling of futility. It is manifested in the stagnation of production and an unprecedented waste of the nation's forces and resources. Big capital is finding it increasingly difficult to show a way out of the crisis. It predicts the inevitability of a "pro-

longed austerity period," and in a bid to ensure its interests is resorting to new anti-democratic measures.

The profound crisis now shaking the capitalist world is acknowledged by all. Even the proponents of the existing economic system are characterizing the crisis pessimistically, in gloomy terms, while covering up its basic causes.

Finland's economic crisis is due to the present stagnation as well as the long-term structural problems of the capitalist economy.

The domination of the capitalists engaged in the wood-working industry and the international capitalist division of labor have resulted in an extremely lopsided development of Finland's production structure. The output of the wood-working industry permanently occupies an important place, particularly in exports. At the same time our country's mineral wealth has been insufficiently explored and ineffectively used. The narrow base of the engineering industry and its traditional ties have led to increasing imports from the West, particularly during years of higher investments. For these reasons the instability of the world capitalist market is reflected with particular force in Finland. Finland's production structure is faced with inevitable changes.

Our country's *economic policy* has aggravated and prolonged the crisis and structural problems of the economy. Owing to reduced real wages and other incomes of the working people, consumer demand has been curtailed, the state is allocating insufficient sums for creating jobs, restricting thereby the communes' ability to conduct an effective employment policy.

For the working people the crisis signifies a rapid deterioration of *living standards*, while the monopoly bourgeoisie is reaping higher profits and strengthening its power.

For the first time since the late 1950s the average real wages of blue- and white-collar workers have decreased. Exploiting the crisis, the capitalists have stepped up exploitation of the workers: further intensification of labor, extensive overtime and flagrant violation of safety rules. Development of the social security system has slowed down, and its real content has deteriorated in many spheres.

The working people are hit the hardest by the mass unemployment engendered by the crisis, and the inadequate use of productive forces and investments for rationalizing production. The crisis has demonstrated the lack of guarantees against layoffs; the threat of unemployment and forced holidays increases the uncertainty in all professions of even those who are holding down jobs.

The persisting economic crisis is deepening the country's *political crisis*. The aggravation of social contradictions obstructs the management of society. Big capital is seeking new means of averting the growing contradictions between the major social classes on the political level and to create a system of stable government to ensure its power.

Big capital is increasingly resorting to frankly anti-democratic and authoritarian methods. Attempts are being made to restrict the influence of the working class. On the pretext of unemployment people are being dismissed for political reasons. The diktat of the employers is increasing at the negotiations of labor market organizations. Attempts are also made to restrict strike action through new legislation. There is growing political discrimination in hiring workers. The rightists have stepped up their onslaught to undermine the positions of the progressive forces in the state apparatus and in the sphere of science and culture.

At the same time influential bourgeois forces are intent on promoting the tactic of concessions and integration, with the emphasis on socio-political issues. The bourgeois spokesmen are talking about production democracy, "social contract" and "national unity." This is an indication of big capital's striving to respond to the growing challenge of the working class.

Increasing state regulation of the economy is inevitable at the present development stage of capitalism and in conditions of the deepening crisis. Implemented in the interests of big capital, it is anti-democratic and bureaucratic in character. Parliamentary authority has been eroded and the crisis of democratic institutions aggravated due to inadequate control over the mechanism of regulation and planning and to the fact that major decisions are being adopted in auxiliary state-monopoly bodies.

The Social-Democratic and Center parties are now confronted with an option. They must either steer a course aimed against the interests and influence of big capital and in the interests of the broad working masses, or be reduced to supporting the monopolies' anti-popular aims. This dilemma intensifies the contradictions in both parties. The prolonged economic crisis is engendering criticism by their memberships of their leaderships' far-reaching concessions to big capital.

To ensure the class domination of the bourgeoisie the mechanism of social oppression is being strengthened. It is even claimed that the growing military expenditures and strengthening of the police forces can help to surmount the crisis.

The atmosphere of political crisis has also encouraged the activity of the rightist forces, as well as other phenomena running counter to the Paris peace treaty. Fascist-like phenomena have also noticeably increased. Various unofficial oppressive institutions continue their activity, for instance the reservists' organization.

The crisis has extended to the sphere of *ideology, culture and morals*. The bourgeoisie's and the social democrats' belief that economic growth and the "mixed-economy" society can provide a key to surmounting all social contradictions is eroding. Bourgeois propaganda is now asserting that the halt in growth is due to the enhanced influence of state power in the economy, while many social democrats are in turn announcing that the country will never have the same opportunities for economic growth as before. Those who attribute the present problems to technological development and recommend going over to the so-called zero growth or solely to a "small production unit economy" also contribute to the bourgeoisie's attempts at an ideological explanation of the situation.

The demand that "everybody must make sacrifices" only serves to cover up the bourgeoisie's aims to achieve a substantial redistribution of incomes in favor of the export industry and at the expense of the working people. But this will not help to surmount our country's deep economic problems; on the contrary, they can only serve to aggravate the problems engendering the crisis.

By following big capital's course, the country's economic and social development would be increasingly affected by the fluctuations of the capitalist market economy and the dictate of the centers of international capitalism — the EEC, the OECD and the headquarters of other organizations of the same hue.

The working majority of our people justifiably reject the demand that "everybody must make sacrifices." It is possible to continue implementing social and other transformations even in conditions of the present crisis by restricting the profits of the big enterprises and big incomes and properties, that is, by redistribution of incomes in the interests of the working people.

A reliable way out of the crisis presupposes a democratic change — profound transformations affecting monopoly domination. Overcoming the crisis through democratic means presupposes:

- increasing the incomes and purchasing power of the working people and expansion of their fundamental rights;
- expansion of the production structure;

- re-orientation of foreign trade and other forms of international economic cooperation;
- democratic control, regulation and planning of production and other avenues of social development;
- democratization and expansion of the state sector;
- democratic nationalization.

These are not separate but closely intertwined tasks. They constitute a whole which serves as the basis for achieving a democratic change in the life of the country.

A democratic way out of the crisis and the country's progressive development presupposes a common front of the blue- and white-collar workers, farmers, intelligentsia and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. This alliance is based on the common interests of these strata in the struggle against big capital's oppression. To build a firm alliance close account must be taken of the specific interests and aspirations of each stratum of the population. The working class' leading role is essential to ensure the stability of the alliance and its clear anti-monopoly direction.

Democratic cooperation of the anti-monopoly forces has long traditions in our country. Till now its basic form has been cooperation on specific issues. The main obstacle in promoting cooperation between the democratic forces has been and remains the unwillingness of the Social-Democratic and Center Party leaders to take measures to restrict the power of big capital. The present situation demands that this cooperation be raised to a qualitatively new level: it is essential to build a stable alliance based on mass activity embracing all spheres of social activity and aimed against big capital and political reaction. Such cooperation for the expansion of democracy, improving living standards, ensuring a stable and planned economic development responds to the genuine national interests of our country and provides an alternative to the false "national unity" slogan advanced by monopoly capital.

The question of democracy is today at the center of all important problems of developing our society. It is essential to defend traditional democratic rights, freedoms and institutes against the monopoly onslaught. At the same time social development requires a new, more direct, broader and deeper democracy, participation of the popular masses in decision-making, control and planning. Not a single serious step can be taken on the road to social progress without expanding the people's rights to decision-making. The *activity of the masses* and their organizations serve as the basis for expanding

democracy. It is essential to improve the work of the democratic mass- and public organizations and to ensure opportunities for their activity. It is necessary to develop initiative and mass activity at workplaces and on questions of housing, transport, education, etc., bearing in mind the new organizational opportunities appearing in this connection. To step up the mass democratic movement exchanges of views, cooperation and joint campaigns of the left and centrist forces are required.

It is essential to defend and expand *representative democracy*. The position of Parliament in relation to the government and the official apparatus must be strengthened. It must be empowered with effective control over prices, foreign trade, incomes from capital, investments and the siting of industrial projects.

The authorities should not interfere in the right of the trade union movement to wage a struggle and to negotiate on wages and working conditions in accordance with the will of its members. Civil servants must also be ensured the opportunity to defend their rights through strike action. Big capital's direct impact on the activity of state bodies and on their decisions must be restricted.

Parliament should have authority over the activity of the army and the police. The democratic rights of servicemen, non-commissioned officers and civilian employees must be expanded. The crisis-laws restricting the citizens' democratic activities must be revoked.

The fascist and other reactionary organizations whose activity runs counter to the provisions of the Paris peace treaty must be banned. Every manner of fascist activity must be prohibited. The paramilitary organizations set up by employers under the pretext of defending their enterprises must be banned.

The mass information media must be democratized. Public support of the workers' press and other democratic printing activity should be increased. The Finnish Telegraph Agency must be free from big capital's tutelage. The radio and television must be in public's hands and under its control.

To restrict the influence wielded by private interests in their drive for profits and to expand democracy and planning, *blue- and white-collar workers must be ensured effective control over the national economy.*

The power of the employer must be restricted in all questions concerning labor relations. It is essential urgently to improve the system of job security. The workers' and other employees' right to

decision making must be strengthened, particularly with regard to working conditions, labor safety and health care.

The *organizational rights* of workers and their elected representatives must be strengthened. The workers should have an unrestricted right to discuss at their workplaces key questions of the activity of the enterprise or institution and to adopt decisions on them. The working people's political organizations must also be ensured full rights at workplaces. The trade unions' commitment to maintain peace in work relations must be revoked. The workers and their organizations must have access to all data on the economic situation of the enterprise, its plans, ownership relations and use of profits, concerning investments and purchases, suppliers, ownership and origins of the machinery and equipment and the size and transfer of the workforce.

The trade unions and other workers' organizations must be able to effectively participate in drawing up economic plans and control their implementation. It is particularly important to expand the possibilities of control over fulfillment of agreements on economic cooperation concluded between Finland and the socialist countries.

For working people's control to be effective it must be based on *democratic planning* of the economy and other spheres of social development. The leadership of the planning machinery must be in the hands of representative organs. Plans must be discussed at the workplace and in public organizations. Democratically adopted plans must be mandatory also for private enterprises. The research activity essential for planning must be expanded, with better access to its results; planning and statistical data should be given greater publicity. For this it is necessary to revoke the restrictive secrecy of banking and commercial operations.

The independence of state business activity must be strengthened and it should be directed at weakening the economic might of big private enterprises and private banks. The state enterprises must be withdrawn from the Employers' Confederation and other organizations controlled by big capital. To expand the state enterprises' sphere of action their ties with the big private commercial banks must also be severed; a state commercial bank should be set up to deal with the banking of the state enterprises. The state's business activity must be expanded to create a multiform production structure corresponding to the interests of the working people.

The state enterprises should be the pioneers in ensuring employment and the rights of the working people, in developing democratic planning and control over the economy.

The big companies, whose actions run counter to democratically approved plans of economic development or are unwilling to expand the workers' influence and control must be transferred to public ownership. *Democratic nationalization* is essential: when the activities of a monopoly enterprise run counter to the interests of the economy; when the diktat of foreign capital threatens an enterprise or branch of production; when state participation in a private enterprise is substantial or when an enterprise relies primarily on state subsidies.

As distinguished from nationalization in the interests of the monopolies, democratic nationalization is based on comprehensive democratic planning of the economy and democratic control by the working masses. It is aimed primarily against the private commercial banks and big monopoly enterprises of the major industrial branches.

The Communist Party of Finland has since its inception directed its energies and forces toward the struggle for peace democracy and social progress. It has sought to mobilize all strata oppressed by the monopolies for joint struggle on the broadest possible basis, and in each case pointed out to them the most urgent common objectives.

As a Marxist-Leninist party, the CPF relies in its activity on the working-class movement and on the best democratic and revolutionary traditions of our entire people. Its activity is based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and the mutual solidarity of the workers of all countries; it is an inseparable part of the international communist movement.

The Communist Party is an open democratic organization relying on the working masses, a party of the working class. It has no other aspirations than to serve the cause of the working people, to defend their interests and strengthen their struggle. Without a stronger and united Communist Party an alliance of the working class and democratic forces, the growing consciousness of the working people and their fighting unity are unthinkable. The strengthening of the party, its growth and the invigoration of its work is the key task of each communist.

To expand the social struggle and to set up a democratic front it is essential to invigorate the study of the theory of scientific socialism and the experience of the communist movement. Popularization of the achievements and peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries remains a central task of the CPF's ideological work. The activity of our party signifies above all day-to-day work among the masses. The party's task is to head the struggle of the working class and to study its aspirations and experience.

Päivän Posti, No. 4, June 1978

RESOLUTION OF THE FCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The following is the Concluding Resolution adopted at a plenum of the FCP Central Committee, held in Paris from June 19-20.

The FCP Central Committee plenum, held over June 19 to 20, approved the report by Claude Poperen and the work of the Political Bureau after the previous plenum.

Recent developments confirm the correctness and importance of the analysis and decisions of the Central Committee adopted on April 26 to 28.

1. The April plenum emphasized that not a single problem had been resolved after the elections. It is impossible to extricate the country from the crisis without profound democratic reforms that will challenge the domination of the big capitalist companies, without concrete measures aimed at reducing inequality, without giving the working people new rights.

This is confirmed by government decisions. The Giscard government is continuing its policy of austerity and unemployment solely for the benefit of the multinationals. This policy aggravates inequality, accentuating the difficulties of the working people. It is eroding France's economic potential and increasing its dependence on other countries.

The talk about "liberalization" is virtually reduced to an onslaught on trade union and democratic freedoms, to increasing misinformation, to dispatching security troops against the working people fighting for their rights.

The present situation confirms that our party had every reason to reject the austerity policy and to fight to the end for an agreement ensuring the economic and political means for a change.

The French government's foreign policy endangers peace, détente and national independence.

In Africa the Giscard government is in the van of imperialist intervention in the affairs of the African peoples and is resorting to colonialist practices.

The proposals submitted by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to the UN General Assembly do not in any way facilitate the progress of détente. The government persists in its intention not to participate in disarmament talks. It stubbornly follows the road of returning France to the NATO military organization.

The Central Committee calls on the working people, patriots and democrats to vigorously rebuff this policy, which runs counter to the independence of the peoples and to national interests.

2. The April Central Committee plenum showed, on the basis of facts, that the Socialist Party bears full responsibility for the defeat of the left forces at the elections.

The discussions at the plenum made it clear that a growing number of working people share this view, whose correctness is becoming increasingly obvious in connection with the present stance of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party, which formerly considered the Common Program as a "fetter," is now declaring that it has "outlived itself."

It is once again assuming responsibility for the split by refusing to put forward joint lists at many partial municipal elections.

Participation of its representatives in Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's delegation at the UN, its approval of the setting up of inter-African intervention forces, drawing up of a joint program with the social-democratic parties of Europe are facts confirming the Socialist Party's rightward turn.

It is important for the working people to come out in support of a unitary policy of the French Communist Party and to play a corresponding role in the struggle for an alliance.

3. The Central Committee has shown that after the elections the relation of forces has not changed in France. Fifteen million voters rejected the government's policy. Every second French man and woman came out for a new policy.

The struggle now unfolding is evidence of a strong militant spirit and permits a better appraisal of the gains made during the six years of struggle for unity around a common program.

The Communist Party actively supports this struggle.

4. The Central Committee notes that the communists are seriously studying the third section of Georges Marchais' report at the April plenum. The numerous initiatives of the communists, their role in various forms of struggle show that the Central Committee decisions are being carried out.

This struggle is essential to counter the government's striving to continue the austerity policy and to increase unemployment. Numerous examples prove that it is possible to achieve success, and to make the government and employers retreat. The working people can conquer new positions, new rights and thus move forward to democratic change.

The Central Committee calls on all party organizations to display greater sensitivity in dealing with the problems facing the people, above all in relation to the poorest sections, to take account of all their requirements and aspirations and to conduct together with them diverse actions in every sphere: against unemployment, against injustice toward the youth, to raise purchasing power, improve working conditions, for respect for workers at enterprises, higher guaranteed incomes for the farmers, against growing rents and prices, to overcome the inequality of women, for environmental protection, for education and culture.

The Central Committee also calls on all party organizations to come out in defense of peace and for disarmament, for national independence and a Europe of the working people.

5. The Central Committee summed up the discussion held throughout the party.

The committees of federations and sections, and most of the branches have held meetings and approved the analysis and decisions of the Central Committee.

The factional activity of a small group of communists, which emerged during the discussion, met with severe criticism and a firm political rebuttal on the part of the party membership.

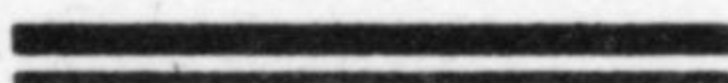
The Central Committee considers it necessary at the same time to patiently and persistently conduct a broad discussion everywhere with the participation of all communists.

This discussion will enrich the party, help to improve democratic centralism, and to rectify mistakes and shortcomings, which still hamper the party's advance and creative implementation of the 22nd Congress decisions.

FPC Central Committee

Paris, July 20, 1978

L'Humanité, June 21, 1978



ON THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF USSR AGRICULTURE

*Summary of the Report delivered by Leonid Brezhnev,
General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,
at the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee
on July 3, 1978*

A Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was held on July 3 and 4, 1978.

The Plenary Meeting heard the Report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev "On the further development of USSR agriculture."

Comrades,

For the first time in history running into many centuries, the party of Lenin actually delivered the peasantry from exploitation and poverty and put it on the socialist road. Our enemies concocted many fables of all sorts about the past and present of the Soviet countryside. However, for the correct and just solution of the peasant question there is one right road — the road of building socialism in the countryside. Lenin's teaching on the agrarian question and the ideas and principles of his cooperation plan have been and remain in the arsenal of our party.

MAIN RESULTS

The present agrarian policy of our party stems from the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. The party has solved a wide range of agrarian problems. The agriculture of the country has made big steps forward in economic and social development. The redistribution of funds allocated for the national economy ensured a sharp increase in capital investments in agricultural production and a considerable rise in the share of agriculture in overall investments. Whereas under the seventh five-year plan, that is before the March plenary meeting, the share of agriculture constituted 20 per cent, it was 23 per cent under the eighth five-year plan, 26 per cent under the ninth five-year plan and more than 27 per cent under the 10th five-year plan (target).

In this period, we have practically built up anew such specialized sectors as water conservancy and land amelioration, engineering for

livestock and fodder production, the mixed feed and microbiological industry. The manufacture of tractors and agricultural machinery, the production of mineral fertilizers and the processing industry have also been greatly developed. The machine-and-tractor fleet of the collective and state farms has been renewed almost fully. The power capacities of agricultural enterprises have increased in these years from 232 million to 525 million hp, i.e., more than two times over.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that up till now neither our country nor any other has known of such a huge scale of the development of chemicalization and land amelioration. Last year our agriculture received 77 million tons of mineral fertilizers as against 27 million tons in 1965. The country has nearly doubled the area of irrigated and drained land, and nowadays our collective and state farms have more than 27 million hectares of such land. In 1977 per-worker productivity was 169 per cent compared with the level of 1965. Much has been done to reduce the difference in the wages of agricultural and industrial workers. In the past 12 years the labor remuneration of the collective farmers has gone up by 100 per cent and that of state farm workers by 90 per cent. The aggregate income of the family of the collective farmer grew by 80 per cent.

Facts testify to a considerable increase in the production of the major agricultural products. The annual grain production in 1959-1965 was 128.1 million tons. In 1971-1977 the figure reached 189.6 million. The average annual production of raw cotton increased in the same period from 4.8 to 7.9 million tons; sugar beets, from 56.8 million to 81.9 million tons. The output of meat increased from an average of 9.2 million in 1959-1965 to 14 million tons in 1971-1977, milk from 63.9 to 88.8 million tons respectively.

The sales of meat products to the population through the state and cooperative trade network almost doubled between 1965 and 1977, amounting to an average of 10 million tons a year. The sales of milk also increased almost two times, that is, from 15.4 million to 30 million tons, butter from 702,000 to 1,276,000 tons, etc. Per capita consumption of meat and meat products with the growth of the population by 28 million increased by 16 kilograms, amounting to 57 kilograms in 1977.

Consumption of milk and dairy products, eggs, vegetables, melons and fruits has noticeably grown. The consumption of bread products and potatoes is steadily falling, a fact which testifies to the improved diet of the population.

Recently, particularly since May 1976 when the CPSU Central

Committee adopted the Resolution on "Further Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production," considerable successes have been attained in this field. At present there are 8,000 inter-farm and agro-industrial enterprises and associations functioning in the country.

The collective and state farms jointly set up modern enterprises for the production of meat and milk, for pedigree animal breeding, for the output of fodder. The specialization and concentration of production have resulted in far higher labor productivity.

In the countryside a total of 480 million square metres of housing has been built in the past 13 years. In the prewar year of 1940 this was the total housing available in all cities and towns of our country. Rural communities are being developed comprehensively, according to existing master plans. Together with residential buildings, modern public projects are being erected. Now it is not rare to see in a village a modern shopping center, a well-equipped public services center, a canteen or cosy café.

Not long ago construction of crèches and kindergartens in the villages was a very rare occasion, and these as a rule were accommodated in primitive buildings. Since 1965 standard designs have been used to build preschool establishments for nearly two million children, general education schools for 11 million pupils, clubs and Palaces of Culture with a total seating capacity of eight million, and many public health and municipal service centers and sports grounds.

WHAT MORE MUST WE DO

In 1981-1985 we must ensure an annual average grain harvest of 238 to 243 million tons and by 1990 increase it to an average of one ton per capita. Meat production should increase to 19.5 million tons by 1985. The output of milk and eggs must be increased substantially. This will make it possible to increase per capita consumption of the most valuable foodstuffs and to come much closer to scientifically rational norms by the end of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan (1985).

The whole course of economic development of the country and the steady rise of the material well-being of the people now move to the fore the task of a faster uplift of livestock farming. The growth of public welfare in recent times has brought about an increased demand precisely for livestock products. This has given rise to a situation where, in spite of a noticeable increase in the production of meat, milk and other products, the present level of development of livestock farming does not meet the swiftly growing requirements. The party

and government drew up a set of concrete measures for increased production of meat, milk and other products. We should also show concern for the personal holdings of the collective farmers, workers and employees. This is a vital source of replenishment of food resources.

A big role in our plans is assigned to the non-black-earth zone of the Russian Federation. The implementation of the comprehensive program for the transformation of the agriculture of this vast territory is beginning to have a positive effect on the growth of production and the improvement of the working and living conditions of the farm workers. But still the work to develop the non-black-earth zone has not been given the scope and the efficiency that are necessary for the successful accomplishment of the tasks set. A great deal is still to be done to develop agriculture in Siberia and the Soviet Far East. Big funds have to be spent on the importation of agricultural products, many of which could successfully be grown locally.

It is planned to elaborate principles of planning and incentives which would create more favorable conditions for extended reproduction in agriculture, improve the substantiation of plans and provide a more objective approach to their formulation.

In recent years, a great deal has been done to improve purchasing prices. However, the prices of certain products still fail to cover the outlays of collective farms and state farms. The growth rate of production is slowing down. One should agree to a certain rise in the purchasing prices of some products. In this connection, a resolution has been passed to raise as from January 1, 1979, without changing retail prices, the price of milk, wool, karakul, mutton, potatoes and some vegetables.

It is considered advisable to exempt from income taxes collective farms whose profitability rate is below 23 per cent, as compared to the 15 per cent in force now. In 1972 and in 1975 collective farms and state farms in many areas of the country found themselves, on account of an unprecedented drought, in exceptionally difficult circumstances which could not but tell on their economies and lead to their considerable indebtedness. Therefore, for the purpose of improving the economies of these farms it has been deemed necessary to write off the collective farms' and state farms' debts to the sum of 7,300 million roubles.

It is envisaged from January 1, 1980 to raise the collective farmers' minimum pension by 40 per cent, and by 1985 it is envisaged to bring it up to the level of industrial and office workers.

There are still many shortcomings in the work to improve the specialization and integration of agricultural production. Inter-farm cooperation is a big and complicated objective process. It cannot be held back nor can it be hastened. The work should be carried out in a planned fashion, giving it careful consideration, on conjunction with other measures for the intensification of agricultural production.

Despite considerable successes in rural construction, it still remains a bottleneck; its production facilities are as yet inadequate.

It is not only production but relations between people, their everyday life, their cultural level, mentality and consciousness that are an object of the party's unfailing attention. One of the major tasks before us today is to combine agricultural production with culture, seen in the broadest possible sense as the culture of work, everyday life and human relations.

Pravda, July 4, 1978

ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA

Excerpts from Report by LCY President Josip Broz Tito

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia held its 11th Congress in Belgrade over June 20 to 23. Attending the Congress were numerous delegations of communist and workers' parties, socialist and social-democratic parties, progressive and national-liberation movements from across the world.

LCY President Josip Broz Tito delivered the report "The League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the struggle for the Further Development of Non-aligned, Socialist Yugoslavia which is Based on Self-management."

At the concluding session Congress endorsed the report on the work of the LCY and the LCY Central Committee in the period under review, approved the activity of the Central Committee and its commissions and adopted a number of resolutions. A new 165-member Central Committee was elected. The first plenum of the new Central Committee elected Stane Dolanc as Secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Below we publish Josip Broz Tito's report at the 11th LCY Congress in abridged form.

The Yugoslav communists have approached their highest forum with substantial achievements in all spheres of public life, labor and creative endeavor. The period under review has been among the most fruitful in the country's development, vividly demonstrating the stability of our society. Our successes after the 10th LCY Congress are due to the efforts of the working class, the ideological unity and activity of the League of Communists. As the leading ideological-political force and the vanguard of the working people, the LCY is a social force that bears the greatest responsibility for the fate of the revolution, for the consolidation of the Yugoslav socialist society.

Humanity is at an historic turning point due to the vast revolutionary transformations and changes it is experiencing. The processes of all-round national and social liberation are continually expanding and deepening, embracing all countries and regions of the world. The crisis of capitalism has grown deeper and more acute in every sphere, becoming a crisis of the system in the full sense of the word. The old ways and means of pulling out of the crisis, especially those proposed by the forces of reaction and neo-fascism, let alone political and other terror, are of no avail. The present situation dictates the need to curb dangerous reactionary tendencies and requires speedier progressive social changes in the direction of democracy and socialism. We must not permit any return to the past or any threat to the achievements of social development for which the working masses and progressive movement have exerted so much effort. The working class and other democratic forces should, through united efforts, fight for social changes with account for the national conditions and requirements of each country.

Socialism has long become a world process; it is irrepressibly gaining in strength and advancing. The achievements and experience of socialism in individual countries influence developments in other regions, and especially in international relations.

An increasingly successful national-liberation struggle is being waged in various regions of the world for the total liquidation of colonialism and implementation of the peoples' right to self-determination. The front of freedom, independence, peace and progress has greatly expanded. It is essential, therefore, to consolidate its action.

The peoples and progressive democratic forces and movements, above all the workers and working people in general are stepping up their struggle for freedom and independence, to choose independently their path of development, for new, more just international economic

and political relations, for equal international cooperation on the basis of active peaceful coexistence, and against exploitation.

At present a new world is emerging, a world of freedom and socialism, democratic and equal relations between nations and people. This world is forging a way for itself in spite of opposition, difficulties and numerous contradictions.

It is essential for the progressive and democratic world forces to vigorously and actively rebuff the phenomena of confrontation and the threat of new military conflicts. The danger of not only a local, but even of a global war being sparked off cannot be excluded.

But war is not inevitable. Peace can be safeguarded and strengthened if all the peoples, all democratic and progressive forces exert the greatest efforts and work jointly for these goals. Peace must be maintained, for on it hinges the existence of all humanity and of each individual country. We are living in an epoch when world order can no longer be sought through war, when peaceful coexistence is the only alternative to a nuclear catastrophe. Therefore an enormous historical responsibility rests on anyone who plays with the fate of the world for his own narrow, selfish interests and privileges at the cost of the freedom and independence of other peoples. We are convinced that there is not a single international problem which cannot be resolved through negotiation and peaceful settlement, given adherence to the principles of the United Nations and other norms universally recognized in the international community.

We have always attached great importance to relations between two great powers — the Soviet Union and the USA — and advocated relaxation of tensions between them as a vital prerequisite of the process of détente as a whole, of safeguarding world peace and promoting international relations on the principles of active peaceful coexistence.

After a period of improved relations between the USSR and the USA, we are witnessing signs of their deterioration. Efforts are required to surmount this unfavorable situation. This serves not only the long-term interests of the Soviet Union and the United States, but the long-term vital interests of the entire international community, which wants peace and sees stable peace as the basic condition for the general progress of mankind.

At present the entire world requires new international relations, stable development of the peoples and countries. This presumes the liquidation of all sources and conditions engendering contradictions and conflicts.

Relations in the working-class and progressive movement in general are inseparable from present-day world development. In our view, favorable processes and tendencies have grown deeper and stronger in the working-class movement in recent years. Many communist and workers' parties have developed into a significant national political force. They creatively worked out concepts of struggle for socialism in the concrete historical conditions of the present crisis of capitalist social relations.

In some countries, cooperation in certain questions is being established between the communists, socialists and social democrats. Promotion of such cooperation serves the interests of the workers and other working people, the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

The Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties constituted a big step forward in developing their mutual relations and cooperation. This was an important event in the struggle for peace and equal cooperation in Europe. The free and frank exchange of views at the Conference enabled it to adopt a document which we believe is of long-term significance. I have in mind, above all, the principles adopted there, which constitute the basis for promoting fruitful internationalist cooperation and solidarity between the communist and workers' parties and all progressive forces.

The conference stimulated discussion of a series of important questions of the struggle for socialism, mutual relations between the communist and workers' parties, their relations with other democratic and progressive parties and movements, and the struggle of the peoples of the developing countries, and other issues. This is a highly positive phenomenon. We have always considered, and noted in particular at the Berlin conference, that the principled discussion of all questions concerning the communist and workers' parties and the development of socialism are essential for developing revolutionary theory and practice.

Dealing with the situation on the European continent, the speaker emphasized the significance of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This conference, together with its Final Act, he said, is an exceptionally important achievement in the relaxation of international tension, for it represents the result of equal negotiations and account of the interests of all participants on crucial issues of peace, security and cooperation. At the same time it is a long-term program of promoting new relations in Europe.

The Belgrade meeting proceeded in a more complex international

situation. However, despite all the difficulties, it confirmed the viability of the Helsinki Final Act and ensured the continuation of this process. Any underestimation of the results of the Belgrade meeting, which is sometimes the case, prejudices the efforts aimed at consolidating European security and cooperation.

The questions of security and cooperation on the European continent should be seen as the cause not only of governments, but of all the European peoples. They express the vital interests of the broadest strata, the working class and all progressive and democratic movements and forces of this part of the world. Therefore a grave responsibility devolves on anyone who seeks to halt this process, to throw Europe back to the cold war.

International relations are overshadowed by seats of crises. The most explosive is the Middle East crisis, with the Palestine question at its center. By its aggressive and expansionist policy Israel is frustrating the search for a stable and just settlement, which is sought by almost the entire international community. This is possible only through an overall settlement of the crisis with the participation of all interested sides, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. Such a solution presupposes the total withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, implementation by the Palestine people of their national rights, including the right to their own state, and the guaranteed independence and security of all states of the region. An essential prerequisite is solidarity between the Arab countries, for strife between them benefits only Israel and the enemies of the Arab cause.

In Africa there are two dangerous seats of crises — in the south and in the region of the African Horn. The only solution to the problems in southern Africa is to liquidate the remaining bulwarks of colonialism and racism there, ensure the independence of Namibia and Zimbabwe and eliminate apartheid in the Republic of South Africa. In the region of the Horn of Africa it is essential to halt the armed conflicts and to find a peaceful political solution to disputed issues, proceeding from the principles of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

Recent developments clearly demonstrate the relevance of the provisions and initiatives of the fifth conference of heads of states and governments of the non-aligned countries held in Colombo. We then said clearly — and this is equally true at present — that détente should not be limited to relations between the big powers or to

Europe alone. It should involve all countries and regions and embrace all major international issues whose solution require the participation of all countries.

The question of disarmament is a crucial problem, closely linked with the development of international relations in general, and particularly with questions of world peace and security. The whole international community would benefit from a halt to the arms race, which swallows enormous material, economic and manpower reserves both in the developed and the developing countries. Understandably, general and complete disarmament under effective international controls remains the imperative ultimate goal.

The UN General Assembly special disarmament session constitutes a major step in a series of attempts to resolve a key question of our time.

We are marching in the front ranks of the socialist forces' struggle for peace, Tito went on to say. We extend every support to the peoples' aspirations for democracy, progress and freedom. The League of Communists is cooperating extensively and fruitfully with the communist, socialist, social-democratic and other progressive parties and movements. Such cooperation will be continued in future too.

The 11th Party Congress, Josip Broz Tito said, will chart the general directions of the country's further development. In the period under review overall industrial output increased by one-third. Today the monthly output of industry, the key branch of the Yugoslav economy, equals that of an entire year some 30 years ago. Notable results have been attained in agriculture. Last year we gathered a record harvest of maize, sugar beet, sunflower seed, and also an excellent wheat harvest.

The basic targets in developing socio-economic relations set by the 10th LCY Congress are also being met successfully. We have every prerequisite, Tito said, for developing the socio-economic and political system and a modern economy essential for raising living standards.

Speaking of the shortcomings and problems of economic development, Tito noted that inflation is a great evil which must be resolutely eliminated or at least reduced to a level ensuring the implementation of control over social reproduction.

During the past period we have been able to keep prices within certain bounds, Josip Broz Tito noted. The key targets of the 10th Congress in providing jobs have been fulfilled. However, unemploy-

ment remains a serious economic, social and political problem, which should be solved.

The report points out some unfavorable trends in foreign trade, which are reflected in a slow-down in the growth of export and the country's increasing debt. At present, the speaker said, the greater part of Yugoslav trade goes to Western markets. However, we far from always meet with adequate understanding on the part of our major partners, which results in very serious trade deficit with the West. We must ensure our long-term interests and increasingly orientate on markets where imports will largely be covered by exports.

In speaking of the objectives in the sphere of Marxist education, Josip Broz Tito emphasized the need to more deeply study revolutionary theory and the theoretical thought of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and to follow contemporary Marxist studies. With the development of Marxist education in the LCY, the speaker said, the necessary prerequisites are created for arming the communists with Marxist knowledge, commensurate with the ideological vanguard of the working class.

The ideological-political cohesion and united actions of the LCY, based on the principles of democratic centralism, remains the earnest of our successes and victories. This is a crucial condition of the further development of society on the basis of socialist self-management and of consolidating the equality, fraternity and unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Democratic relations within the LCY are particularly important in implementing its leading role. Therefore democratic centralism will remain the basic principle of inter-party relations and the party's entire activity. It ensures the broadest democracy in elaborating policy and adopting decisions and the firmest unity in the course of their fulfillment. This ensures the manifestation of the broadest initiative and creativity of each member, of each primary organization and leading body of the party.

Josip Broz Tito stressed the need to pay special attention to the work of primary LCY organizations. After the 10th Congress, he said, the process of reducing the size of primary party organizations continued apace. This has helped to promote the communists' initiative and activity and has strengthened the LCY's ideological influence. Since the 10th Congress, LCY membership increased by almost 700,000. At the end of 1977 party membership stood at 1,630,000. Young people make up the majority of the new members. The social structure of the LCY is changing in a positive direction, though

somewhat slowly. After the 10th Congress about 170,000 workers have been admitted to the party. Today workers account for around one-third of the membership, that is, almost a half a million.

In conclusion Josip Broz Tito expressed the conviction that the LCY will successfully continue to promote socialist self-management and the all-round progress of Yugoslavia.

Borba, June 11, 1978

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STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

NOT IN STEP WITH THE TIMES

RESOLUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PANAMA ON THE POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

The peoples of the world are astonished at seeing the leadership of the Communist Party of China slipping to the positions of imperialism, at its discarding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Today the Chinese people find themselves in isolation imposed on them by the Chinese leadership, and cannot therefore benefit by the meaningful support from the socialist system.

The Peking leaders are currently refusing to normalize relations with the socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union, while conducting multiform negotiations and concluding trade and military agreements with the imperialist powers.

It is no secret that the CPC leadership has come out against the struggle of the revolutionary government of Angola and supports the imperialist aggression against this newly-free country. It has adopted the same aggressive stance in relation to socialist Cuba, which is extending internationalist aid to the peoples of Africa suffering from imperialist aggression, particularly Ethiopia and the people of Palestine. The counter-revolutionary stance of the CPC is clearly expressed in that party's opposition to the liberation movement in Latin America, its support for the bloody Pinochet regime and its splitting activities. The Panamanians became convinced of this during the March 1973 UN Security Council session, which was held in Panama. At that session the Chinese representative lauded the false "super-power" theory, instead of vigorously supporting the cause of the Panamanian people.

The Chinese leaders are frenziedly prodding their imperialist allies to go on with the arms race, which will inevitably lead to war, and come out against the policy of peace, peaceful coexistence and détente; they are undermining the struggle against the production of

the evil neutron bomb by the United States. Contrary to the interests of the progressive peoples of the planet who are fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, the Peking leaders seek to impose on the peace-loving public the idea that the main enemy who must be fought against is what they call "social-imperialism." This anti-historical stand is taking the Chinese leadership into the camp of U.S. imperialism, the West German, French and Belgian monopolies as well as such racist regimes as the one in South Africa. There can be no doubt that this reactionary policy is suffering defeat under the blows of the powerful forces of world progress headed by the Soviet Union whose just policy, as proclaimed by the 25th CPSU Congress, is becoming increasingly more realistic and scientific. The peoples hail this policy for it is in step with our time.

The CPC leadership has renounced Marxism-Leninism and betrayed the Chinese revolution which, in 1949, brought the great Chinese people into the socialist camp. The CPC leadership's growing mistakes in conducting its nationalistic, chauvinistic course have led to serious failures in the country's economic policy and cultural development, endangering the very character of the socialist system in the country.

The Political Bureau of the People's Party of Panama emphatically condemns the splitting activity of the CPC leadership, which is aimed against the national-liberation movement, against the working class and its international unity, against the world communist movement and the unity of the socialist system, and against the bulwark of socialism, the Soviet Union. We accuse the Peking leadership of going over to the side of world reaction.

We Panamanian communists believe that the time is not far off when the Chinese working people and the Chinese people as a whole will expose the renegades of Marxism and will once again embark on the correct road along with the peoples fighting for national liberation, for socialism and peace, and will bring to successful conclusion their revolution which the present Peking leaders are betraying.

The People's Party of Panama, its Central Committee and Political Bureau support the policy of détente, condemn the policy of war pursued by the most reactionary quarters of imperialism, and come out against the splitting activity of the imperialist allies within the Chinese leadership, an activity that runs counter to the interests of the peoples. Our party vigorously denounces the anti-Soviet campaign, a vile manifestation of counter-revolution.

The Chinese leadership is using anti-Sovietism, in particular, as an

outlet to its hostility to peace and the liberation struggle of the peoples, as its representative did at the special disarmament session of the UN General Assembly. These anti-Soviet attacks are an affront to revolutionaries across the world.

Our party maintains that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, led by the outstanding leader Leonid Brezhnev, is pursuing a correct political line and foreign policy, which are a source of support for our peoples' struggle for wiping out colonialism and neo-colonialism. This policy was a favorable factor in the partial victory won by our people during the conclusion of new treaties between Torrijos and Carter.

We Panamanian communists hope that the bulk of the Chinese communists, guided by Marxism-Leninism, will be able in a short period to put right the erroneous political line imposed on the people and the Communist Party of China by the group of renegades of Marxism-Leninism now heading the CPC.

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Political Bureau,
People's Party of Panama
Panama City, May 30, 1978

