

# PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO: ASSURANCE OF THE FUTURE



**I**N order to understand the outcome of the 3rd Special Congress of the Congolese Workers' Party (PCT), that was held in Brazzaville, capital of the People's Republic of the Congo, from March 26 to 30, 1979, a brief review of some of the outstanding events of the Congolese Revolution is in order.

After the popular uprising of August 13, 14 and 15, 1963, the Congolese people unanimously said "no" to the policy of degradation, the denial of humanity, and decided to write their own history rather than stand on the sidelines. The inhabitants of this liberated African territory pledged to govern their own destiny.

There were those who viewed the Congolese as good only for slavery, but the Congolese people stood firm and chose a non-capitalist path of development, establishing a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party and raising the red flag of the proletariat in the heart of Africa.

Those who doubted the Congo's will to advance took an adventurist course.

With the birth of the PCT, the history of the Congolese Revolution took a decisive turn, which meant that it had to face escalated aggression.

Led by the perspicacious Marien Ngouabi, the Congo's dynamic young President, the PCT — the Congolese people's fighting general staff — emerged from each of these provocations and terrorist acts stronger than ever.

In its nine years of existence, the PCT has held two general and three special Congresses. Our report covers the 3rd Special Congress.

At the end of the 2nd General Congress, held in December, 1974, to define the broad guidelines of eco-

omic development (the three-year plan) in the People's Republic of the Congo, international imperialism and its lackeys in the area joined the national bourgeoisie in sabotaging the economy of the People's Republic of the Congo, by drastically cutting oil production and shutting down plant after plant.

The Central Committee of the Congolese Workers' Party, its leadership body, made a penetrating analysis of the country's economic and political situation at a meeting held December 7-12, 1975. It recognized its own shortcomings and made a rigorous self-criticism in the famous Declaration of December 12, 1975. It also gave the Congolese revolutionary process a new stimulus by creating the Movement of Revolutionary Radicalization to weed out all the two-faced enemies of the people.

A Revolutionary General Staff was set up to supervise the campaign of radicalizing the Revolution, that culminated in the 3rd Special Congress, known as the Congress of Radicalization.

Meeting in 1976, the Party criticized the Congolese revolutionary government and adopted measures to meet future problems.

It also recognized Comrade Marien Ngouabi as the only person who could safely guide the Congolese revolutionary movement and clearly lead the Party and the nation. A Preparatory Committee for the 3rd Special Congress was set up and began to work on the documents for that meeting.

While preparations for this 3rd Special Congress were under way, international imperialism, consistent enemy of the Congolese Revo-

lution, used a local agent to assassinate Marien Ngouabi on July 31, 1976.

The Central Committee of our Party paid its respects to Marien Ngouabi by executing his assassin and assigning a Party Military Committee (CMP) to handle several specific missions: a) to make arrangements for the President's funeral; b) to safeguard the Revolution and maintain the people's security; c) to ensure that the state continued to function.

The CMP failed to fulfill its responsibilities, however. It engaged in illegal practices, blocked the people's and Party democracy, installed a dictatorship that imposed its own control by means of corruption, waves of arrests, tribalism and the dissolution of the Central Committee for an indefinite period. These illegal practices led to divergences within the Central Committee of the Party, and to the emergence of two conflicting trends that persisted up to the time of the special Central Committee meeting of February 5-8, 1979.

On the eve of that meeting, the liquidationist trend subjectively organized the people to take part in an Ekongo war dance, to incite them to tribal warfare and civil war.

The correct trend in the CMP won the support of grassroots members organized on the basis of the principles that govern a new-type party, thus forcing General Joachim Yhomby-Opango, who chaired the CMP meeting of January 27, 1979, to call a meeting of the Central Committee and surrender all his powers. It was then agreed to hold the 3rd Special Congress, as had been planned

while President Marien Ngouabi was still alive.

When the Central Committee regained its identity on February 5, 1979, it set up a new Preparatory Committee for the 3rd Special Congress, headed by Comrade Denis Sassou Nguesso, which set March 26-30, 1979, as the date of the Congress. During the sessions held to prepare the documents for the 3rd Special Congress, the Central Committee made an objective analysis of the general political situation at home and abroad.

These discussions led to the conclusion that the Congolese Revolution is now at the stage of a democratic, popular national revolution in which the main contradiction is that between the people as a whole and the foreign monopoly capitalism that still controls most of the Congolese economy.

The contradictions that tribalism and regionalism pose in terms of national unity; the contradiction between the poor, exploited people and the national bourgeoisie; and the contradiction between intellectual and manual workers are all secondary, since they can only be solved by eliminating the main contradiction between the people and international imperialism.

To move forward toward socialism, the PCT has to fight and defeat the imperialist administration, destroy the old administrative apparatus and install a simple democratic administration that is completely at the service of the people.

In order to achieve this aim, the Central Committee decided it would have to give priority to the Party and its members, the Congolese left in general, national unity and international cooperation.

These directives and recommendations served as the basis for the

work of the regional Congresses that were supervised by members of the Central Committee assigned to that task. Motions and resolutions proposed at the regional level were presented to the sessions of the 3rd Special Congress, which was held in an atmosphere of revolutionary jubilation, with Comrade Sassou Nguesso presiding.

Two illustrious sons of Africa were honored guests at this Congress: Comrades Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, and Lucio Lara, member and permanent secretary of the Political Bureau of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola Workers' Party.

Messages from mass organizations and heads of regional delegations and from fraternal and friendly parties, liberation movements and international organizations — including the MPLA Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the National Liberation Front of Algeria, the United Polish Workers' Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Korean Workers' Party, the Revolutionary Party of Mongolia, the French Communist Party and the World Federation of Trade Unions — were read at the opening session of the 3rd Special Congress.

The delegates listened attentively as Chairman Sassou Nguesso made the opening speech, based on the high ideological levels attained in the preparatory discussions for the Congress. First of all, he pointed out that the important event was taking place at a time when the masses, stimulated by the Movement of February 5, 1979, were

showing renewed enthusiasm and hope; that on the international plane the peoples' struggle against imperialism and for freedom from the yoke of domination and oppression had intensified.

Chairman Sassou Nguesso insisted on the role and historic mission of the PCT, pointing out that, in the present stage of the democratic national revolution, it was essential that the PCT effectively assume the leadership at all levels, on the basis of a just political position and solid organization. The ever-vital declaration of December 1, 1975, and the approaching selection of a political leadership that would respond to the needs of the moment, led Chairman Sassou Nguesso to stress the duties and responsibilities of the members of the Congolese Workers' Party as a revolutionary vanguard.

The Chairman's speech to the 3rd Special Congress noted the foreign-oriented nature of the Congolese economic system and proposed a strategy for breaking with the international capitalist control of labor, a strategy based on a new attitude that can be summed up in the watchword, "Sacrifice today in order to live better tomorrow."

Chairman Sassou Nguesso also insisted on the question of forming the new man, as a real builder of tomorrow's society. He called on the revolutionary cadres to be more demanding of themselves, in order to set an example for those working with them, in waging a liberating battle. Finally, Chairman Nguesso expressed his loyalty to the teachings of Comrade Marien Ngouabi who, as a consistent Marxist, made every effort to establish proletarian internationalism as

a principle of the PCT. Nguesso reaffirmed the Congolese people's constant support for and solidarity with all peace- and justice-loving peoples fighting to free themselves from capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination.

The delegates unanimously rejected the proposal to ratify Yhomby-Opango and Pierre Anga as members of the Central Committee, and demanded that they be expelled from the Party at once.

The Central Committee report — which covered the period from the 2nd General Congress of December, 1974, up to the establishment of the Movement of February 5, 1979, focusing on the history-making criticism of Party life made in December, 1975 — was approved by acclamation. Then the three work commissions — Political, Economic and Sociocultural — set the following guidelines:

#### On the political level

Organize to carry out an uncompromising struggle against the bureaucratic and commercial bourgeoisie, imperialism's real economic and sociocultural ally, and to prevent its resurgence;

solve the mass problem;

maintain a just political position in line with the aspirations of the masses and the universal truths of Marxism;

wage ideological struggle within the Party to correct mistaken ideas and deviationist tendencies;

lead the revolutionary struggle among the people from day to day, in the spirit of the Movement of February 5, which was coordinated by Comrade Denis Sassou Nguesso



against the ring-wing liquidationist trend, led and supported by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie that had infiltrated the Party and its leadership, headed by General Joachim Yhomby-Opango;

work for the unity of the revolutionary Party forces and for uniting the people around the Party to achieve future victories and the constant perfection of mankind;

membership in the Party gives no one the right to occupy a privileged social position; and

link theory to practice.

Various motions, recommendations and resolutions were adopted in the area of anti-imperialist international solidarity, as a result of

these important debates, including: a motion of support for the national liberation movement; a motion concerning Comrade Sassou Nguesso's opening speech to the 3rd Special Congress of the PCT; a motion against becoming bourgeois;

a motion against General Joachim Yhomby-Opango;

a motion on weeding out cadres and members of the National People's Army who react negatively to the Movement of February 5, 1979;

a motion expressing the delegates' confidence in Comrade Denis Sassou Nguesso, and proposing him as sole candidate for Chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese

Workers' Party, and a resolution on national civic service.

#### On the economic level:

I. An evaluation of the implementation of the triennial and biennial plans was made.

This 1975-77 triennial program, designed to achieve economic development failed to meet its goals. A contingent oil production financed with a view to producing 14 250 000 tons, produced only 5 551 700 tons — 38.3 percent of what was expected.

Program authorizations were only 29.53 percent committed and 27.10 percent paid for.

The relationship among sectors was uneven.

#### Percentages attained of goals set for the triennial plan were:

cocoa .....	99.88 %
coffee .....	78.49 %
lumber .....	38 %
processed wood .....	66.10 %
cement .....	54.25 %
crude oil .....	38.30 %

At the end of the three-year plan, the state faced financial and economic problems. In this unfavorable situation, the political leadership launched an action program de-

signed to stimulate state production and agricultural development. But the problem of financing arose again, when only 60 million African francs — 42.25 percent of the amount expected for 1978 — were actually available. It was concluded that the triennial and biennial plans did not help change the colonial and neocolonial model of the Congolese economy.

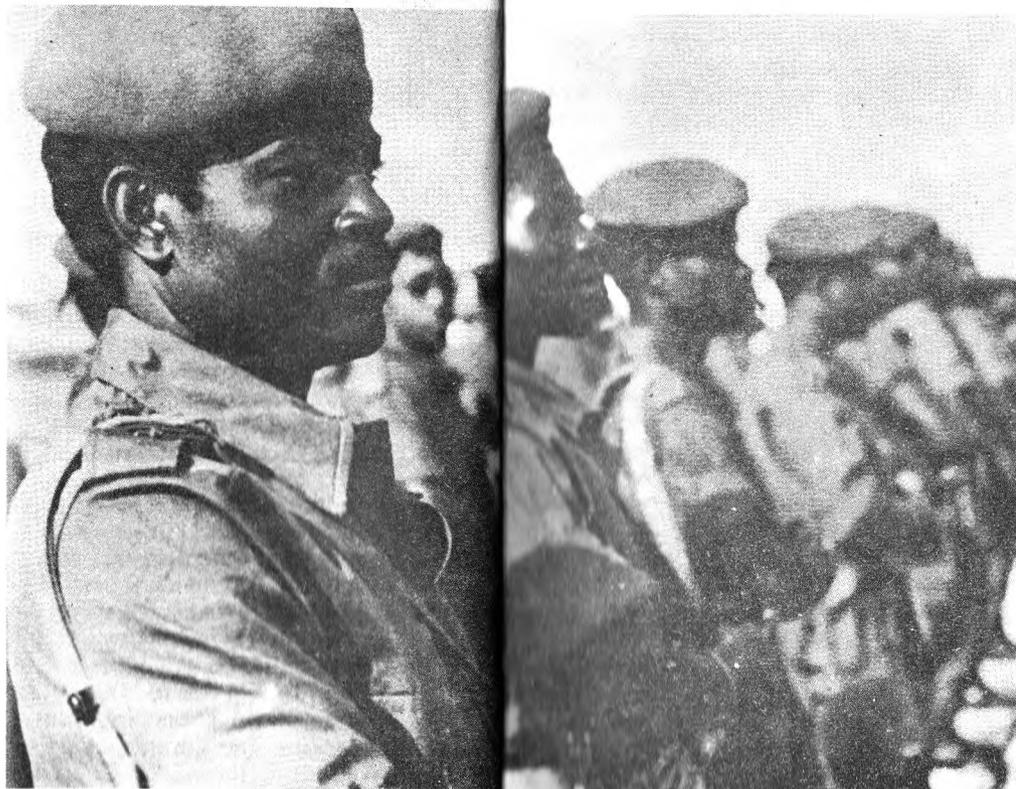
II. In analyzing the strategy of development and the economic significance at this stage, the conclusion was reached that, after 16 years of independence, the Congo has still not emerged from its model of neocolonial development, a model characterized by:

- an economy designed essentially to satisfy foreign needs;
- hypertrophied development of sectors not directly related to consumer goods production, since the Congo has been assigned the role of an intermediary country;
- atrophy of the industrial sector because of forced superfluous imports;
- an archaic and constantly deteriorating agricultural sector;
- a barely developed domestic market;
- in short, an economy of unrelated sectors.

All the attempts to change this since 1974 have been unsuccessful, so the Congress decided to adopt an alternative revolutionary strategy of internal dynamics and self-reliance.

This strategy of economic liberation should take into account our firm will to build a socialist society in the People's Republic of the Congo, keeping in mind the present stage of our Revolution in its practical application.

At this stage, decision-making and control of the key sectors of the economy should be inside the country and directed toward creating and developing the domestic market. In other words, the strategy of development should allow the domestic economy and its production to advance in order to satisfy the people's basic needs. This will be based on an interdependence among sectors, chiefly agriculture and indus-



try, which means that the people — the mobilized workers and peasants — will have to be the main motivating force.

III. Ways and means of exploiting the country's productive potential to restore the national economy were proposed.

The Congress discussed the next development plan, scheduled to start in 1982, leaving a decisive three-year period to allow for a broad approach. During this time, there will be yearly plans such as the 1980 complementary program to extend biennial aims and actions, and the 1981 plan that will bridge the 1980 complementary program and the next five-year plan, which

represents the first link in a long-range 15- or 20-year program.

- These directives relate to:
- general development aims;
  - general priorities for development;
  - sector policy;
  - regional policy; and
  - complementary and additional guidelines.

At the end of this economic evaluation, various motions and recommendations stressing the current state of economic crisis in the country and the means for fighting it were approved by the Congress, including:

- a motion on honoraria and payment for members of the administrative councils in state and mixed enterprises;
- a recommendation on the use of cadres;
- a recommendation on the People's Republic of the Congo's approach to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance;
- a motion on the construction of the MPAWA hydroelectric works (on the Koukouaya plateau);
- a draft resolution on immediate measures to be applied during this period of economic crisis;
- a motion on members of the parasitic bourgeoisie in state markets;

- a motion on the bureaucratic bourgeoisie;
- a motion on the misuse and waste of public property;
- a resolution on organizing the peasantry;
- a resolution on evaluating triennial and biennial programs; and
- a motion on economic scandals.

#### **On the sociocultural level**

The matter of transforming education from a colonial to a revolutionary method of teaching the people was raised several times and the Congress proposed creating a real educational system that would serve the working people and respond to the current need for constant struggle against imperialism, and especially its local agents.

In line with the needs of the present stage of our Revolution, the National Union of Congolese Writers and Artists (UNEAC) has been given the task of waging a battle against the vestiges of the colonial past that still exist in culture, the arts and handicrafts.

The Congress discussed the basic question of selecting and promoting a national language to affirm our cultural identity and develop a literature that would serve the people.

With this in mind, national languages will be taught in the professional training schools and used by Party and state officials.

Questions of health, work, social affairs and justice were also discussed at the Congress, and im-

plementation of the Party program in these fields was analyzed. Clear guidelines for solving problems that exist on these fronts were adopted in resolutions on

- culture, the arts, sports and recreation;
- health and social affairs;
- jobs and public office;
- education;
- justice; and
- responsibility for the children of revolutionary heroes and martyrs.

Support for the 6th Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, since held in Havana, September 3-7, 1979, was expressed in this special resolution:

“Considering the decision of the 5th (Colombo) Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to hold the 6th Summit Conference in Havana, Cuba;

“Considering the Republic of Cuba to be a non-aligned country that has contributed greatly to the positive evolution of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries;

“Considering the careful preparations the fraternal people of Cuba have made to welcome all the Heads of State and/or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries to this Summit Conference;

“Convinced that the Havana Summit Conference is of paramount importance in the peoples’ struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, Zionism and for the establishment of a new

and just world economic order, for peace and security,

“The 3rd Special Congress of the PCT warmly salutes the 6th Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana and wishes it great success.

“Convinced that the efforts of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries will be supported by socialists and progressives throughout the world in opposition to imperialist domination, oppression and aggression,

“and that, in spite of the campaign by the international reaction, which recognizes the importance of the Non-Aligned Movement, the 6th Summit Conference in Havana will be a great forum for all the non-aligned countries.

“the 3rd Special Congress of the PCT assures the fraternal people of Cuba, their Party and government of the friendly and militant solidarity of the Congolese people and their vanguard, the Congolese Workers’ Party.”

This 3rd Congress covered three days of intense work that proceeded in a democratic atmosphere similar to that which had always prevailed during the PCT Congresses held while Marien Ngouabi was alive.

Following the debates, which we have summarized here, the delegates to the 3rd Special Congress unanimously adopted a motion of confidence in which they elected Comrade Denis Sassou Nguesso as Chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Workers’ Party, President of the Republic, Head of State and President of the Council of Ministers.

Under the new statutes, the delegates elected 60 members of the Central Committee, which then ap-

pointed ten of its members to the Political Bureau and selected the Chairman of the Control and Verification Commission and the General Secretary of the Political Bureau.

Thus, Comrade Marien Ngouabi’s ardent desire to see the Party strengthened, with a united political leadership composed of an integrated and dynamic Political Bureau capable of advancing toward a better future, was realized.

The new leadership team, headed by Chairman Denis Sassou Nguesso, has the wholehearted support of the workers and the masses, and has undertaken to implement the measures adopted by the 3rd Special Congress, including the preparations for a referendum and election on July 8, 1979, at which time the National Constitution will be voted on and delegates to People’s Power will be selected. Some of the members of the Central Committee in each region have been appointed to supervise these elections and guide the work in their area until the next Congress is held in 1984.

Congolese militants warmly welcomed the message Commander in Chief Fidel Castro sent President Sassou Nguesso congratulating him on his election to Party and state leadership, as an expression of the confidence the Cuban leaders have always shown in Marien Ngouabi’s Congo.

The new Brazzaville officials value the good relations that have always existed between the People’s Republic of the Congo and the Republic of Cuba, especially since the September 1975 meeting be-

tween Fidel and Marien Ngouabi. These relations were crystallized following the second war of liberation in Angola, led by President Agostinho Neto, and reached a high point at the end of the 3rd Special Congress.

In addition to the internationalist aid the fraternal people of Cuba give the People's Republic of the Congo in education, health, agriculture, cattle raising and aviculture, a brigade of "white helmeted" constructors — specialists in building and mounting Sandino type prefabricated housing at an average rate of 500 units a year — will soon become the pride of this increasing cooperation.

Six hundred young Congolese are studying in elementary schools on the Isle of Youth — testimony to the excellent state of this cooperation between the Congo and Cuba, that is based on proletarian internationalism.

This confirms the statement made by the immortal President Marien Ngouabi shortly before his tragic death, when he challenged all those who were trying to kill friendship between the Congo and the socialist community in general, and Cuba in particular: "Even though the opponents of Cuban-Congolese cooperation are annoyed, Cuba will do everything it can for the Congo, just as it did in Angola."

The PCT's great victory at the 3rd Special Congress over the right-wing, liquidationist line that had infiltrated its ranks is also a great victory for all who are fighting the

difficult battle against imperialism and its local lackeys.

The Congolese revolutionaries' general fighting staff, the PCT, had 3603 members on the eve of this battle for ideological clarification in its ranks and progress toward new victories. The breakdown was as follows:

Men: 93.4 %

Women: 6.6 %

distribution by sectors:

Blue- and white-collar workers 61.54 %

Peasants 14 %

Armed Forces 10.5 %

Revolutionary intellectual %

distribution by age:

18-30 years old 11 033 members

31-40 years old 1 640 members

41-50 years old 567 members

over 50 years old 363 members

regional structural division:

— 12 Ministerial Party Committees

— 9 Regional Party Committees

— 5 Base Party Committees

autonomous commune of Brazzaville:

— 12 Area Committees

— 46 District Committees

— 2 Administrative Control Post Committees

— 4 Industrial Committees

— 6 Administrative Committees



At present, cadres are being trained in Party schools in these fraternal countries:

Bulgaria	31 cadres
German Democratic Republic	22 cadres
Hungary	3 cadres
Romania	28 cadres
USSR	52 cadres
Yugoslavia	13 cadres

All the active forces in the country — the workers in the 15 unions that make up the great, historic and powerful Congolese Trade Union Confederation; the 17 167 activists in the Congolese Union of Socialist Youth; Congolese students; the tens of thousands of women who belong to the Revolutionary Union of Congolese Women; the UNEAC's artists, writers and craftsmen; revolutionary officers and soldiers of the National People's Army; fishermen's and farmers' cooperatives; businessmen and small tradesmen; the taxi drivers' organization; religious groups; and all the rest of the people — are united around the Congolese Workers' Party, under the leadership of those who defend the correct guidelines laid down by Comrade Marien Ngouabi and taken up by Comrade Denis Sassou Nguesso. These forces won out over the right-wing, liquidationist trend in the Party that thought it could conquer the brave Congolese people and wipe out the gains of the Three Glorious Events.

As you can see, the victory of the 3rd Special Congress was a

victory not only for the Congolese Workers' Party but for the revolutionary people of the Congo as well, in their efforts to win final victory over the enemies at home and abroad and advance toward the triumph of socialism in the Congo.

Comrades and friends, I have chosen the culmination of this victory of Congolese revolutionaries over the forces of reaction that infiltrated the Congolese Workers' Party — a victory that can also be celebrated by all anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neocolonialist forces that are struggling to regain their dignity, their right to self-determination and peaceful and independent national reconstruction — to address this militant audience at OSPAAAL, in order to let you know that there is a place in Africa where Marxism-Leninism is being assimilated on a specific, day-to-day basis; that the laws and principles governing a new-type Party are being confirmed; and that they have been more effective than the guns of neocolonial barbarity, for they prove that, with a Marxist-Leninist Party governed by an iron discipline, institutional changes can be made without bloodshed, on the basis of democratic centralism — as was the case in Marien's Congo.

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL for organizing this meeting so perfectly and to all the comrades who have been kind enough to listen attentively to this explanation of the recent democratic changes that have taken place in my country. ■