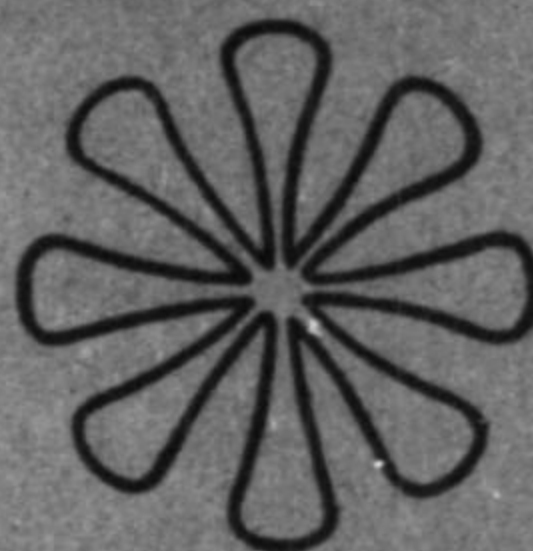


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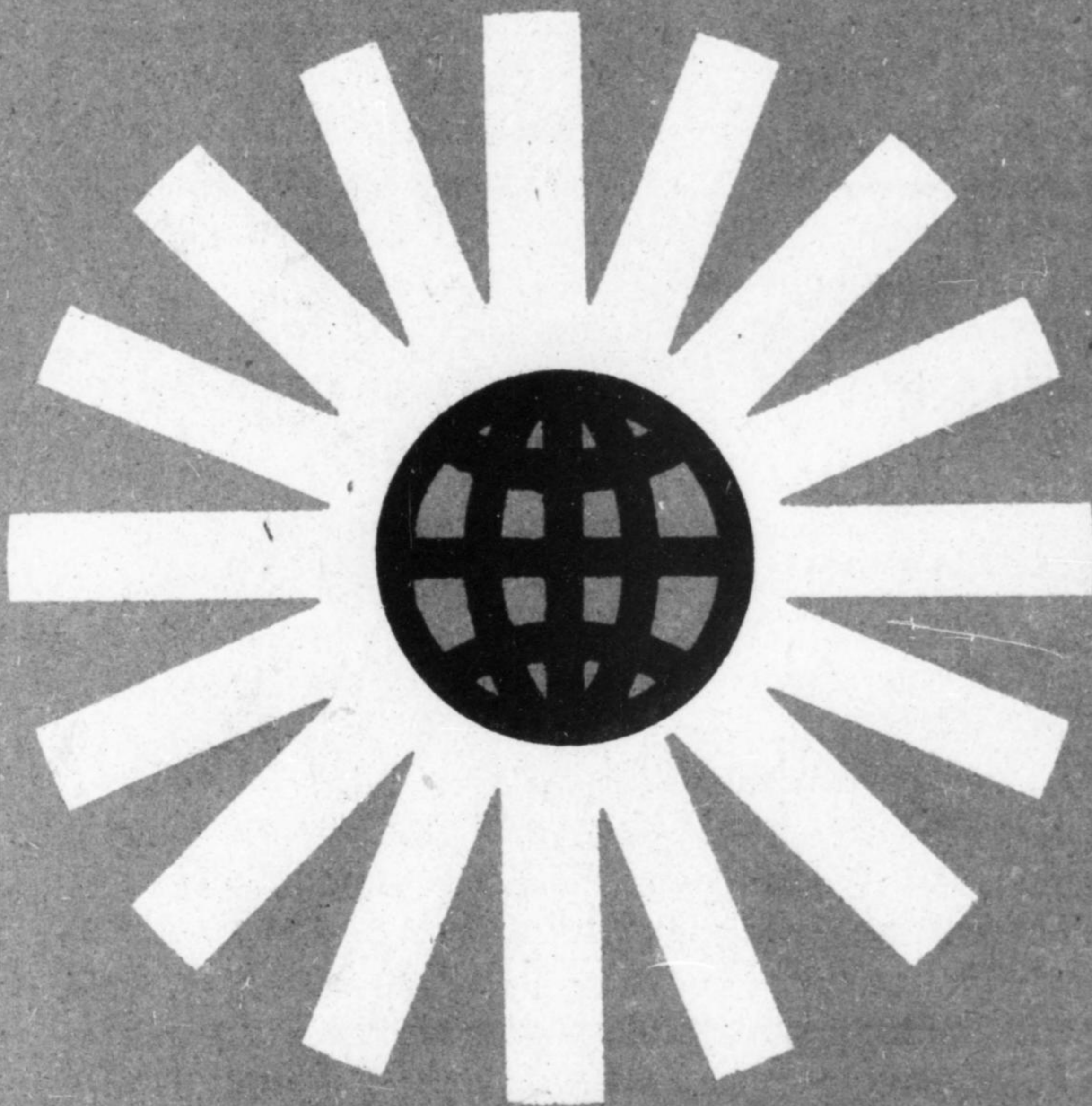
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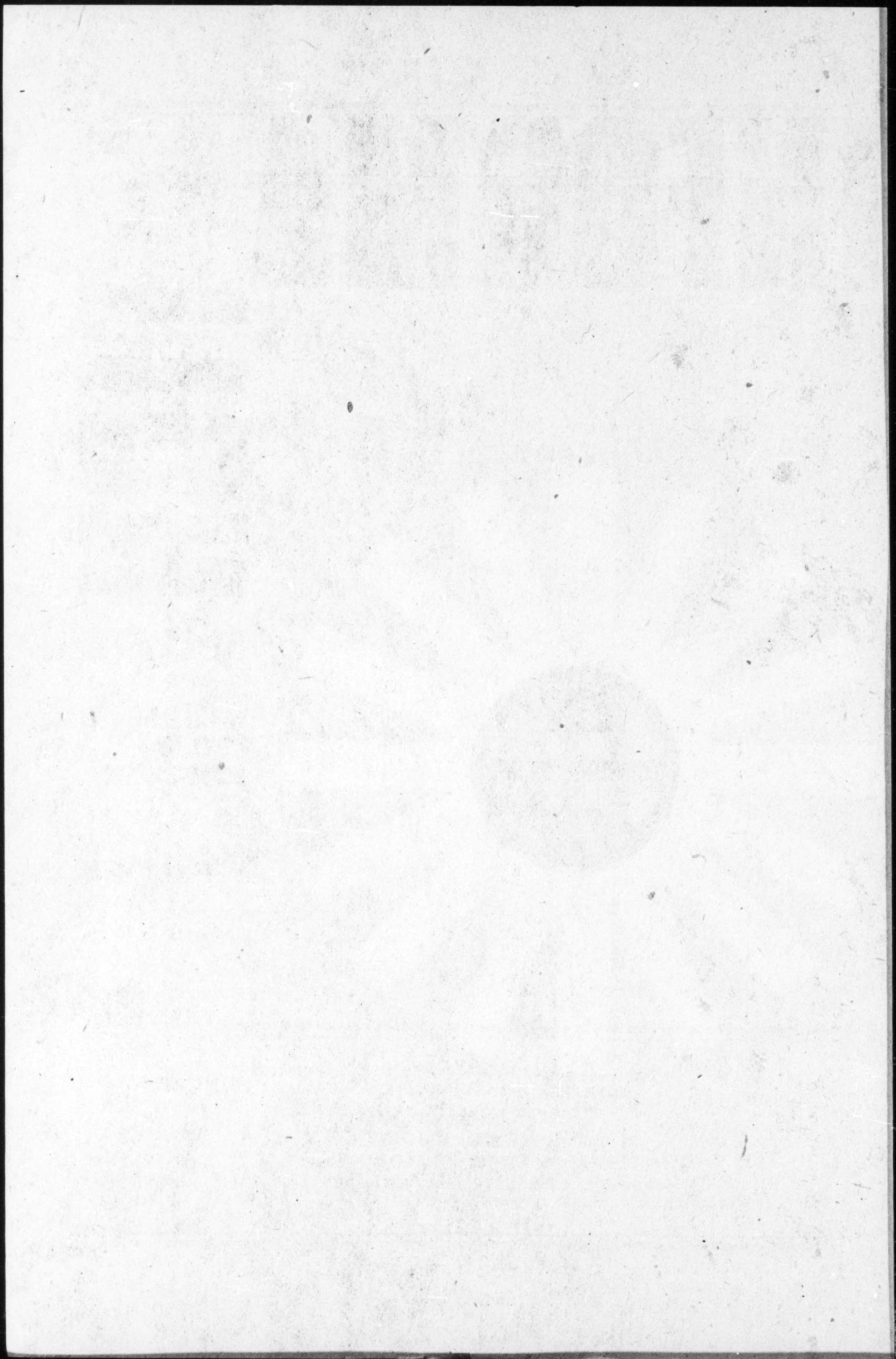
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ON THE 110TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN

Decision of the CPSU Central Committee

We shall soon celebrate the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. A titanic thinker, a truly popular leader, an ardent revolutionary and the founder of the Communist Party and the world's first socialist state, Lenin dedicated all his bright and heroic life to a great and lofty cause — the struggle for the social liberation of the proletariat and all oppressed people, the struggle for the happiness of working people everywhere.

Having emerged in the worldwide class struggle as a true and staunch disciple of Marx and Engels, Lenin comprehensively developed their revolutionary doctrine. Possessing a unique talent to rationally forecast events (a talent which enabled him to grasp the essence of events and phenomena of his day and creatively apply the dialectical materialistic method of analysis to new historical conditions), he enriched all the component parts of Marxism with new, fundamentally important provisions and opened up a new stage of its development.

Lenin's teachings on imperialism, the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party, the class allies of the proletariat in the struggle for democracy and socialism, the inseparable link between social and national liberation movements, and the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems have become a priceless ideological-theoretical and methodological weapon in the arsenal of revolutionaries all around the world. Of major importance are Lenin's ideas of the defense of the socialist homeland. A science of the ways of building socialism and communism became the height of Lenin's theoretical work.

A brilliant theorist, the greatest strategist and tactician of the world proletariat, Lenin mastered to perfection the art of leading the revolutionary struggle and the building of communism.

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party were destined to fulfill the great mission of preparing and leading history's first successful socialist revolution and combine the theory of scientific socialism with the broadest practice of the popular masses.

For millions of oppressed and exploited, and for all working people, Leninism has become the symbol of the social renovation of the world and the revolutionary banner of our times. All the outstanding revolutionary events of the 20th century are connected with the name and teachings of Lenin. There is no Marxism, nor can there be, without the introductions made by Lenin. *Leninism is the present-day Marxism, an integral, coherent and constantly developing doctrine for the international working class.*

The intransient significance of Leninism lies in the fact that it profoundly and exactly expresses the interests of the working class and all the working people and the requirements of worldwide social progress, makes it possible to work out the correct answers to the pressing, vitally important questions of our time, to present a bold and creative approach to current questions, and to arm one with a scientific understanding of the prospects of social development. The richest ideological legacy left by Lenin, the revolutionary-critical spirit of his teachings, his consistency and firmness in protecting the fundamental principles of Marxism from all opportunistic distortions, and his entire life serve the inexhaustible well-springs of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action of the present-day international communist, working-class, and national liberation movement.

Lenin's greatest service to history was the creation of a new type of proletarian party — the living embodiment of the inseparable unity of scientific theory and revolutionary practice, the leader and a source of inspiration for the socialist revolution and the construction of a new society.

Following the path indicated by Lenin, the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, have successfully carried out the socialist industrialization of their country, the collectivization of agriculture and a cultural revolution, and set an example of a just settlement of the nationalities question for the rest of the world to emulate. In the shortest possible span of time our Motherland was turned into a mighty socialist power. The Soviet people upheld the gains of the October Revolution against domestic counter-revolution and foreign intervention. A tremendous, revolutionizing influence on the fate of the whole of mankind was exercised by the victory of the Soviet people over fascism in the years of the Great Patriotic War.

The construction of a developed socialist society by the realization of Leninist ideas, in which the creative forces of the new system and its truly humane essence are ever more fully exposed, is the world historic result of the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet people.

The chief source of all our victories is the indestructible unity of the party and the people, the ability of communists, as Lenin put it, to draw closer together, and to blend to a certain degree with the broadest masses of working people, and stir up their energy, heroism and enthusiasm, concentrating strenuous, revolutionary efforts on the most important, immediate tasks. The party acted in this Leninist manner to build socialism in one country and to protect it under conditions of hostile capitalist encirclement. It has acted in this manner to build the world's first society of developed socialism. In the future it will act in the same way, too.

The course of history, the deepest transformations which have radically changed the face of the contemporary world provide ever new evidence of the correctness and indestructibility of Leninist ideas.

Under the banner of Leninism, socialist revolutions have been accomplished in a number of European, Asian and Latin American countries. The world socialist community, united on a foundation of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, is in the vanguard of social progress. It constitutes the world's most dynamic economic and political force and is a bulwark of peace and worldwide security. Life has confirmed Lenin's prediction of a diversity of forms and methods of socialist construction in various countries on the basis of common regularities underlying the establishment and development of socialism. The flowering of each nation of the socialist community is inseparably connected with the consolidation of the ideological and political unity of all socialist nations, the increasingly joint nature of their policy, economy and social life, and the development of beneficial and equal cooperation in all fields. An example of such cooperation is provided by the interaction of the fraternal countries within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, based on the Leninist principles of international solidarity.

The international communist movement, at the source of which stood Lenin, has turned into the most influential political force of our times. Today too, the ideologically-theoretical, political and organizational principles worked out by Lenin underlie the activities of the revolutionary parties of the working class and help them struggle and achieve victory.

The CPSU proudly carries the Leninist banner of proletarian internationalism and stands for the cohesion of the international com-

munist and working-class movements and the unity of action of all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces.

In the conditions of a deepening general crisis in the capitalist system which manifests itself in nearly all spheres of bourgeois society, the struggle of the working class and all working people against the sway of imperialist monopolies is gaining momentum. An irreconcilable contradiction between the public character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation, acute social conflicts, the sustained growth of unemployment and inflation, a crisis of policy and spirit, the militarization of the economy and the dangerous arms race, all this vividly confirms the correctness of Lenin's description of imperialism as the last stage of capitalist society which has no future.

Under the direct impact of Lenin's ideas, the ideas of the Great October Revolution and under the influence of the inspiring example of the development of world socialism, national liberation movements have won outstanding victories. In the drive to eliminate their backwardness, achieve economic independence and build a just society, many newly-independent states turn to Marxism-Leninism and the experience of existing socialism.

By subjecting the processes of public life to a thorough analysis, the CPSU and other fraternal parties creatively develop Marxism-Leninism. In the past few years the treasury of Marxism-Leninism has been replenished by a teaching on developed socialism which has substantially enriched and specified our notions of the laws governing the development of a new socio-economic system and of the means of building a communist society. Of great theoretical and political importance are the conclusions that in the process of building a developed socialist society the party of the working class simultaneously becomes the vanguard and the party of all people and that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is growing into a state of the whole people, as well as the provision that the Soviet people is a new historic entity. Outstanding contributions to revolutionary theory were made by the decisions of the 23rd, 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU, the party program documents, and works by Comrade Brezhnev and other party leaders.

On the basis of a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis, the party has worked out an economic strategy which accords with the requirements of the developed socialist society. Its supreme goal is the continued raising of the national material standards and cultural level. The party has put forward a provision on the need to couple the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the

advantages of the socialist economic system, and disclosed the ways of creating the material and technical base of communism, changing over to intensive economic management and the improvement of production efficiency and the quality of work.

By creatively developing the ideas of Lenin's cooperative plan, the CPSU has elaborated, and is consistently implementing, a course which ensures the continued growth of agricultural production on the basis of the rapid development of productive forces and sustained improvement of production relations in socialist agriculture, increased specialization and concentration, and the raising of crop and stockbreeding yields.

In close connection with the economic strategy, the objectives and tasks of current social policy have been determined. They are aimed at ensuring the further homogeneity of Soviet society with the working class occupying the leading role in it, obliterating substantial distinctions between town and countryside and between white-collar and blue-collar workers, bringing closer together all the nations and nationalities of the country, and strengthening their fraternal friendship and unity.

The program for the further development and deepening of socialist democracy and perfection of the Soviet state and the entire political system of developed socialism is being successfully implemented. The new Soviet Constitution — the Fundamental Law of the world's first state of all the people — is an outstanding document of creative Marxism-Leninism, a development and concrete embodiment of Lenin's ideas about the power of the people.

There is nothing more preposterous than the attempts of our foes to depict socialism as a society allegedly suppressing human initiative, rights and freedoms. The constantly growing political and labor activities of the broadest sections of the people and their participation in discussing and solving all public and state affairs confirm the correctness of Lenin's conclusion that living, creative socialism is the creation of the popular masses themselves.

All the activity of the party and the people is aimed at further strengthening a developed socialist society and at establishing the material and technical basis for communism, at improving social relations and educating citizens in the spirit of communist partisanship. Over the past 15 years, as a result of the multifaceted organizing and political work of the party, of the enthusiastic work of the working class, collective farmers and people's intelligentsia, our country has made great strides in all aspects of communist construc-

tion. Many outstanding successes have been achieved in the development of the economy, science and culture. The world's largest fuel-energy complex has been established. Industrial output has risen considerably, the material and technical basis of agriculture has grown and the country's defense potential has been strengthened. The social program is being implemented successfully, the living standards of the Soviet people are rising. Real per capita incomes have almost doubled, approximately two-thirds of the population have moved to new flats or improved their housing conditions.

Following Lenin's behests, the CPSU critically evaluates what has been attained, directs its efforts toward solving urgent problems, boldly reveals drawbacks and mobilizes communists and all the working people to make the most efficient use of all the opportunities of developed socialism and to have a careful and truly interested attitude to everything which has been created by the labor of the people.

The resolutions of the November (1979) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and Leonid Brezhnev's speech there set forth the major problems in the further upswing of the Soviet economy and drafted concrete ways for the necessary improvement in the efficiency of production, quality of work and the citizens' living standards.

The party focuses its attention on key problems: the development of the fuel-raw material base, power, metallurgy, machine building and chemical industries; the real and swift improvement of transportation and capital construction; the transformation of agriculture into a highly developed economic sector; and the increase in the output of foods and consumer goods. Extensive work is being carried out in order to improve the planning and management of the economy and the entire economic mechanism. The party demands that all party, government and public organizations and economic bodies strengthen discipline and order, perform close day-to-day organizational and educational work, display initiative and a responsible attitude to work, and carry out completely all the decisions which have been made.

In all its work the party relies on the country's powerful scientific potential and is constantly concerned with the improvement of educational standards, the inner resources of society, the spread of the values of multinational socialist culture developing on Leninist principles of communist partisanship and national character. The CPSU considers its top priorities to be the promotion of communist consciousness among the working people; the improvement of ideologi-

cal and political education; the rise in the expertise, clarity and efficiency of propaganda and making it more relevant. The party helps raise members of society in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, encourages a communist attitude toward work and public property, political vigilance and irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology.

The Leninist standards of party life and the principles of party leadership are unwaveringly observed, inner-party democracy, criticism and self-criticism are consistently developing, even higher demands are placed on every member of the CPSU. As the scope of creative activity grows and its tasks become more and more complicated, as more and more levels of society are being drawn into the politically conscious making of history, the role of the communist party, the leading and guiding force of society, is steadily growing. The CPSU and its Central Committee stand as guardians and increase tremendously the Leninist revolutionary, military and labor traditions.

The entire international activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is imbued with the ideas of the great Lenin. The principles of proletarian socialist internationalism and peaceful coexistence put forward and scientifically substantiated by Lenin find form in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The CPSU and the Soviet state have done everything possible for the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of socialist countries, for rendering assistance and support to people fighting against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism, for the strengthening of peace and international security, for the discontinuation of the arms race and for disarmament.

The CPSU proposed the Peace Program and has been consistently working for its implementation. The conclusion of a number of treaties between the socialist and capitalist countries, the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between them and the success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe have improved international détente. The coming into force of the Soviet-U.S. SALT-2 treaty can also considerably better the political climate of the world. The constructive proposals submitted by the Warsaw Treaty member states and the Soviet Union's new peace initiatives provide realistic opportunities for reducing arms and armed forces and actually strengthening peace and security in Europe.

The USSR, the socialist countries and all the peace-loving forces of the world are making persistent efforts to ensure that détente remains

the leading tendency in international relations and to complement political détente with détente in the military sphere.

The positive changes which are taking place in the world meet with the violent resistance of imperialist reaction. Militarist and reactionary circles are intensifying their struggle against détente, seeking to change the alignment of forces in their favor, stepping up the arms race, and trying to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and to stop the peoples' liberation movements.

The leadership of China, which has been pursuing a great-power hegemonistic policy hostile to the cause of peace and socialism, is a direct accomplice of imperialism. In exposing the reactionary essence of this policy and showing the incompatibility of Maoism's ideology and practice with scientific socialism, the CPSU unvaryingly stands for the normalization of international relations, and for true good-neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation between the USSR and the PRC.

The magnetic force of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the growth of the authority and influence of existing socialism meet with the violent resistance of the class enemy.

The bourgeoisie and its ideologists, the opportunists and revisionists of every kind are stepping up their struggle against communism and are trying to falsify Marxism-Leninism, to strip away its revolutionary essence and to find "contradictions" between the theory of scientific socialism and its practice in socialist countries.

They are seeking to depreciate the world historical significance of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the advances of socialism, and to discredit the socialist way of life. Communists respond to the intrigues of imperialism and its accomplices by the international rallying of their ranks and by the consistent struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, dogmatism, and nationalism, for the purity and creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

The Soviet people are celebrating the 110th birthday anniversary of V. I. Lenin in the atmosphere of political and labor enthusiasm. On the initiative of the frontranking workers of Moscow and Leningrad the patriotic drive for the fulfillment of the individual five-year plan targets by April 22, 1980 is mounting in the country.

Closely rallied around the CPSU Central Committee and its Political Bureau headed by a loyal Leninist, Comrade Brezhnev, the Soviet people enthusiastically approve and unanimously support the general course of the CPSU and its domestic and foreign policy. Led by its

tested and true vanguard, our country confidently marches along Lenin's road to communism.

The CPSU Central Committee decided to mark the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birthday as a great, countrywide holiday and to hold formal meetings in Moscow, in the republican, territorial, regional, area, city and district centers, in work collectives and in military units and subunits.

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, the territorial, regional, area, city and district party committees, the primary party organizations and the political departments of the armed forces of the USSR have been suggested that they start active political and organizational work to prepare for the jubilee and concentrate efforts on fulfilling the decisions of the 25th Party Congress and the November 1979 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, on tackling the outstanding tasks of building communism, and on strengthening in every way the economic and defense potential of our homeland. To formulate and tackle boldly and in a principled way, as Lenin did, the outstanding problems of our development and to ensure the extensive participation of the working people in eliminating the existing shortcomings.

The preparations for and celebration of the glorious anniversary are intended to encourage in every way the further extension of the labor and social activity of the people and the mobilization of efforts to meet the 1980 plan targets and to provide a sound basis for successfully starting the 11th five-year period. The party, government and economic management bodies and trade union and Komsomol organizations should focus their attention on the problems of raising the efficiency and quality of work in all sections of the national economy, boosting labor productivity, speeding up the intensification of production and scientific and technological progress, improving economic management and planning, bettering organization and discipline, and raising personal responsibility for the task at hand.

It has been recommended that in March-April 1980 open party meetings be held under the slogan "To live, work and struggle as Lenin did, as the communists do" to discuss the tasks of the party organizations in light of the decisions of the November 1979 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the present resolution and the instructions of Comrade Brezhnev.

To launch a mass-scale socialist competition drive for worthily meeting the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birthday and for success-

fully completing the 10th five-year period. To institute an honorary Lenin diploma to be awarded to work collectives and advanced workers who have met their five-year targets by the jubilee.

The State Committee for Science and Technology, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and ministries and departments are to set aside the necessary number of passes for the USSR Exhibition of Economic Achievement complete with visits to places associated with the name of Lenin to be awarded to competition winners.

The emphasis in the party and Komsomol political as well as economic education network, in educational establishments and in entire ideological and educational work should be on a thorough study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and of the historic experience of the CPSU in an inseparable association with the solution of specific economic and political problems. The international importance, relevance and all-conquering force of Lenin's ideas must be explained in every aspect. There must be a full-scale effort to demonstrate the party's revolutionizing activities in translating Lenin's precepts into reality and in creatively developing the Marxist-Leninist teachings, and publicize in every way the achievements of advanced socialist society and the home and foreign policies of the CPSU. Convincing arguments should be produced to explain the historic gains of the peoples of the socialist community and the fundamental advantages of socialism over capitalism.

Ideological and educational activities should be improved in line with the CPSU Central Committee's resolution "On Improving Ideological, Political and Educational Work," with special emphasis on training the working people to emulate the example Lenin set by his own life and activities as well as the revolutionary, fighting and working traditions of the Communist Party and the Soviet people.

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, the Moscow City CPSU Committee, the territorial and regional party committees and the Board of the USSR *Znanie* (Knowledge) Society are to launch a course of lectures and reports as well as public political readings "Lenin's Cause Lives On and Triumphs" in Moscow, the capitals of the union republics and in territorial and regional centers.

The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations as well as bodies in charge of cultural activities are to arrange get-togethers with veterans of the revolution, war and labor heroes, tours of places associated with Lenin, festivals of plays, films, TV programs,

and of music, art exhibitions and readers' conferences dedicated to Lenin and the Communist Party.

The exhibits on display at state and popular museums, and Lenin Rooms are to be renewed, and book and photo exhibitions organized to illustrate Lenin's life and work, and to arrange competitive reviews of libraries, cultural and educational institutions and public anniversary celebrations.

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee are to hold, jointly with the USSR Academy of Sciences, a scientific conference on "Marxism-Leninism and Modern Times" in Moscow in April, 1980.

The editorial boards of newspapers and magazines, TASS, the USSR State Television and Broadcasting Committee are to provide extensive coverage of the preparations for and progress of Lenin's anniversary celebrations.

The Central Committee of the CPSU calls upon the communists, the Komsomol members and the entire Soviet people to gain more achievements in the battle for communism to honor Vladimir Lenin's anniversary celebrations and to make the closing year of the 10th five-year plan a year of excellent performance in Lenin's style.

Long Live Leninism — the banner of the revolutionary struggle, communist construction and peace!

May the great Lenin's name and cause live on for ages!

Long live the great Soviet people, the builder of communism!

Long live the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

*The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union
Pravda, December 16, 1979*



IN THE LENINIST SPIRIT OF CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

*Concluding Speech by Gustav Husak
at the 14th Plenary Meeting of the CC, CPCz*

Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee, made the concluding speech at the 14th plenary meeting of the CPCz Central Committee on Tuesday, December 11.

Gustav Husak first evaluated the results of the 14th plenary meeting, which confirmed the unanimity of views of the CC members in discussing the successes achieved, analyzing contemporary problems and in defining the party's future course. He noted the Leninist spirit of criticism and self-criticism with which the discussion was imbued and expressed the conviction that this principled, responsible and creative approach would also be taken in discussing the meeting's results in all party organizations.

The report of the CPCz Central Committee Presidium, which we approved, summed up the successes achieved since 1976 in meeting the sixth five-year plan targets in material production and in improving living standards, Gustav Husak said. At the same time the report points out problems and shortcomings and outlines ways of solving them. It sets guidelines for the party's activity in the coming period and the communists' activity in all spheres.

Briefly, the 15th Party Congress stressed that development of the material and technical base and the raising of living standards is the key socio-economic task. It is fair to say that over the past few years — despite this year's difficulties — these strategic goals are in the main being met, though we have had to contend with the consequences of deep-going changes in domestic and particularly in foreign economic conditions.

The selfless efforts of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, workers of all branches of the economy, party, state, economic and public bodies and organizations which have contributed to the successes in fulfilling the five-year plan and in surmounting the difficulties stemming from this year's complex economic situation, are praiseworthy. We can take justified pride in what has been achieved, both during the last few years and the whole past decade. Without exaggerating or detracting from the results, but realistical-

ly, soberly assessing the work done, it is fair to say that our people, under the leadership of the party, have attained splendid results in all spheres, thereby creating a reliable basis for our further advance.

In dealing with the plan targets for 1980, Comrade Husak noted that they correspond to the 15th Party Congress line. They set great but attainable goals, and provide the basis for developing the economy and raising living standards, although — owing to existing conditions — at a more moderate rate of growth. In the complex contemporary world, this is, undoubtedly, not little. Given good work and normal conditions, we are fully capable of realizing these decisions. Therefore now, after the plan's approval, it is essential to wage a systematic struggle for consistent implementation of plan targets in every branch and at each workplace.

We have noted, time and again, at the 15th Party Congress and at CPCz Central Committee meetings, that with its extremely restricted sources of raw materials and energy, our economy — though ours is an industrially developed state — has been tangibly affected by the deep-going changes in the world economy starting with the second half of the 1970s. This is expressed above all by the sharp price rise on imported fuel, energy, raw materials, foodstuffs, and also modern technology and other products.

Thanks to far-ranging economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the socialist countries, and first of all with the Soviet Union, the consequences of these changes have been substantially cushioned. The fact that in cooperating with the Soviet Union we are developing a number of extremely complex technological branches, that the Soviet Union guarantees us stable supplies of crucial raw materials at well below world prices, that it guarantees a stable market for our industrial output — all this is of enormous importance for the stable and balanced development of our economy and raising living standards.

The overall growth of world prices on energy and raw materials is continuing. And it should be borne in mind that this tendency will not change in the coming years. In drawing up plans and in our entire work we should proceed from the assumption that this poses substantially higher demands on a country like Czechoslovakia, whose economy depends on the manufacturing industry, a country with a large and growing import of raw materials and products from the non-socialist countries. The only way to tackle this is by speedily and substantially raising the efficiency of our economy, producing high-quality products, ensuring that revenues from export

cover the import that is essential for the stable functioning of the economy.

A basic and objective long-term factor is the rapid scientific and technological progress that has quickly spread into every production branch in recent years, particularly in the developed countries. This tends to intensify competition and sets higher demands on the quality and technical level of our output. However, certain types of our products do not meet world standards. Therefore we must concentrate on rectifying the situation.

Gustav Husak spoke in detail and critically about introducing the achievements of scientific and technological progress in production. He noted that despite successes in some areas, the results of the scientific research institutions' activity are unsatisfactory. They correspond neither to outlays, nor to contemporary requirements. Comrade Husak stressed the need substantially to step up activity and to improve management and planning in this sphere, and to establish more effective ties between the research institutions and industrial enterprises. We cannot tolerate the fact that some results of scientific research are either not realized in general, or their realization is long delayed.

It should always be borne in mind that these are not transient, short-term tasks. To solve them will require a protracted period of time, and we must concentrate efforts on this sphere also in the seventh five-year period.

Apart from the external, objective factors, there are also subjective shortcomings that affect our economy. We ourselves complicate our work if we fail to deal resolutely with problems that are fully within our competency, if we do not demand that corresponding organs speedily rectify the shortcomings causing trouble in production, in the domestic market and in other spheres, Gustav Husak said.

Gustav Husak spoke in detail about the complex problems concerning economic management and planning, pointing out that the economy of an industrially developed state like the CSSR is an extremely complex mechanism. In order to maintain supply and cooperation links between individual enterprises and branches it is imperative to have properly balanced economic development plans. The Presidium report and a number of speeches pointed to serious shortcomings in this field. To remedy the situation it is essential to improve the work of the State Planning Commission and national planning commissions. However, not only planning organizations,

but also ministries, production associations and enterprises draw up plans and, consequently, must also significantly improve their work. We frequently hear justified complaints about a supplier not meeting a customer's demand. And not infrequently the terms of mutual supplies of the required assortment and quality are not reliably ensured even within one production association or ministry. Indeed, the ministries are not situated all that far apart that they cannot come to terms. The trouble is that each of them is concerned primarily with its own enterprise, branch or department while giving little thought to the problems this creates for other enterprises which depend on their supplies.

Analyses show that we have substantial reserves in the correct use of working time. It is important, however, to point out the causes. An important role here is played by proper organization, which should ensure that the workers are provided with everything necessary for a rhythmic production process and efficient work. Of course there still are idlers and spongers, and they must be dealt with resolutely. However, the bulk of the people want to work honestly, thereby promoting the development of our socialist society.

We are taking measures to improve the system of management in the seventh five-year period, and to consistently implement cost-accounting. However, Husak went on to say, directive leadership retains enormous importance, an area where there is also much room for improvement. This sphere of activity of the central organs, production associations and enterprises still suffers from conservatism and stereotype methods. There are, of course, good examples as well, and a tendency toward improvement, but on the whole we still do not meet contemporary requirements.

Today it is imperative to do everything to speedily adapt our economy, methods of work and executives' approach to the new, more complex conditions and requirements. The majority of the executives work honestly and selflessly. They make high demands on themselves and on the work of the collective they lead, promote economic, scientific and technological progress. They must have the well-deserved full support of the party, economic and trade union bodies at all levels. But there still are quite a few persons who keep on working in the old way, who do not realize that today it is not enough to work as they did ten years ago. If we do not wish to lag behind world levels we must know more, increase our skills, provide

more effective leadership, work better and enlist people for the realization of tasks. This applies to every sphere of activity.

Gustav Husak said that decisive importance attaches to systematic, effective control in revealing and removing shortcomings, in training people and in improving our work in general.

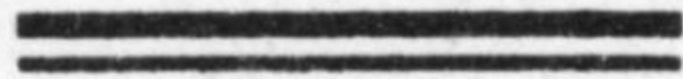
The tasks facing us are to be solved by the people and through improving work with the personnel so that the demands made on them correspond to the present needs. Our criteria in selecting personnel, particularly with respect to executives, is well known. The chief yardstick in evaluating an executive's efficiency at whatever level — from the political point of view also, it goes without saying — is concrete results of his work.

What Comrade Brezhnev said recently at a CPSU Central Committee plenum applies to us as well. "There are executives of different kinds. The majority of our cadres are, undoubtedly, real party people, who know what they are doing and are capable of solving the tasks set them. But there are also others, with whom nothing helps. No matter how much you talk to them, appeal to their conscience, their sense of duty and responsibility. And here we must act more resolutely, resort to other measures, replace those who cannot cope with their duties and more boldly promote energetic comrades who think creatively and display initiative."

The goals set for the next year are not easy. Nor can we count on them being any easier in future. But there is no cause for pessimism or passivity. From the history of our party we know well, Husak said, of the incredibly difficult circumstances in which the communists fought to establish and strengthen the socialist system. Now the conditions are easier. Given the correct use of our resources and potentialities there is a sound basis for meeting our targets in the coming years.

I am convinced, Husak said in conclusion, that next year, the concluding year of the sixth five-year period, the year of preparation for the 16th Party Congress, the year of the 35th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, our party will step up efforts to fulfill the plan targets and will successfully lead our working people to new achievements in socialist construction.

Abridged from *Rude Pravo*, December 15, 1979



ON THE BASIS OF CONFIDENCE AND EFFECTIVE POPULAR SUPPORT

From the Theses of the Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, to the 12th HSWP Congress

Early in December 1979 a plenary meeting of the HSWP Central Committee was held in Budapest. It adopted the theses to the 12th Party Congress, which will be opened on March 24, 1980.

Below we reprint chapters VI and VII of the theses.

VI. RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE PARTY AND MASS ORGANIZATIONS

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, is successfully fulfilling its role of leadership in our society, its unity is firm and its mass influence strong. The Hungarian people trust its policy, identify themselves with it and follow it, and recognize and appreciate the dedicated work of the communists. This places great responsibility on the party in guiding the building of socialism. Relying on the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, following the objectives included in the Program Declaration and adjusting to the country's potentials and the changing conditions of progress as it pursues its policy, our party strives to designate the next tasks of socialist building that express the interests of the people as a whole.

1. It is a basic requirement of our progress to further strengthen the party's leadership role and the mutual relations of trust and confidence between the party and the masses. In shaping its policy, the party relies on the experience, opinions and active support of the masses. To strengthen the leadership role calls for the more purposeful and more consistent implementation of the resolutions. Accordingly, the party's work should concentrate on the uniform interpretation of the resolutions, the organization of their implementation and on the mobilization of the masses. The improvement of ideological work, the enrichment of the ideological and political knowledge of party members and the power of personal examples are essential for strengthening the party's leadership role. Each party organ and party organization should have greater responsibility in representing and enforcing all social interests. Unnecessary duplication should be reduced in the work of party, state and social organs.

2. The successful fulfillment of the tasks of socialist building calls for raising ideological, political unity, and the unity of organization and action of the party onto a higher level, and for the consistent representation of its policy. Adjusting to timely tasks, the unity of the party must be created in every issue. Open exchange of views within the party, confrontation of different opinions, criticism of erroneous views, and explanation and enforcement of the party's position are ways to achieve this. Agreement on the principles and tasks should be followed by unified action. The service of socialism, the cause of the people are the principal content and goal of the party's unity and political activity.

3. The principles of democratic centralism and the Leninist norms of party life are observed in our party. The development of party democracy is an indispensable condition of well-grounded and effective resolutions; it increases the responsibility of the party membership and helps the implementation of decisions; it makes possible the exposure of different views in line with the principles and practice of the party, the criticism and self-criticism which protects the party from self-satisfaction and errors, and accentuates the socialist features of the work and attitudes of party members.

To make decisions is the collective task of the elected bodies on every level. The resolutions should concentrate on the timely and concrete tasks better than before. Made in a democratic way, the decisions are binding for every party member, and personal responsibility should be enforced in having them carried out. Every functionary and every member of the party is expected to take his stand, and work for these decisions, to do his utmost at his place of work and in his environment for implementing what has been collectively decided.

With more accent on the movement-like character of party work, the party's internal life and working style should be developed, and formal features reduced. The communists should intensify their political activity and devote more attention than before to problems occupying the masses; they should take definite action against errors and shortcomings. Every member of the party should fulfill his duty in an exemplary way, make use of his rights and keep party and state discipline without fail. In the party, norms are identical for everyone. Party members should strengthen their collective spirit, communist modesty and readiness for action.

The basic organizations, which work according to their function, assume a decisive role in the realization of the party's policy and in closer relations with the masses. The superior party organs should

grant more meaningful help to the basic organizations for the improvement of their work, and they should concentrate special attention to the local party organizations.

4. The tasks ahead of us demand that party supervision should more meaningfully help in the fulfillment of policy, the authentic survey of conditions in the area in question, in the exposure of the sources of errors and in the preparation of recommendations. Supervision should also extend to checking whether the decisions made were correct and to initiating modifications where they are necessary. Every elected body and organization of the party should have increased responsibility to detect and remove the causes obstructing execution. Our party organs should make use of the observations of social control, successful work should receive greater recognition and negligence should be followed by disciplinary action.

5. The realization of party policy largely depends on the correct application of the principles of cadre work. Most of the leaders who work on the different levels are up to the requirements and live and work according to socialist principles. The selection, preparation and training of replacements have improved.

Increased attention should be devoted to cadre work. It should be better planned, and leaders should have increased responsibility in the preparation, promotion and replacement of cadres. Only competent persons who meet the political and professional requirements and are up to the required standard of conduct should fill leading posts. It is our unchanged principle and practice that, except for party functions, any office can be filled with persons who are not members of the party. With both party and non-party people the yardstick of assessment should be the work performed. Competent young people who are suitable to fill leading posts should be promoted more freely. Combatting existing subjectivism demands the strengthening of democracy in cadre work: increased social control of leaders, and the more consistent assertion of the right to decision and opinion of the elected bodies and social organs. Adjusting to these requirements, personnel management should be improved in every field of state life.

6. In the period since the 11th Congress our party has made a sound development: the number of party members has risen from 750,000 to 800,000. As to their original occupation, three-quarters of the party membership are workers and peasants. The fact that the party rallies the best of the different generations of society is one of the great sources of its strength.

The exchange of membership cards carried out in accordance with

the congress resolutions added to the strength of the party. The individual discussions with each member of the party intensified the activity and readiness for action of the communists. Continuous educative work within the party is indispensable. It needs special attention to make the young generation of party members acquainted with the ideological and political experiences of the 60-year history and struggle of the party.

In the admission of new members it is a basic requirement to have the best workers join the party. The workers of big industrial plants remain the principal source of the party's replacements. Preparation for party membership should be improved among cooperative peasants, and university and college students. We strive to increase the number of women and youth in the party membership.

7. The effective party rules serve the party's activity and development well, and meet the requirements we are facing. For this reason the Central Committee is not going to begin a general debate on the modification of the rules, though it is going to consider the proposals coming in and will submit them to the Congress.

VII. DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY AND RELATIONS OF THE PARTY

The international communist and workers' movement is one of the most influential political factors of our age. Its ranks are growing, and new parties are coming into existence. The communist and workers' parties represent the daily interests of the revolutionary goals of the working class and other working classes, and the universal cause of human progress. The policy of the communist parties, the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, affect ever larger masses. In the socialist countries the communist and workers' parties lead the building of the new life, in the capitalist countries they are the pioneers of social progress, and in the former colonies the vanguard of the fight for progress and for winning full national independence.

1. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party carries out its international activity on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism. It assumes an active share in the actions serving the deepening of the unity of the communist movement and the achievement of common goals. In the future too it will actively contribute to the fulfillment of the common tasks decided at the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties.

Our party deems the continuous development of the relationship of communist and workers' parties necessary, and supports all initia-

tives promoting bilateral and multilateral cooperation and the strengthening of unity; it draws on the experiences of the fraternal parties.

Our party devotes distinguished attention to strengthening cooperation and to developing relations which lay the foundations for the friendship of our nations and peoples with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the most experienced unit of the international communist movement. It intensifies its relations with the communist and workers' parties of the fraternal socialist countries that work for the fulfillment of the same tasks. It declares solidarity with the class struggle of the communists in capitalist and developing countries and develops cooperation with them in every possible field.

2. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is strengthening its relations with the national democratic progressive parties and movements of the developing countries on the basis of the shared interests of anti-imperialist struggle. In the interest of the promotion of peace, international détente and disarmament, and of the protection of the rights of working people, it strives for cooperation with the socialist and social democratic parties.

3. Our party is always aware of the fact that Marxism-Leninism is a living, developing scientific theory that is constantly enriched with the experiences of the communist and workers' parties. Each communist party has the right and duty to apply the general laws of socialist revolution and of the building of socialism independently, creatively, in harmony with the concrete national and international conditions and requirements of its own struggle.

It takes the coordination of national and international interests, the existence of mutual internationalist solidarity and comradely relationship among the fraternal parties, regular exchanges of experiences and views, the settlement of debated issues on a principled basis, and common action in the international class struggle to achieve the shared goals of the communist movement.

4. To safeguard the purity of our ideas and of the unity of the international communist movement, we carry out consistent struggle in every case against pseudo-revolutionary trends, rightist and "leftist" distortions of Marxism-Leninism, and against schismatic endeavors. Hand in hand with the communist and workers' parties and all other progressive forces, we stand up against the old and new manifestations of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. We fight with the same resolution against Maoism, which supports ever more overtly the ideological and political campaign of the imperialists directed

at the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and at the communist parties.

5. It is the continued ambition of our party that its international political activity should serve the prosperity of our country and at once the achievement of the shared goals of the international communist and workers' movement. This policy enjoys our people's confidence and can count on the support of the world's revolutionary and progressive forces. We are aware that our country, party and people building socialism can exercise the greatest effect in the international scene through successful work at home, in the future too.

Abridged from Budapest Press Agency 1979

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DOCUMENTS

FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER —THE CHALLENGE AHEAD

Statement adopted at an augmented meeting of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party in November 1979.*

We meet on the eve of a new and most challenging decade. Looking ahead toward the 80s there can be little doubt that we are entering the most decisive phase in the long history of our struggle.

The ruling class, backed by its external imperialist allies, is working feverishly to adjust and overhaul the mechanisms of class exploitation and thus to reinforce the whole framework of national oppression. This is the framework within which South African capitalism is reproduced and provided with the apparatus to ensure the continued super-exploitation of the Black masses.

The ruling class is compelled into this feverish activity in part by its need to continue making super-profits in an economy which is characterized by an endemic and growing crisis. It is well to bear in mind also that the world capitalist economy in which the South African economy is integrated is itself afflicted by a deepening crisis.

Under the guise of "reformism" the ruling class is engaged in far-reaching maneuvers to intensify race oppression and exploitation. The decade of the 80s is its target date for achieving the "final solution": the complete political, social and constitutional separation of the African, Indian and Colored communities; the total destruction of the cohesion and national awareness of the African peoples; the confirmation, once and for all, of its hold on the fruits of armed conquest, and the enforced scattering of our people into Bantustan tribal backyards whose impoverished and landless inhabitants will wander back and forth as foreign migrant cheap labor and as perpetual servants in their ancestral land.

This onslaught on the Black masses is accompanied by measures to

* Abridged.

tempt a tiny minority with "concessions" intended to win them over to collaboration with apartheid's grand design.

Two accompanying processes are taking place: on the one side millions are being uprooted and hounded from their homes; on the other side the few who can afford it are being offered 99-year leases in some urban areas. On the one side access by the African people to real political power is being sealed off more tightly than ever before; on the other side a tiny bureaucratic and administrative élite is given well-paid office in the Bantustans. On the one side, miserable wages and massive unemployment are the lot of the millions of urban and rural working people; on the other side a tiny fraction is given hope of skilled and semi-skilled employment. And so it goes on at every level of the social and economic structure.

APARTHEID IS BEING INTENSIFIED

One thing is crystal clear. Every single so-called concession has its counterpart in measures against the mass of the people. Apartheid is certainly not dead, as claimed by Koornhof* during his recent public relations exercise in the United States. On the contrary it is being pursued with greater energy than every before and those who experience its cruelties in their daily lives clearly grasp its true essence.

Apartheid is not just racism in sport or separate theatres or color-bar hotels or such-like. These humiliations bred of white supremacy were in force centuries before the word apartheid was invented. Neither is apartheid just Black job exclusion against which many employers (in the interests of higher profits) have ranged themselves from the beginning of the century. Indeed, there is no single major aspect of apartheid practice whose ingredients cannot be found in South Africa's earlier history: the exploitation of the reserves as a primary source of cheap labor-power; the absence of civil and political rights for the Black people; the pass laws; the locations and the compounds; the persecution of workers and national liberation organizations; the bar against genuine Black trade union organization; the monopoly by whites of 87 per cent of the land, and so on.

Apartheid did not initiate race and class domination. It adjusted and intensified the basic components of the exploitative system in order to ensure its reproduction in changing economic conditions. Above all, apartheid, like its blood brother fascism, sharpened ruling class repression and terror in an attempt to crush the rising challenge to the

* Pieter Koornhof, a minister in the South African government, a rabid racist. — Ed.

system from the oppressed, especially the Black working class. And when we turn to examine the basic character of the exploitation of the Black people and not just the changing forms in which it is expressed ideologically, there cannot be the slightest doubt that apartheid as an exploitative system is being intensified as never before in our history.

What we face from our ruling class at present is not a tendency toward reform but a tendency toward even more terrible repression, and a more feverish advance in the direction of complete national domination. Apartheid is not dead or dying, it has to be killed by a people's revolutionary onslaught. What ought clearly to be dead is the liberal illusion that the system will be compelled to reform itself by the logic of economic necessity; an illusion which continues to be spread in spite of the fact that the worst excesses of racist oppression and brutality have been perpetrated during the period of Nationalist rule when the economy made its most dramatic advances.

Some changes in the non-essential social sphere are being introduced in an attempt to lessen South Africa's growing isolation in a world which cannot stomach its outrages. Other concessions are being introduced in an attempt to encourage the growth of a Black middle class who it is hoped will play along with the racist game. Yet other adjustments (for example in the area of skilled and semi-skilled work) reflect the needs of a changing economy whose capital reproduction and growth are obstructed by certain outmoded practices. Also in some areas, the enemy is being forced to engage in tactical retreats because of the threat posed by the people's struggles and their increasing militancy. Nevertheless, far from weakening the racist-exploitative structure as a whole, the abandonment or transformation of some of these practices is intended to assist the political and economic consolidation of the system of the super-exploitation of the Black workers.

GROWING CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Southern Africa constitutes one theatre of struggle, an area which, together with the Middle East and South East Asia, has become one of the focal points in the international confrontation between the forces of national liberation, socialism and peace on the one hand and imperialism and war on the other.

Overestimating its own strength and arrogantly underestimating the resolve of the peoples of Southern Africa to free themselves, imperialism had for many years comforted itself with the illusion that our region would forever remain its preserve.

The historic victory over Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique and Angola and the transformation of Frelimo and the MPLA Party of Labor into Marxist-Leninist parties which have begun to lay the foundations for an advance toward a socialist society not only put paid to this illusion. They also created new political and physical conditions for the pursuit of our struggle and made a profound psychological impact on the masses of our people.

At the same time the racist white minority regimes and their imperialist allies can no longer hide the fact that the forces of national liberation in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, under the leadership of SWAPO, the Patriotic Front and the ANC respectively, are successfully raising the struggle to new levels. Steadily, the balance of power in these countries has been shifting in our favor.

Imperialism calculates that a victory of the genuine forces of liberation in Namibia and Zimbabwe would not merely signify the loss of these two countries. Such a victory would have an enormous impact in favor of the rapid advance of our own struggle in South Africa. It would further decisively improve the situation for the consolidation of people's power in Mozambique and Angola and deny the apartheid regime the bases from which it is at present carrying out acts of aggression and other forms of subversion against these two countries, as well as Zambia and Botswana.

In short, imperialism considers that the victory of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and SWAPO in Namibia would render irreversible the popular gains already achieved in Southern Africa, guarantee the imminence and certainty of an anti-imperialist solution of the South African problems and create new possibilities for the social transformation of other African countries.

Simultaneously the apartheid regime and the world forces of reaction are searching for ways of ensuring the open military intervention of the imperialist powers to save the fascist South African regime from defeat by the rising masses of our people. For this purpose, the guise of "reformism" which we have already mentioned is being used increasingly both inside and outside South Africa to project the criminal apartheid regime as an agent of democratic change in our country. The fascists are also engaged in a public relations exercise whereby, through apparently radical public statements promising to alter non-essential aspects of racism such as the "Immorality Act,"* they seek

* In reality a law forbidding marriage between people of different races. — Ed.

to create the illusion that they have realized the folly of their ways and are changing.

The racists and their allies believe that if they can succeed in projecting themselves thus, it would then be possible for the imperialists to come to their aid openly, without losing their positions in Africa and the rest of the world, claiming that they are defending Southern Africa from communism and from being turned into an appendage of the Soviet Union. Naturally therefore the South African regime and its friends throughout the world are intensifying their ideological offensive against the forces of liberation relying on anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

As at no other time before, the centrality of South Africa to liberation, peace and social progress in Southern Africa and Africa stands out in sharp relief, as does consequently the obligations that fall on the ANC, the SACP and our liberation movement as a whole to discharge our responsibilities both to our people and to the rest of humanity.

Through such recent victories as those scored in Nicaragua, Iran, Kampuchea and in Vietnam which repelled the Chinese invaders, by the victorious defense of Angola and Ethiopia with the direct support of the socialist community, the world anti-imperialist movement has shown that it has both the strength and will to inflict serious reverses on the forces of reaction.

Further, the camp of reaction also experiences internal contradictions. Even though these are secondary, they do provide scope for weakening our 'enemy's external support base and by no means assure the racist regime the unqualified support of its imperialist allies.

It is against this background that the enemy's plans for our country unfold. The future of its "grand strategy" for the 80s will be influenced by the outcome of the class and national battles which continue to rage in the whole of our subcontinent. Above all it will depend upon the capacity of our liberation alliance to lead and effectively channel the revolutionary energies of the mass of our people and especially of its leading contingent — the oppressed and exploited working class.

The struggle and achievements of the decade of the 70s both inside our country and in the rest of the subcontinent have undoubtedly created foundations which, if effectively built upon, can lead to really decisive blows against the whole structure of domination and exploitation.

THE ATTACK ON BLACK UNITY

One of the prime objectives of the current enemy offensive against the people is to drive a wedge between the African and the Colored and Indian communities. Their common experience of race oppression and economic exploitation has led to active cooperation between the groups which reached one of its highest points in the mass struggles of the 50s.

At the same time, despite enemy maneuvers to separate the Colored and Indian people from the African, there is a growing determination and preparedness of the people to unite. The South African ruling class has always spread the slander that people's power will lead to African domination over all other national groups. Right-wing Colored and Indian "nationalists" have played on this in an attempt to steer their communities away from the common liberation struggle and toward collaboration with the white power bloc. But the people have rejected this slander and want to unite. Black unity is a fundamental aspect of unity of all democratic forces.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND MASS MOBILIZATION

The system of exploitation and oppression in South Africa cannot be defeated without revolutionary violence involving the whole people. The policy of armed struggle, the armed blows being delivered against the enemy and the steps being taken to create conditions for the entrenchment of a national liberation army in both urban and rural areas, constitute a vital part of the liberation movement's strategy. But, as we have always stressed, it is a strategy which can only take effective shape if it is rooted in the broadest possible mobilization and organization of our people in mass legal and semi-legal struggles. It is politics which is in command and it is politics which determines the nature and level of armed activity at every stage.

For this reason, the build-up toward the winning of people's power calls for an even greater emphasis in the area of strengthening the mass instruments of national, regional and local organization among the people. It is only our liberation movement which can effectively guide the whole process through its underground network.

OUR PARTY

Our party is a vital component of the revolutionary alliance for

national liberation headed by the ANC. As such it has no interests separate from any contingent of that alliance which we have always worked to strengthen. This approach does not stand in conflict with our belief that our party has an independent role to play not only as a constituent part of the alliance, but also as the political vanguard of the proletariat whose special historical role as the grave-digger of capitalism and the builder of socialism we have always safeguarded.

It is our duty in the coming decade to work with greater vigor than ever before:

- (a) to strengthen the whole national liberation movement;
- (b) to spread the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism as widely as possible;
- (c) to strengthen the ranks of our party by attracting the most politically advanced activists, especially from amongst the proletariat;
- (d) to spread an understanding of the connection between racial oppression and capitalist exploitation and to win mass support for the perspective of a future socialist society in South Africa;
- (e) to reinforce the weapon of proletarian internationalism and to combat all forms of narrow and backward nationalism and racism; and
- (f) to devote special attention to the political and trade union organization of the working class, especially at places of work.

The SACP has a proud record of almost 60 years of dedicated struggle to the cause of the working class and the people as a whole. Communists like Kotane, Marks and Fischer are representative of a long list of our members who have become honored symbols of the unconquerable spirit of resistance to national and class tyranny. They have helped spread the vision of a new life in our country without exploitation of man by man. On all fronts of our struggle — in the underground, in the combat units, in the trade union fields, etc. — our cadres have always shown, and continue to show, the most outstanding commitment, courage and devotion to the cause of the revolution.

Both as a party and as part of the alliance of revolutionary forces, we enter the new decade with a keen awareness of the heavy responsibilities ahead, with absolute confidence in the justness of our cause and with the certainty that our people will destroy the racist tyranny, win people's power and move on to build a socialist South Africa.

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

Resolution adopted at the augmented meeting of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party in November 1979.

The world communist movement

The SACP reaffirms its unequivocal commitment to the cohesion and unity of the world communist movement and the principle of proletarian internationalism. It is precisely because the desperation of the imperialists on the one hand and the adventurism of the Chinese leadership on the other contain within them the threat of war and the destruction of all the gains to humanity since the October revolution as well as the prospect of further social advance, that the maintenance of the principle of proletarian internationalism is of cardinal significance. It is the duty of every communist party, not only to fight for social transformation in its own country, but also to strengthen its ties with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and to consolidate the ranks of the international communist movement. We who are part of the liberation movement of South Africa must never fail to appreciate and insist that solidarity is a two-way process, that the aid and support which the socialist countries give so generously, and at the expense of their own material gains, to freedom fighters everywhere, can only be reciprocated by unswerving identification with the socialist community in the common struggle against capitalism and imperialism. There is no room for "neutrals" in the struggle to eliminate from the world the last vestiges of colonialism and racism, to win for all peoples the right to real freedom and independence, the right to live in peace and security from the cradle to the grave.

We fully support all initiatives leading to the further strengthening of the world communist movement. In this respect we reiterate our call for an international conference of communist and workers' parties. Over the past few years there have been regional conferences of communist parties of the countries of Africa, Arab, Latin America and the Caribbean and of Europe, which have contributed to the further strengthening of the world communist movement. We endorse the document adopted by the historic first conference of the communist and workers' parties of Tropical and Southern Africa.

DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE TO THE POLICY OF THE BONN PARTIES

Decision of the Fourth Plenum of the GCP Board on Participation in the Bundestag Election

At its Fourth Plenum held in Dusseldorf on December 15 and 16, 1979, the GCP Board adopted the following decision:

The GCP will participate in the Bundestag election set for the autumn of 1980. It will put forward its own candidates in all Federal states and electoral districts.

During the election campaign, the GCP will do all it can to ensure that extraparliamentary struggle, unity of action and democratic alliance result in meeting demands of the working people and youth, averting the deployment of new U.S. atomic missiles in our country, effectively countering the danger of a further drift to the right, and creating a political climate in the Federal Republic that will rule out a decision in favor of Strauss while at the same time allowing greater scope for all democratic and social movements.

The GCP will carry on an active and dynamic election campaign to prove that its policy is a democratic alternative to the policy of the Bonn parties, convince the population of the need for giving its vote to the GCP and its candidates, increase the party's influence, particularly among the workers and young people, and strengthen the GCP by recruiting new members and winning new readers for *Unsere Zeit*.

The Party Board instructs the Presidium to prepare for an electoral congress of the GCP and to convene it in Cologne on April 19, 1980.

The Presidium is also instructed to launch a fund-raising action for the financing of the election campaign.

The Party Board approves the GCP Chairman's report "For a Democratic Alternative, Against an Atomic Arms Race and a Further Drift to the Right" as the basis for the policy line to be pursued in the election campaign.

Dusseldorf, December 15-16, 1979

AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF PEACE AND SECURITY

"NO" TO NATO MISSILES IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC

Appeal of the GCP Board

Our country is in grave danger — the United States is making new atomic missiles. NATO has decided to deploy most of them on our soil and to train them on the Soviet Union. The Federal government has backed the NATO Council decision. It has put pressure on neighboring countries. The CDU/CSU and Strauss welcome this.

The consequences will be dangerous in many respects; a new round of the arms race is off to a start and we are to help foot the bill.

The war danger is mounting and we are to take the risk. The new atomic missiles are offensive "first strike" weapons. The inevitable counter-blow will be aimed at us.

Détente is being torpedoed. The benefits of détente are being sacrificed to the profits of arms manufacturers and to "forward strategy." A fallback on the cold war is being brought on.

It is a lie that NATO has to "close the gap in armaments." What the USA, the Bonn generals and the munitions mafia seek is military superiority.

It is a lie that the Soviet Union is threatening us. The Soviet Union's proposals for talks and its unilateral arms reduction has offered an opportunity to begin disarmament at long last.

It is a lie that talks will be easier now. He who first decides to deploy new atomic weapons is undermining talks. He who wants to negotiate from positions of strength is behaving like a blackmailer.

The Federal government's "yes" to the new U.S. atomic missiles has thrown away a new big chance of disarmament.

The CDU/CSU, SPD, and FDP proceed contrary to our national interest. Washington's wishes mean more to them than our security.

The GCP calls on all peace supporters in the Federal Republic of Germany to prevent the implementation of the NATO decision and the stationing of NATO atomic missiles in our country.

This is a national policy serving our security and peace. NATO's dangerous schemes can be thwarted if resistance to them grows stronger and if all peace-loving citizens act in concert. Just as the

protest of many peoples barred the deadly neutron bomb, so we can safeguard ourselves against Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles.

The most important demands now are as follows:

- Deploy no U.S. medium-range missiles in the Federal Republic.
- Withdraw all other atomic weapons from our soil.
- The Federal Republic must announce at once its readiness to participate in a European conference on military détente and disarmament.
- Cut the defense budget.

These objectives must be achieved. They are worth fighting for. Let us act in common for a common goal, peace; let us act for security and disarmament.

Düsseldorf, December 15, 1979

NEW ESCALATION OF THE ARMS RACE

Appeal of the FCP Political Bureau

The Brussels meeting of the NATO countries has just declared for the manufacture and deployment in Europe of nearly 600 new U.S. nuclear missiles.

This is an extremely grave decision that is a real challenge to the peoples of Europe. Everything must be done, and fast, to block its implementation. The French people must promptly express their indignation and opposition.

To organize the needed immediate and vast popular counteraction, the Political Bureau of the FCP resolves to appeal to left-wing parties and trade union organizations, to all the organizations, associations and movements concerned.

The NATO decision, for which a formidable intoxication campaign over alleged "Soviet military superiority" paved the way, is aimed in reality at increasing the U.S. hold on Western Europe and at assigning our continent the role of an atomic battlefield while U.S. territory is to be spared. In furthering its own ends, U.S. imperialism has responded to the demand of the Federal Republic of Germany which is to be supplied, if covertly, with nuclear weapons.

The NATO decision runs counter to peace and peaceful coexistence. Whereas ratification of SALT-2, a treaty based on recognition of the parity of forces and signed last June, could mean a step toward détente, the NATO decision has dealt a blow to this process. It is

leading to a new escalation of the arms race, with dire consequences to peace in Europe and the world. It is detrimental to the economic development of nations and to a better life for peoples.

France is directly affected by the decision and all its consequences.

The stationing of such an arsenal at their borders will pose a serious threat to the French people and their country. It calls for an international action by France corresponding to the role which our country can and should play in the service of peace, an action which the Giscard regime refuses to launch.

In these circumstances, it is for the working people, democrats and patriots of our country to take the initiative of struggle resolutely and promptly, and to contribute their share in this way to the powerful movement unfolding in various West European countries in response to the call of various international and national organizations. Like them, the French must say emphatically:

- No new U.S. missiles in Europe.
- Begin talks at once to reduce nuclear and conventional armaments.

The French Communist Party is going to do everything in order to promote, within the framework of action for these objectives, the unification of all who cherish national security and peace. It will neglect no step to ensure that our people immediately express their powerful common reaction to the NATO decision.

Political Bureau of the FCP
Paris, December 13, 1979
L'Humanité, December 14, 1979

THWART NATO'S AGGRESSIVE PLANS

Joint Statement of Communist Parties of the Northern Countries

In connection with the NATO session in Brussels the Communist Party of Denmark, the Communist Party of Finland, the Communist Party of Norway and the Left Party — Communists of Sweden have issued a joint statement:

The NATO session's plans to supply Western Europe with new types of nuclear missiles represents a serious threat to peace and

security both in Europe and across the world. The stationing in Europe of modern types of weapons such as the Pershing-2 and the Cruise missile may result in a new spiral of the arms race and complicate the conclusion of further agreements on limiting arms and on disarmament. Deployment of the Cruise missile in Western Europe represents a threat to the national security of the northern countries.

The signing of SALT-2 by presidents Brezhnev and Carter was an important step in confidence-building. To accelerate the process of détente, the Soviet Union has unilaterally begun withdrawing large troop contingents and military equipment from Central Europe. President Brezhnev expressed the will of the Soviet Union, its striving to achieve new all-embracing agreements on general disarmament without delay.

If these positive steps of the Soviet Union are met by a stepped-up arms race within NATO, this will again seriously worsen the international climate and will increase the threat of a big conflict, fraught with the most serious consequences. The NATO bloc's plans, which are designed to destroy the balance of forces and to achieve military superiority, must be thwarted. Instead of deploying new types of nuclear missiles in Europe, talks must be started on disarmament and on ensuring greater security.

The Communist Parties of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden call on everyone who wants peace and disarmament, whatever their political views, to work in common to obstruct NATO's plans. We concretely appeal to the trade union organizations and to the entire working-class movement to step up their struggle for disarmament and for peace.

We call on the governments of the northern countries to vigorously oppose the arms race, which NATO is now whipping up, to exert influence on the course of the NATO session and to say a firm "No" to the deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe.

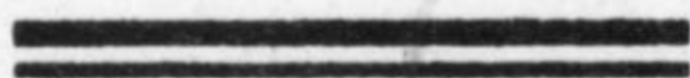
Communist Party of Denmark

Communist Party of Finland

Communist Party of Norway

Left Party — Communists of Sweden

Ny Dag, December 11, 1979



FROM THE PRESS

IN DEFIANCE OF HISTORICAL TRUTH

Recent months have seen a spate of anti-Soviet materials in Peking propaganda. They are designed to distort the Soviet Union's foreign policy, its relations with the socialist community countries, and its peace initiatives, which are aimed at détente and stronger security. *Jenminjihpao* and other newspapers have been playing up the alleged "threat to China from the north and the south."

A look at the facts will give an entirely different picture, however. Over the past two decades, China has either openly or covertly engaged in military ventures against almost every one of its neighbors. Recall the support for the anti-government "movements" in India, Indonesia, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia and in the Philippines, the 1962 China-India conflict, the pressure on the Mongolian People's Republic, the seizure of the Paracel Islands and the provocations around the Senkaku Islands. Then came China's attempts to colonize Kampuchea in 1975-1978 and the policy of genocide conducted in that country with the direct involvement of Peking's "advisers." Nor should we forget the half-million-strong Chinese army's brazen attack against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. That aggression's failure apparently has not "cooled off" some hotheads in Peking, which is still threatening to "teach a second lesson" to Vietnam and to Laos into the bargain.

That is the real state of affairs. There is a purpose behind Peking's spreading of the "Soviet military threat" myth. It needs it to justify the course toward militarizing China, its excessive military expenditures, and to cover up the great-Han substance of Peking's foreign-policy doctrine. During the "big leap" and "cultural revolution" years the country went through a series of upheavals. Its socioeconomic programs and the training of specialists were sidetracked. Yet these upheavals never affected Peking's stepped-up military preparations, which gathered momentum from year to year.

The Chinese press keeps harping on its claim that the USSR "is doing everything to make China submit to Soviet hegemonistic policy." No propaganda attacks against Soviet foreign policy can obscure its underlying principles. The Soviet Union has no intention of "sub-

jugating" anyone. It is not in the habit of teaching others how to live, or meddling in their internal affairs in any other way. It makes no territorial or economic claims upon China. On the contrary, the USSR is proposing cooperation and good-neighbor relations on the principles of equality, mutual respect and refraining from the use or threat of force. But, expressing the will of the entire Soviet people, the Soviet Union has always firmly upheld its right not to allow anyone to interfere in our affairs, to encroach on our security or on that of our allies and friends.

In developing its defenses, the Soviet Union is not doing anything beyond what is absolutely essential to ensure its security and a peaceful environment for the building of a new society. As Leonid Brezhnev put it: "... We do not seek military superiority. We have never intended and do not intend to threaten any state or group of states. Our strategic doctrine is purely defensive in nature."

This policy is fair and has nothing in common with the labels of "hegemonism" which some figures in Peking would so much like to tag on to the Soviet Union. Hegemonism is antipodal to the ideal proclaimed by the Great October Socialist Revolution, the ideal which is the cornerstone of our Leninist foreign policy today.

The Peking propagandists' allegations that the Soviet military units stationed in the Mongolian People's Republic pose a threat to China run counter to reality. These troops are stationed in Mongolia at the request of that country's government under the bilateral Soviet-Mongolian treaty and in accordance with the UN Charter. They pose no danger to any nation, but stand guard over the national independence and territorial integrity of the Mongolian People's Republic. The presence of Soviet forces in people's Mongolia is an issue that concerns nobody except two countries — the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic. It is quite obvious, as was stated in the Mongolian government's note of April 12, 1978 to the government of China, that if the Chinese leadership abandons forever its annexationist policy toward the Mongolian People's Republic and takes the road of good-neighbor relations and cooperation with the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union, the present necessity for the Soviet military units' stay in Mongolia will disappear of its own accord.

A Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was concluded in November 1978. The adversaries of socialist Vietnam and all those banking on rising tensions in Southeast Asia and on divisions within the socialist com-

munity do, naturally, have to reckon with the reality of this important document, which serves the interests of the fraternal socialist states and the consolidation of their international positions.

The Soviet-Vietnamese treaty is a treaty of friendship and cooperation. It is not directed against any country. Nevertheless, the treaty provoked obvious irritation in Peking. Chinese propaganda launched and is still conducting a campaign aimed at falsifying the essence and the spirit of that document, claiming that the treaty "threatens the security of China's southern border."

These are totally unwarranted claims. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam, a country which was forced to wage an extremely hard war against the imperialist forces for many years, needs peace more than any other country. It will have to exert enormous and prolonged efforts to heal the wounds of that war, to rehabilitate the damage it did, to build and arrange a peaceful life for its people.

Vietnam has never threatened China, its northern neighbor. As for China, it is well known that it launched a cruel aggression against the Vietnamese people in a bid to "teach them a lesson." It was a manifestation of real hegemonism and a violation of international law.

Hegemonism is characterized by a desire to dominate other countries and peoples. It is a policy of laying territorial claims, conducting expansion and aggression and establishing zones and spheres of influence.

Peking lays claim to leadership with respect to the developing countries which actually is a claim to dominate them.

It proclaims its "historical rights" to control millions of square kilometers of land and sea which belong to almost all neighboring states. Reference books, manuals, pamphlets and magazines published in China often carry "historical" maps showing the sphere of Peking's encroachments which include the Soviet Union's Amur region, Maritime Territory, Sakhalin, a portion of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, the Mongolian People's Republic and a part of Vietnam. Peking also lays claim to vast territories in India and other countries and to almost all the islands in the East China and South China Seas. All this constitutes hegemonism in practice.

There are more than 20 million ethnic Chinese in Asian countries. In a number of countries the Chinese bourgeoisie holds positions of command in banking, trade and other spheres. Peking is seeking to make them serve its hegemonistic objectives, to use them as a "fifth column" in influencing the policy of Asian governments to its advantage.

Kampuchea's tragedy was a vivid example of Chinese hegemonism. The Kampucheans were condemned to extermination so that their country could be made a launching site for Chinese expansion in Southeast Asia. More than three million people had been killed there before a popular rebellion ended the Pol Pot-Maoist bacchanalia which might have resulted in the murder of another three out of the four million surviving Kampucheans.

Having adopted Mao's great-power, chauvinist ideas, the Chinese leadership embarked on a policy of open hostility to the Soviet Union and world socialism, increasingly teaming up with the most reactionary imperialist circles.

In view of the great danger posed by hegemonism, which is increasingly manifested of late, the Soviet Union proposed that the question of the "Inadmissibility of a Policy of Hegemonism in International Relations" should be included in the agenda of the 34th session of the United Nations General Assembly as an important and urgent issue. The Soviet Union proposed that the policy of hegemonism — in whatever form it may be manifested — should be resolutely denounced as incompatible with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the task of maintaining peace and strengthening international security. Not long ago the UN Political Committee approved this proposal by an overwhelming majority.

The USSR has always been and will continue to be a strong barrier in the way of hegemonistic aspirations whatever their source.

The Soviet Union has taken many initiatives toward normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China. Our country stands for the normalization of relations with China. This was clearly stated by Leonid Brezhnev at the 25th Congress of the CPSU. The Soviet leader pointed out that "in our relations with China, as with other countries, we adhere firmly to the principles of equality, respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and non-use of force. In short, we are prepared to normalize relations with China in line with the principles of peaceful coexistence."

Unfortunately, Peking is pursuing a different line. In April 1979 the Chinese government stated that it had no intention of extending the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the PRC, which will therefore, become invalidated as of April 1980. In the context of the statements which accompanied this action of the Chinese government it could only be regarded as hostile in character.

Renouncing such a negative attitude, the Soviet Union continues to favor normalization of relations with the PRC. As a result of its constructive efforts and on mutual consent, negotiations were opened in Moscow at the level of governmental delegations. They will be continued in Peking at a time agreed upon. In the course of the negotiations the Soviet delegation proposed a draft of a "Declaration on the Principles of Mutual Relations Between the USSR and the PRC" and spelled out its positions. It is clear to any sober-minded person that the normalization of interstate relations requires a definite legal foundation of concerted principles, fixed in a relevant document, to which the two sides will adhere in working for the resolution of the existing problems and the further normalization and development of their relations. That is why the Soviet side has stressed and continues to stress in very clear terms that the elaboration of the principles of mutual relations between the two countries should become the cardinal question in the efforts to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations.

In the practice of relations between states, the principles of peaceful coexistence include primarily, the full equality of both sides, respect for independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, the non-use or threat of using force, and mutual advantage. These are a commitment by both sides to renounce claims to any special rights or hegemony in Asia or in world affairs, and non-recognition of anyone's claims to such special rights or hegemony. These are a commitment by the USSR and the PRC to do everything necessary to prevent situations that may dangerously aggravate relations between them.

All these principles are fully consonant with the generally accepted standard of modern international law and provisions of the UN Charter. They are free from any preliminary conditions or demands. Neither side is placed in an unequal position. These principles are not directed against third states; on the contrary, if fully put into effect, they would facilitate the ensurance of peace and international security in Asia and throughout the world.

Such is the unequivocal, clear-cut stand of the USSR on the matter of Soviet-Chinese relations.

The Soviet Union pursues a fair and open policy. In the face of Peking's hegemonistic designs, it demonstrates firm allegiance to its policy of peace, administers a vigorous rebuff to the Chinese leaders' instigatory fabrications and shows concern about defense of the interests of the Soviet people, their friends, peace and international security.

Pravda, December 8, 1979

UNITY AND ONCE AGAIN UNITY

Luis Corvalan

The *Boletin Exterior del Partido Comunista de Chile* interviewed CPC General Secretary Luis Corvalan on issues that are being discussed by the left forces. Below we print a slightly abridged version of the interview.

Some people believe that Popular Unity has become obsolete. What is your opinion?

As a coalition of the left forces, no, it has not. As for a formula for setting up a government, there does not exist at present a really viable and firm alternative to fascism, neither by the formation of a government by Popular Unity alone, nor by the Christian Democrats alone. However, Popular Unity has withstood all the trials. It has existed for ten years already. First Popular Unity was in opposition, then it formed a government, and now once again it finds itself in opposition. Fascism sought to destroy the parties included in it, while certain other forces attempted to ignore it. It is they who have announced that Popular Unity no longer exists. But it lives on and is fighting. And although outside the country it has some problems, which are easily surmountable, the chief result of this year (1979) is Popular Unity's stronger positions inside the country.

As we noted in "Our Democratic Draft,"¹ the understanding reached between its parties is not something artificial. It corresponds first of all to the need for unity of the most consistent and decisive forces in the struggle for the people's interests. The Popular Unity parties hold common views and have been cooperating over a long period. The mutual understanding reached between the parties both on the leadership level and between the primary organizations also has a role to play. It might be added that each Popular Unity party is aware that this alliance enhances the strength and influence of each party and the coalition as a whole.

There is talk about a crisis of Popular Unity, about its mistakes and shortcomings, of the need to create a united political leadership. What is the Communist Party's stand on this question?

First, I believe it would be an exaggeration to speak of a crisis of Popular Unity. A coalition which as everyone can see is strengthening its positions in the country with every passing day, with all its constituent parties following a common tactical and strategic line, can

hardly be in a crisis. Actually, something quite different is taking place. The upheaval turned out to be too drawn out. Changes have occurred in the country's class and economic structure, in ideology and way of life. Consequently we are seriously behind in elaborating the popular movement's major objectives. Admittedly there are shortcomings. Hence the need to set up the best possible political leadership, especially abroad.

As you will recall, Popular Unity lacked a single political leadership, particularly during the last two years of Allende's presidency, which created serious problems. Different criteria were applied to the practical solution of the agrarian question, nationalization of enterprises, in the social sphere and planning, in solving the problems of inflation and finances, developing production, worker participation in management, strengthening of social discipline, regarding the use of repressive measures against the fascists' intrigues, the policy of alliances and other questions.

President Allende time and again encountered serious problems resulting from the differences within the parties that supported him. Apart from some specific positions, these parties were loyal to the government. However, loyalty alone is insufficient without unity of views and actions. Often the party leaders themselves demonstrated their wish for joint actions and reached agreement. However, for various reasons each of them soon began to act on its own. The only reason we bring this up now is that we believe this will enable us to draw correct conclusions in the contemporary situation. United political leadership can exist only on the basis of agreed positions and actions ... In this sense we have achieved visible successes. The most significant of these is the Popular Unity parties' common stand on the need to strengthen this coalition and simultaneously to achieve mutual understanding of all forces which advocate elimination of the fascist dictatorship. But there still exists a broad spectrum of problems on which we must work out a common policy.

What should the armed forces be like in the future? What should the judiciary be like? We must reach agreement on these two cardinal questions. It is essential also to redefine our policy toward the new forms of imperialist domination and plunder of the country by the multinational corporations and the new methods of the monopoly clans, particularly the two "piranhas"² dominating industry, forestry and trade, whose financial positions are closely linked with the state. We should also reformulate our agrarian policy. Should we in future restore the *asentamientos*³ or the CERAS⁴ in their earlier form?

Should we reconstitute the CORA⁵, INDAP⁶, SOCORA⁷, ECA⁸, SOCOAGRO⁹, and the CORFO¹⁰ agricultural and forestry branch committees, the independent activity of the State Bank and other institutions which have a bearing on agriculture? How is the Indian problem to be solved? What measures should be taken toward the agrarian capitalist companies? How is the question of supplying credits, seeds and a broad assortment of agricultural machinery to the rural population, and the sale and export of their products to be solved?

We could go on listing the problems to which Popular Unity must provide clear and timely answers. In view of the aforesaid, the Popular Unity parties, both inside the country and abroad, face the task of redefining their stand on a whole number of problems. We must elaborate common positions and adopt a new program without delay. An updated Popular Unity program supported by all its parties, both leaders and rank-and-file members, will be a valuable instrument in uniting and mobilizing the people to combat fascism and to establish a new democratic regime.

The Communist Party stands for the strengthening of Popular Unity and is working for mutual understanding between all the anti-dictatorship forces. What is most important in this sense? What requires special attention? Many believe that priority is given to reaching agreement with the Christian Democrats to the detriment of Popular Unity.

Our unity policy urges reaching agreement between political forces that have the closest affinity, and for unity of the working class. We will continue to give priority to mutual understanding between the socialists and communists. Our alliance with the Socialist Party has lasted for 23 years already. I know of no other instance of such a prolonged collaboration between socialists and communists. At the same time, alliance with the other Popular Unity parties is undeniably very important for us.

Proceeding from this, we openly call for mutual understanding between all the progressive forces. For there is only one way to victory over the fascist dictatorship, that is, through unity and struggle of all anti-fascists and non-fascists, of all forces who advocate the defense of democracy.

A broad alliance of the anti-fascist forces cannot be attained without strengthening Popular Unity. At the same time, the struggle for broad unity, for mutual understanding between all the democratic forces, far from hampering the development of Popular Unity,

strengthens it. Moreover, if the aim of a correct unity policy is unity and struggle of the working class, it should be realized that this goal cannot be attained by reaching mutual understanding only between the socialists and communists, nor even through a further consolidation of Popular Unity. Objectively, the Christian Democratic Party wields substantial influence in the working class, therefore in relation to this party we must conduct a policy favoring trade union unity.

We clearly declare that nobody can make us renounce our duty to fight steadfastly for the unity of all anti-fascist and non-fascist forces which oppose the dictatorship. The Communist Party of Chile is distinguished, among other things, by its unity of thought and action. In the ranks of the party there are no political bosses and no separate trends. Despite the fact that part of its members are working abroad, it maintains a single collective leadership. This enables it fully to carry out its duty, to come out in common for anti-fascist unity, for agreement between Popular Unity and the Christian Democrats. No party leader or rank-and-file member questions its policy. Incomprehension of its policy by other political circles has never hampered concentration of the party's efforts in that direction, nor does it do so today.

To eliminate this incomprehension we once again declare that we are not seeking now, nor will we ever seek bilateral agreement with the Christian Democrats. By word and deed, in theory and practice we will consistently uphold our positions.

You pose the question of reaching understanding between Popular Unity and the Christian Democratic Party as an issue of strategic rather than tactical policy. Do you think it is possible that the Christian Democrats will agree to unconditional accord with Popular Unity or will they merely be fellow travelers? On one occasion you spoke of traveling with some allies at least to Chillan, if no further, on a train going from Santiago to Puerto Montt. Do you still think you could reach the destination together with the Christian Democrats?

We say that the only way to triumph over fascism is through unity and struggle by all those who oppose it. If all the democratic forces reach agreement on the need to put an end to the dictatorship, if they travel together only part of the long road, if some of them, the Christian Democrats for instance, are prepared to travel with Popular Unity only as far as Chillan, then we should accept even that. In any case, Popular Unity will not be the one to throw the Christian Democrats out of the train in Chillan. If it leaves the train, it will do so of its own free will. Moreover, if it takes this step it will be against our

wish, for we want to travel farther together with our allies, all the way to the end of the line. This is our firm stand and we are prepared to reach agreement with our allies on the basis of a close examination of their legitimate questions, to make compromises, and to work in common, always guided solely by the supreme interests of our people.

We repeat: the priority and chief task now is to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. Popular Unity is, no doubt, prepared to reach agreement to attain this goal.

Moreover, it is our duty to avoid political and social chaos, to build a new democratic regime and to carry out deep-going social changes in accordance with the aspirations of the bulk of the population. The most important lesson of Chilean democracy's defeat and the tragic downfall of President Allende's government is precisely that a correlation of forces that will rule out a counter-revolution is essential in order to carry out a social revolution.

The past cannot be changed. Yesterday's errors cannot be rectified. But what can and must be done is to see that they are not repeated.

All this goes to show that agreement between all the democratic forces, and above all between Popular Unity and the Christian Democrats is and will remain an imperative necessity, the key problem in democracy's victory over fascism and in ensuring the country's progressive and free future.

We realize that it is far from easy to reach agreement in the present situation, to say nothing of the future. Yet it is not an unattainable goal. What happened in Nicaragua, where all circles, including sections of the national bourgeoisie, joined in the struggle against the Somoza dictatorship, shows that in definite circumstances it is possible to reach far-reaching agreement among forces opposing despotic dictatorships which have created unbearable conditions for the bulk of their country's population and represent a serious threat on the international plane.

What do you think of the idea of turning Popular Unity into a bloc aimed at socialist construction?

If we adhere to the program which brought Popular Unity to power in 1970 and the goals proclaimed by each of its parties, that is because this bloc's ultimate goal is socialism. That in itself is extremely important. We expect that the new program will clearly confirm this supreme goal. In our view, this does not require a change in the character of the party coalition to say nothing of giving priority to

intermediate aims, which would amount to putting the cart before the horse. On the contrary, it is essential to emphasize the ultimate goal of Popular Unity and to clearly point to the anti-fascist tasks of the present period.

The 1970-1973 government's history points to the danger of ideologism, indetermination in solving urgent problems, and incomprehension of the various stages of the political and revolutionary process. The Cuban revolution proclaimed its socialist character after Playa Giron. Until then it had not objectively been on the agenda. Now it is essential to thoroughly study the experience of the Nicaraguan revolution.

We consider that the eradication of fascism is a major historical task, which our people must carry out, and that only after its realization will real prospects open up for social progress, socialism and communism.

Many left-wing forces are considering the possibility of uniting various trends which advocate socialism without the Communist Party. What is your opinion on this matter.

At present there exist various plans for uniting the trends which in general terms support socialism, and in which the Communist Party does not take part. Some of them are designed to set up a new political alliance through the simple unity of parties, groups and individuals, and lay emphasis on differences with our party. Others, on the contrary, hold that this unity should be the result of a process that would guarantee a real integration of homogeneous principles and urge that the new alliance should maintain friendly cooperation with the Communist Party.

The Communist Party's non-participation in elaborating these plans would seem only natural. Objectively, this problem is not posed by either side. We are in sympathy with everything that helps to strengthen and improve the work of our allies and consider it a positive development that they are holding meetings and that representatives of sections of public opinion have common goals and hence can make their contribution to Popular Unity.

In "Our Democratic Draft" you said that the Communist Party aspires to "political power" in alliance with all the democratic forces," but that it is not prepared to take part in just any government. Might this not amount to self-exclusion?

We are fighting for an alliance with all democratic forces and for the creation of a government in which all of them will be represented. We are fighting against a policy of excluding any representative section of

the people, in particular, against the policy of excluding the communists. This would inevitably lead to positions that are unacceptable to the people. In "Our Democratic Draft" we wrote that "we do not exclude the possibility of such a government being installed after Pinochet's fall," that is, a government in which all the anti-fascist forces are represented. Moreover, we pointed out that "as realistic politicians we are ready to examine diverse situations and to facilitate any steps that meet the interests of the people providing the viewpoints of the Popular Unity parties coincide. Always bearing in mind that the crucial task today is to overthrow fascism, we are prepared to reach agreement, if only to attain this goal." And added: "If the balance of strength turns out to be unfavorable for us, and if the overthrow of the dictatorship is followed by the installation of a government different from the one we advocate, we still believe that Popular Unity, having maintained its cohesion and independence, can in one way or another cooperate with that government provided it draws up a minimum program in the interests of the workers, the people and the state. At the same time, Popular Unity will continue to fight for the implementation of its own program and the formation of a most representative government." ...

We call for the development of all parties comprising the Popular Unity, for which any claim to hegemony by one party over another would be harmful. Life itself and not anyone's arbitrary claims will bring about the development of each party and will lend added weight to their opinion among the people.

We are firmly convinced of Popular Unity's ability to develop and accelerate the achievement of the necessary anti-fascist unity.

El Boletín Exterior del Partido Comunista de Chile
November 1979

1. See *IB*, No. 22, 1979.
2. Monopolies that have split into two groups. — (Here and following — translator's note.)
3. Asentamientos, production associations of the peasants, set up in accordance with the agrarian reform law on the lands expropriated from the big landowners.
4. CERAS, agrarian reform centers.
5. CORA, Corporation of Agrarian Reform.
6. INDAP, National Agricultural Development Institute.
7. SOCORA, organizations for the purchase and sale of agricultural products, set up in the course of the agrarian reform.
8. ECA, a state organization for the sale of agricultural products.
9. SOCOAGRO, a state organization for the construction and management of enterprises for the processing of agricultural products.
10. CORFO, a state development corporation.

BUILDING THE PARTY IN MOZAMBIQUE

At one level there is nothing particular about the way the party is being built in Mozambique. It is being based on the working class and organized peasantry, its ideology is clearly Marxist-Leninist and the basic principle of organization is democratic centralism. In this sense it shares the processes of development of all communist and workers' parties throughout the world, and conforms to the general laws of revolutionary advance applicable in any part of the globe. Indeed this is one of the points continually driven home here against those who wish to detach the Mozambican revolution from the world revolution, to isolate Mozambique from what it calls the liberated zone of humanity, as though it could be a liberated zone all on its own.

"We must always be on guard," President Samora Machel said recently "against chauvinist deviation of the so-called 'specific socialism' type. We reject the idea that there can be an 'African socialism' or a 'Mozambican socialism'. We firmly and deliberately declare that there can only be one kind of socialism, namely scientific socialism."

But in another sense the new vanguard Marxist-Leninist party is clearly a product of Mozambican history, of the ancient and contemporary struggle of the working people in this part of the world against oppression, and to that extent it has its own stamp, and watching it being built has been a source of absorbing interest to those of us with experience of struggle elsewhere in southern Africa.

FRELIMO has been unique in Africa in the extent to which it has challenged what it calls traditional feudalism. On the one hand it strongly promotes pride in the culture of the people, in the songs called "primitive" and the dances "savage," just as it constantly recalls their age-long suffering and resistance. On the other hand it firmly condemns what it calls the reactionary and exploitative heritage of the past, especially the power of the chiefs and the subordination of women and the young, just as it attacks the obscuranist world view that went with a technologically backward and class-ridden society.

But the party does not limit itself to articulating what the people feel, it is an agent of transformation. It was FRELIMO and the struggle itself that transformed the consciousness of the present leadership, that produced thousands of cadres at all levels with a new mentality. FRELIMO has to embody all that is new, all that is progressive in Mozambique society. Its members must not only be

representative of the working people, they must be exemplary. This requires them to reject feudal and reactionary ideas, rather than attempt to smuggle them into the party, or hope they will simply disappear with time.

In the past there were great kingdoms in Mozambique — Monomatapa, Zimbabwe, Gaza. But they are not today glorified as proof of a great African past. On the contrary, the excellently produced FRELIMO history texts declare that these states arose with the division of the people into classes, that the kings and chiefs belonged to an increasingly decadent feudal ruling class, and that the purpose of the state was to institutionalize and protect the exploitation of man by man. The feudal chiefs and priests exacted tribute from the farming and artisan families, as well as controlling trade between the coast and the interior. In this perspective, class struggle was not something invented in Europe, a reflection of "foreign ideology;" it existed in Africa before colonialism, was intensified by colonialism and played its part in the struggle for national liberation.

This view of history was not the product of debate between academics, but arose out of fierce struggle inside FRELIMO itself in the crisis years 1968-1970, when a group of reactionaries in the leadership, ambitious to become new exploiters themselves, argued that to raise class questions would divide the African people and weaken the struggle. Some of the reactionaries lined up with the chiefs in the liberated zone in an attempt to create personal power bases for themselves. As a result the revolutionaries were forced to confront not only tribalism but the chiefs themselves.

Today the chiefs are stripped of all their powers. They can work and move freely, but have no political rights at all, neither the feudal or colonial powers of before, nor the rights enjoyed by the working people today. The chiefs collected taxes, supervised forced labor, acted as informers, handed the people over for punishment, and on their own account acted as oppressors and exploiters. Today people's democratic power is used against them — they have no vote, cannot be elected to the Popular Assemblies or become judges, and cannot join the party. The institutions through which they expressed their power have also disappeared, in particular their courts and the courts of elders, replaced first by social affairs committees of FRELIMO, and now by elected Popular Tribunals.

FRELIMO, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, is dead. FRELIMO the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party lives, organized into thousands of branches throughout the country. It was these

branches that were new, that emerged from the party building campaign. The leading structures of FRELIMO remained the same, in the form of a Central Committee with about 65 members, a Permanent Political Commission of nine members and the President as the central figure amongst the leaders.

The process of admitting new members and creating branches took place in three stages, the most dramatic of which was the middle one, when candidates were put up for approval or disapproval to meetings of their fellow workers.

The first stage was one of information and investigation, when the criteria for selection were explained to the people, candidates put themselves forward and the higher structures of the party examined the applications. This was the period of the first round of meetings in work places, the idea being not only to familiarize all the working people with the meaning of building the party, but also to prepare the workers for their special role in the process. It was at these meetings, that explanations were given of the basic principles of FRELIMO and of the criteria to be used in accepting or rejecting members.

The point was made that the party was not an abstract thing. It existed through its members, their behavior, their life, their qualities, their sense of responsibility and discipline, their capacity to work collectively. The aim was not to select people because they were university graduates or because they would talk learnedly about Marxism-Leninism, but because they were the best workers and the most conscientious, the most dedicated to the cause of socialism, those who were the most concerned about transforming the life of the people.

The second stage was the one at which candidates were presented for acceptance or rejection by their fellow workers. At these meetings workers would comment openly about the good qualities and failings of their colleagues.

The third stage was evaluation of all the relevant information by Provincial Brigades, who made the final decision on membership. Clearly, anyone exposed by his or her fellow-workers as failing to meet the qualifications, could not be accepted, at least not before a period of proving the will and ability to overcome the deficiencies mentioned. But the decision in the end was a decision of the party itself, and if the information from all the sources showed that a person accepted by fellow-workers was nevertheless not suitable, such a person would be rejected.

A third round of meetings was held at workplaces to announce the results of the campaign — candidates accepted, candidates rejected, candidates not admitted pending further investigation and candidates told to follow the process for future members, i.e., be a candidate for a further year, working closely with the branch. The last act of the campaign was to officially constitute and present the branches (here called *celulas*) to their fellow workers, who would now know who the party members were and feel that they too had contributed to their selection.

The results of this process are evident in every area of Mozambican life. Priority was given to the factories, the communal villages and the army. The party building campaign has undoubtedly given a much more active role to the working class in Mozambican political life, and goes some way to resolving the question of how the leading role of the working class is expressed in a society like Mozambique, where as a class it is relatively small, relatively recent and relatively without political experience.

As the President has pointed out, it would be a failure of responsibility to suggest that the working class was already fulfilling its historic function of leading Mozambican society. In reality, the national liberation struggle had developed in such a way that it had been the organized peasantry who had led the way, not only in defeating Portuguese colonialism but in overcoming the new would-be exploiters. And even now it was the organized peasants of the liberated zones who were setting an example to the workers of how to organize themselves, and whose experience was being synthesized and spread to the whole country. At the same time, he added, the workers were rapidly developing their class consciousness and sense of organization, so that with the expansion of industry and the development of the workers' councils of production, they would quickly assume their role alongside the organized peasantry as the leading force in the revolution, and as the principal agency of transformation.

The setting up of party branches in the communal villages has also been of decisive importance. The peasants of Mozambique are overwhelmingly poor, dispersed and unorganized. Their experiences of organization under colonialism were always negative — forced labor, migrant work, compulsory production of cotton. Now they are getting together in communal villages based on communal production and communal amenities like schools and health posts. At present, however, only about ten to fifteen per cent of peasants live in these new

villages, so the "implantation" of the party there makes it a nucleus within a nucleus, with vast future importance.

Ever since the armed struggle created liberated zones, the army has seen its role as a political-military one. It was the army that politicized the peasants and that trained most of the leading cadres of FRELIMO. Now the army is being transformed from a guerrilla force into a highly trained force capable of handling modern weapons. At the same time, national service is bringing tens of thousands of young men and women into the army each year, making it a major instrument for breaking down racism, regionalism and tribalism and for inculcating the values of the new man. The motto: "Fight, Study, Produce" is as important in the era of defending the country from attack by the racist regimes as it was during the liberation struggle, and the need to structure the party firmly in the army is regarded as fundamental.

The factory workers, the organized peasants and the soldiers were three priority groups, but not the only ones. Party members were chosen and party branches set up in the ministries, schools and hospitals, in fact, everywhere where life was organized. The dynamizing groups still continue to represent the party in the residential areas, and in due course they too will be replaced by proper party branches.

The campaign proceeded under the slogan: "Build the party in order to improve your life." The party exists not for the sake of existing but to lead the process of transforming Mozambique.

Just as the party is not an abstract thing, so we are constantly reminded, socialism is not an abstraction: it means food, clothes, schools, health and houses for the people, and it is the party that is the instrument which inspires and mobilizes the working people to achieve these goals. FRELIMO takes its place alongside communist and workers' parties of the world, deeply rooted among the working people of Mozambique, well organized, cohesive, proud to have contributed original solutions to the problems of building a Marxist-Leninist party in the conditions of southern Africa.

Other movements in southern Africa have their "particularities" and will have to work out their own solutions in the light of their own conditions. But all of us take heart from the incisive way in which FRELIMO has transformed itself from a strong, coherent and militant Front, into an even stronger, more coherent and more militant party.

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