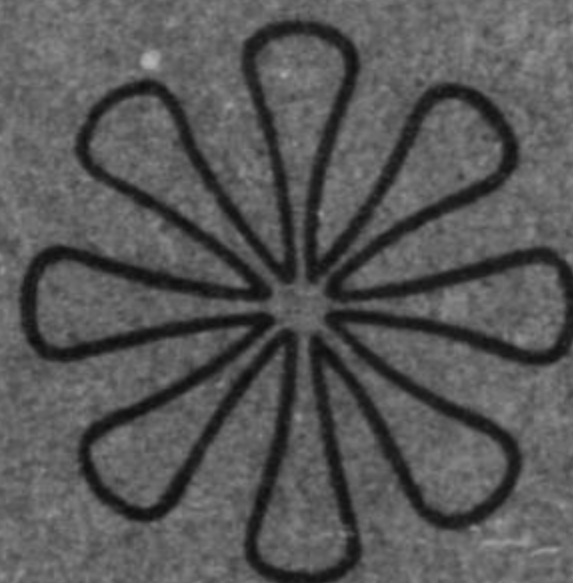


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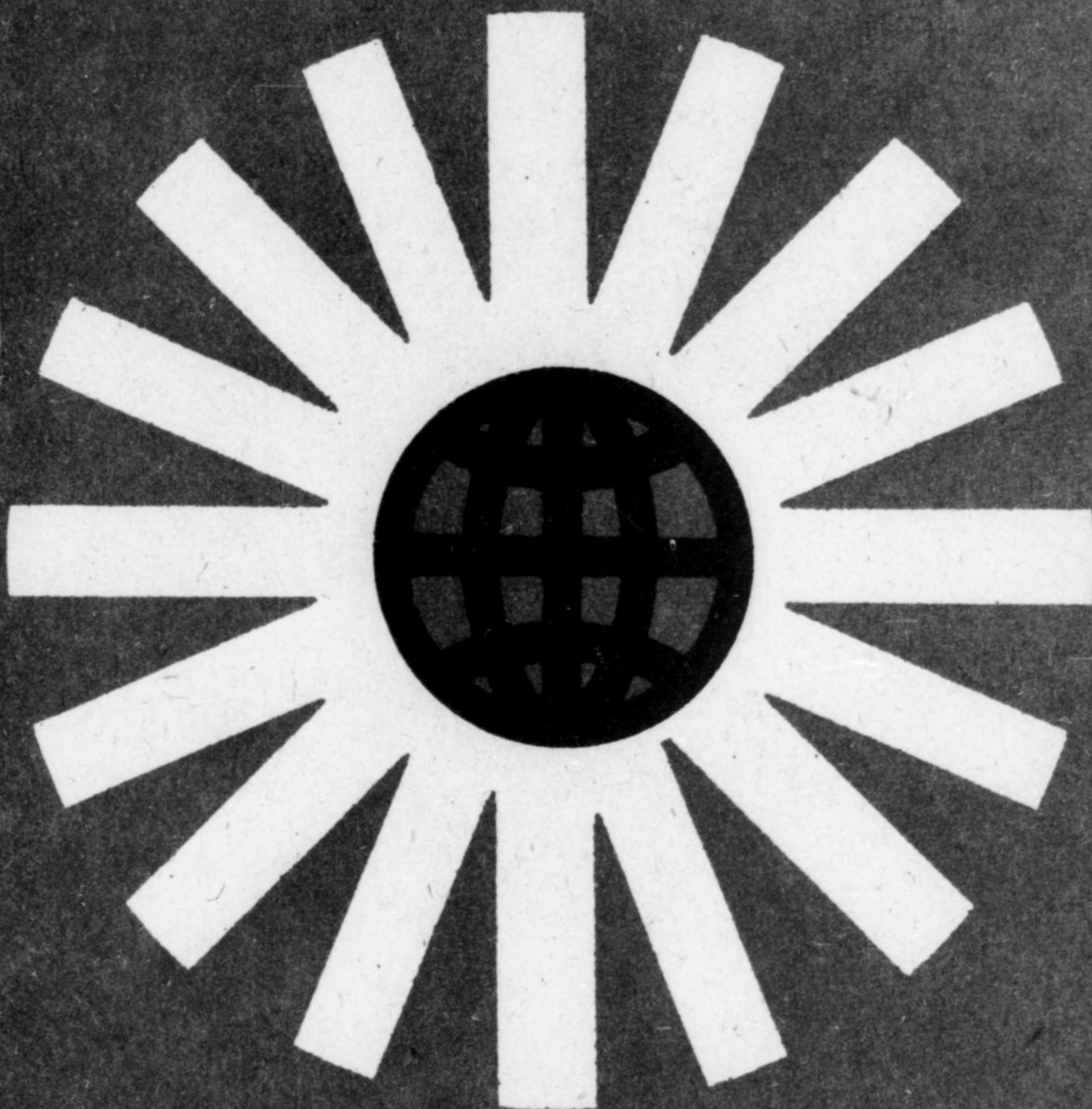
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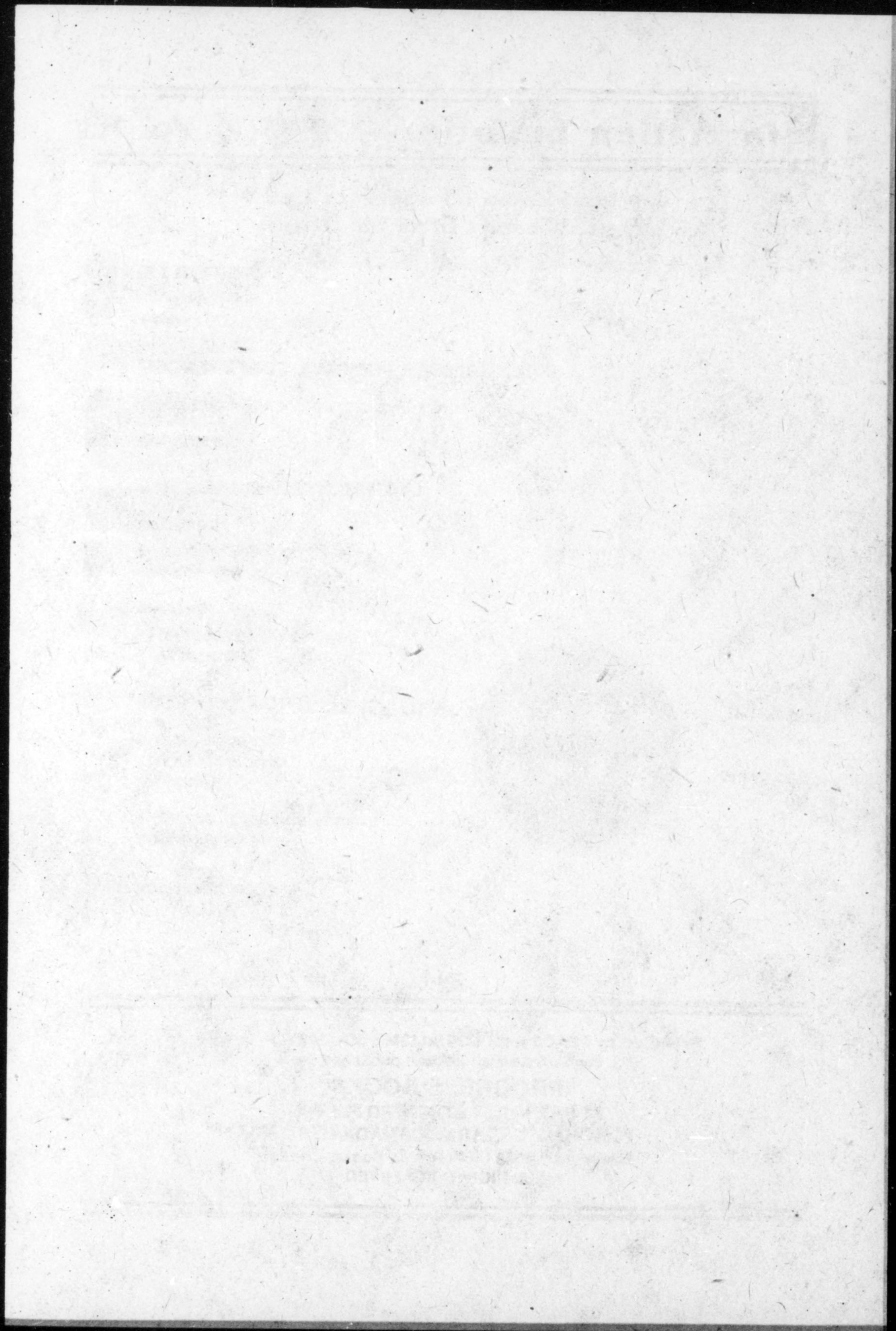


VIETNAM



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SCHOOL FOR PARTY CADRES

Extracts from Mikhail Suslov's Speech

A meeting was held in Moscow on September 1 to inaugurate work at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee.

A speech was delivered by Mikhail Suslov, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He said in part:

The Academy of Social Sciences is a qualitatively new higher party educational institution set up in accordance with the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU. Its establishment is a big event in the life of the party and an important element in its ideological work.

The Academy begins its responsible activity in an atmosphere of the Soviet people's growing socio-political and labor activity in building a communist society. The best evidence of this comes from the efforts of the whole people for the successful fulfillment of the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the targets of the 10th Five-year Plan. A concise expression of the main political result of our Society's development since the party's 25th Congress would be as follows: the country's economic and defense might has grown; its international prestige has been enhanced; Soviet society's ideological and political unity and the fraternal friendship of the nations of our great multinational Motherland has been consolidated; the Soviet people's life has become materially and spiritually richer.

Mature socialism, created by the people's labor, opens up vast potentialities for accelerating social progress. But if these potentialities are to be realized and translated into reality, there is a need for purposeful and creative efforts at every sector of economic and cultural construction, and perfection of the activity of state and social organizations, and forms and methods of party guidance and the working people's communist education.

The development of Soviet society at the present stage is marked by deep-going qualitative changes. The country's economy, which is the material basis of society, is characterized by an unprecedented volume and sophistication of production, a ramified sectoral struc-

ture, an intricate system of ties between economic units, and extensive development of production associations and complexes. Under the impact of the scientific and technical revolution the face of material production has been changing, and hardware and technology renewed. There is a change in the conditions and character of labor.

Our domestic policy is centered on all-round intensification of production, enhancement of its efficiency and improvement of workmanship. We regard this not only as the key task of the 10th five-year period, but also the definitive factor of the country's economic and social development for the future. That is the light in which the party has been working to perfect the management of the national economy, and it has oriented all the executive cadres accordingly.

The July 1978 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was a major stride in the elaboration and implementation of the party's economic policy. Realization of the measures it mapped out opens up the prospect for transforming agriculture into a highly developed sector of the socialist economy capable of meeting more fully the country's requirements in the products of agriculture and stock-breeding.

In working to intensify economic development and perfect all social relations, our party, Soviet and economic organs have accumulated considerable positive experience. But one must realize that there are still some difficulties in this great effort. Some of them have objective causes. Others result from omissions or shortcomings in the work, i.e., subjective causes. Practice shows that in order to overcome difficulties of any kind, everyone must have profound understanding of the substance of the problems which arise, and work out the ability to solve them in an expert manner. That is why there is no need to say how important it is in the present conditions for each executive constantly to replenish his knowledge, steadily to improve the methods of work, and learn to find optimal solutions for the tasks before him.

Close interconnection of economic, socio-political and ideological processes requires that executive cadres should have a profound knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, a broad ideological-political horizon, the art of organizational and educational work in the masses, the ability to see and take into account not only the immediate but also the remote consequences of adopted decisions. The modern executive must have a high sense of party principle and responsibility,

intolerance of shortcomings, inertness and procrastination, and an innovatory attitude to the business in hand.

The CPSU's policy is strictly scientific. It is based on a profound knowledge of the uniformities of social development and takes fully into account the diverse conditions of the country's internal life, and the whole system of international relations.

All of you, comrades, are aware of the tremendous attention our party has been giving to international questions. It has consistently conducted the Leninist foreign-policy line worked out by the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

The strengthening of the cohesion and might of the community of socialist countries is central to our foreign policy. The recent meetings in the Crimea between Comrade Leonid Brezhnev and leaders of fraternal parties will undoubtedly promote the further development of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the parties, governments and peoples of the socialist-community countries in building socialism and communism.

The vigorous and concerted activity of the CPSU and the fraternal parties in the world arena serves the high humanistic goal of strengthening peace and security of nations, ridding mankind of the exhausting arms race and threat of thermonuclear war, which imperialism has imposed on it, and consolidating and further deepening the international détente and the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation among states with different social systems.

The Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries have always supported the peoples' struggle for national liberation and social progress. Our fraternal parties have been doing their utmost to strengthen the unity of the international communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

The present international situation is marked by intricate and contradictory developments. As the positions of world socialism strengthen and the general crisis of the capitalist system aggravates, the most reactionary circles of the imperialist states seek once again to poison the international atmosphere, to whip up the arms race and return to the bankrupt "cold war" policy, and undermine the positions of the socialist community and the revolutionary liberation forces.

The reactionary circles of the United States and some other NATO countries seek under various pretexts to meddle in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. The Peking leaders, pursuing far-reaching

hegemonistic and expansionist goals, are acting hand-in-glove with the most reactionary circles of imperialism, as rabid opponents of international détente and the cause of peace, of national liberation and socialism.

However, the historical advance of socialism is irreversible. Joint actions by the socialist-community countries, supported by all the progressive, peace-loving forces of our day are the most important factor in strengthening peace and social progress. We are now faced with highly important tasks which are determined by the class character of Soviet foreign policy: together with our friends and allies persistently to work to deepen the détente, to stop the arms race, resolutely to rebuff the aggressive moves by imperialism and reaction, and give support to all the progressive forces of our day.

Growing subtlety of ideological subversion aimed to poison the international atmosphere, fan psychological warfare and anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria is a characteristic feature of the subversive action of imperialist reaction in the recent period. Reactionary ideologists of every stripe, like diverse opportunists, seek to denigrate the theory and practice of socialism and slow down our advance toward communism.

This requires a further raising of the level of the party's ideological work. Our leading cadres must be able to sort out all the complexities of international politics and correctly to assess the world developments. They will be able to do this only if they have a profound knowledge of Marxist-Leninist science. Equipped with our advanced revolutionary theory, we must tirelessly fight all our class adversaries in the ideological sphere, to win the hearts and minds of millions upon millions of men and women on every continent through the power of the inspiring example set by the new social system and the impassioned propaganda of the advantages of our system and the grandeur of Leninist ideals and goals.

The careful fostering of cadres with a profound knowledge of revolutionary theory, high political qualities and efficiency, capable of working on the level of present-day demands, has always been and remains an object of special concern for the party. After all, the party workers of our day are successors to the Leninist guard of career revolutionaries, men and women totally loyal to the people's cause, to the cause of communism.

The party's cadre policy, its organization of cadre training starts from the constantly growing demands to them and takes into account the requirements of the present day and of the long term. That is how

the question was considered by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, which stressed the need to raise the level of cadre training to a new and higher level, and to ensure the further perfection of the activity of party academic institutions. Comrade Leonid Brezhnev said: "The main thing is to bring about a situation in which the party would have even broader reserves of experienced and theoretically mature comrades."

The Central Committee sets before the Academy a task of tremendous importance, which is to train highly qualified leading cadres for central, republican, territorial and regional organs, and central ideological establishments and organizations.

A large group of comrades from other socialist countries will join Soviet students and post-graduates in these studies. This is additional evidence of the close ties between our parties and countries. We have common goals and a common revolutionary world view — Marxism-Leninism — which unites the fraternal parties into a mighty international force. Direct contacts, comradely exchanges of opinion and studying together help more deeply to examine the collective experience of socialist and communist construction and to adopt everything that is valuable in each fraternal party's experience. All of this mutually enriches us and helps to accelerate the development of the socialist-community countries. Allow me wholeheartedly to welcome our friends and to wish them great successes in their studies.

A new and higher level of work in the Academy, Mikhail Suslov went on, should be reflected above all in the content and forms in which the academic process is organized.

First of all, the Academy has the task of equipping cadres with a fundamental knowledge in Marxist-Leninist theory. The whole course of history and revolutionary practice confirm the correctness and great vital power of Marxism-Leninism, and the inadequacy of its various critics and opponents. It is impossible to gain a scientific comprehension of any question today — be it problems in communist construction or the world revolutionary process — without recourse to the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the historical experience of the CPSU and other communist and workers' parties.

Mastery of Marxism-Leninism as a theory and method of cognition and transformation of reality is a living, creative effort requiring profound penetration into the substance of the problems being studied, an urge to tie in theoretical propositions with processes in present-day social life and the activity of party organizations and Soviet and economic organs. The most serious attention needs to be

given to the study of topical problems in economic strategy, the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy, party and state construction, and communist education as elaborated in the materials and decisions of party congresses, CC plenary meetings, and other general party documents.

One should specifically bring out the importance of individual effort, which is the main method for obtaining knowledge. Nearly 60 years ago, addressing students of the Y.M. Sverdlov Communist University with a lecture "The State," Lenin told them: the chief thing is that you should acquire, as a result of your readings, talks and lectures on the state, the ability to approach this question independently. Only then, Lenin went on, can you consider yourself sufficiently confirmed in your convictions and able with sufficient success to defend them against anybody and at any time. Showing just how social phenomena should be comprehended, Lenin said: "The most reliable thing in a question of social science, and one that is most necessary in order really to acquire the habit of approaching this question correctly and not allowing oneself to get lost in a mass of detail or in the immense variety of conflicting opinion — the most important thing in order to approach this question scientifically is not to forget the underlying historical connection, to examine every question from the standpoint of how the given phenomenon arose in history, and what were the principal stages in its development, and, from the standpoint of its development, to examine what it has become today" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 471, 473).

The Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee is both an academic and a scientific center. Research into the problems of theory, and our party's vast revolutionary-transformative activity must become one of the main lines of activity of the Academy of Social Sciences. To this the party's Central Committee attaches exceptional importance.

With every new stage in social development there is a growing need for scientific comprehension of new phenomena in life and meaningful economic, socio-political, ideological and international problems. And here the present period in the party's theoretical activity is highly fruitful for the development of Marxist-Leninist thought. The materials of party congresses, documents of the CPSU Central Committee and the works of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev and other party leaders contain a creative elaboration of the cardinal propositions of the scientific communism theory.

Together with the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, our

party has worked out the conception of developed socialism, which has become a major creative contribution to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism.

Proceeding from the fundamental Marxist-Leninist ideas and a profound analysis of the concrete-historical situation, the party formulated at its 25th Congress a clear-cut political line and determined the strategy and tactics of communist construction in present-day conditions. The Soviet people's epoch-making gains in its advance toward communism, and the party's comprehensive theoretical and political work are epitomized in the new Constitution of the USSR, the Fundamental Law of the society of developed socialism, of true democracy and humanism.

The collective theoretical work of the party and its Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, headed by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, is the basis for formulating our policy and a well-tested instrument for solving the problems posed by life. The party constantly has within the compass of its theoretical thought the most important problems in building the material and technical basis of communism, enhancing the efficiency of social production, further deepening socialist democracy, perfecting the socialist way of life and the working people's communist education. It has constantly carried on a creative analysis of the development of the present-day revolutionary process and international relations.

Loyalty to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, a creative approach to revolutionary theory, whole-hearted dedication to the people and consistent work for their interests has enabled the party honorably to fulfill its historical role of leading and organizing force of Soviet society, of political leader of the working class and all the other working people.

Solution of concrete socio-economic problems and enrichment of society's spiritual potential largely depend on the profundity of the conclusions and sound substantiation of recommendations by the social sciences and further invigoration of the whole front of scientific research. The party expects social scientists to produce a deep-going and thorough analysis of the latest processes in the development of the society of mature socialism: its productive forces, its economic and social relations and all the forms of social consciousness. Of special importance here is the use of the Marxist-Leninist methodology to analyze the character of the processes and phenomena in domestic and international life which we have not faced before.

The Academy can and must raise its research in the social sciences

to a high level. The important thing is that this work should be carried out in close contact with life and the requirements of the practice of economic and cultural construction.

The establishment of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee raises to a new stage the whole system of training and raising the qualifications of party and Soviet cadres. There is no doubt, Mikhail Suslov said in conclusion, that the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee will duly fulfill the important functions assigned to it and carry high the banner of the scientific spirit, the party spirit, lofty ideological principles.

Pravda, September 2, 1978



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CONGRESSES, PLENUMS, CONFERENCES

POPULAR UNITY ON A BROAD BASIS

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia met in plenary session late in August 1978. The main speaker was Alvaro Vasquez, member of the CPC National Secretariat. Following is the part of his speech dealing with the international situation.

Détente has lately been the principal trend in international relations thanks to the efforts of the socialist camp, of all progressive and peace-loving forces. The Helsinki Conference, advance in the disarmament talks, growing trade and exchanges in various fields between capitalist and socialist countries are evidence of this new stage in international relations and have benefited the whole of present-day political development.

In recent months, however, the situation has somewhat deteriorated. The capitalist crisis has acquired new features. Not a single capitalist country has escaped its consequences.

Inflation, unemployment, the high cost of living and stagnation are going from bad to worse in the United States, the main stronghold of imperialism. The dollar goes on declining. The result is that U.S. imperialism, driven to despair, is becoming more dangerous, stepping up tensions and the arms race, whose most sinister manifestation is the neutron bomb. At the same time the U.S. imperialists are fanning anti-Sovietism and hostility to socialism after President Carter came to office and following some changes in Western Europe, bellicose groups in the military-industrial complex and NATO intensified their activities. Now the "hawks" led by national security adviser Brzezinski wield decisive influence in the U.S. administration.

These provocateurs have launched a phony campaign in "defense of human rights" and the so-called "dissidents" to interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. On the American continent, however, they protect and back the bloody dictatorships of Pinochet, Somoza and Stroessner and the fascist governments of Uruguay, Brazil, El Salvador and other countries.

Imperialist aggressiveness is incited by provocations on the part of

the Peking leaders, who offer direct support in this. The Maoists side with bellicose forces on such matters as the arms race, opposition to disarmament. They come out for strengthening of NATO, and in support of reactionary regimes in Africa and Latin America. They are trying to provoke a new war through a confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States, a war in which China would presumably take on the role of an onlooker "watching from a hilltop a fight between two tigers." The Peking regime persists in its territorial claims to the Soviet Union, supports attacks on Vietnam by Kampuchean troops and threatens socialist Vietnam with arms on the cynical pretext of defending the Chinese capitalists living in Vietnam and opposed to socialist change. The Peking leaders have even severed relations with the government of Albania, until recently their ally in Europe. Leaning on the rightist governments of non-aligned countries, China is trying to disrupt the unity of the non-aligned movement and exclude from it Cuba and other countries adhering to a revolutionary position.

This is not surprising to our country and the Colombian popular movement. We have gone through the painful stage of cold war, when reactionary and conservative dictatorships resorted to violence and sent Colombian troops to fight against People's Korea. We cannot stand aside in this big confrontation of our time, for we are directly involved.

Comrade Gilberto Vieira, speaking at the Gaitan Theatre on July 23, stressed that "we are proud of being internationally on the side of the world socialist system whose first bastion on the American continent is the glorious Island of Cuba."

The internationalist spirit of our people was demonstrated by the participation of a large Colombian youth delegation representing diverse political trends in the Eleventh World Festival of Youth and Students in Havana. The forum on the rights of youth held during the preparations for the festival was the most significant expression of the desire of Colombia's youth for unity and mutual understanding in their struggle against imperialism, for international solidarity and peace.

In a statement issued on July 8, 1978, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia said that "work for peace is acquiring a deeper class content, becoming a valuable factor in the struggle against imperialism, the Colombian people's chief enemy responsible for two world wars that caused mankind so much suffering."

At present this struggle also requires exposing the role of Maoism and its agents in Colombia, Maoism's counter-revolutionary substance playing into the hands of U.S. imperialism, exposing the Chinese demand that the Colombian people today must fight chiefly "against Soviet social-imperialism." The Maoist groups side with the bourgeoisie more and more brazenly. This was the case during the national civic strike in September 1977, when they played the role of agents provocateurs. It was seen in their stand against the unity of the working-class movement, in their opposition to armed peasant fighters, in their disgusting anti-Cuban campaign. It is also evident in their rabid anti-communism. The pro-Peking groups in Colombia show signs of a sharp crisis, for many of those who had believed in the groups' seemingly anti-imperialist and revolutionary slogans are leaving them. While combating their views, we must seek a rapprochement with honest people among them so as to win their support for unity.

Voz Proletaria, August 24, 1978

SUMMARIES

BELGIUM

The Communist Party of Belgium will hold its 23rd Congress December 15-17 in Brussels. The three documents comprising the Central Committee theses — "Our Actions and Our Prospects," "Our Internationalist Solidarity" and "The Party" — have been published in the *Drapeau Rouge* for discussion prior to the Congress.

The first document analyzes the situation inside the country. The Communist Party, it says, categorically rejects the policy of the rightists making the interests of the people and the country dependent on the moneybags. It is only socialism, says the CPB, that can guarantee society's harmonious and democratic development.

The development of international relations, says the second document, "Our Internationalist Solidarity," is an expression of the class struggle, and attempts by the most aggressive groups of world imperialism to revive the cold war are aimed, first of all, at isolating the communist parties and preventing development in a socialist direction. The Communist Party of Belgium underscores the historic signi-

ficance of the Helsinki agreements and the need of stepping up efforts to carry them out.

Peking's foreign policy, it is pointed out, is playing into the hands of the rightist reactionary and imperialist forces. The Communist Party of Belgium states its opposition to any attempts by Peking's propaganda to place the Soviet Union, its allies and friendly countries on an equal plane with the United States and its NATO partners. The first, continues the document, are working for peace while the latter are retarding détente.

A more energetic campaign against the neutron bomb, for turning Central Europe into a nuclear-free zone and reducing all types of conventional weapons are in the forefront of the CPB's concrete goals of internationalist solidarity.

The document "The Party" deals with the CPB's internal problems.

DENMARK

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark held a plenary meeting in early September in Copenhagen to review the internal political situation in connection with the formation of a coalition government, and to outline the tasks for communists in the immediate future.

The statement adopted by the CC sharply criticizes the Social-Democratic Party's entry into a government coalition with the bourgeois Venstre Party. The government program, the statement continues, seeks to place the burden of the country's crisis on the people, will increase unemployment and lower living standards.

The plenum proposed concrete measures to stop real wages from dropping, to increase allocations for social security and education, to reduce military expenditures and for an effective tax and housing policy.

FINLAND

Speaking at a Central Committee plenary meeting at the end of August, Communist Party Chairman Aarne Saarinen condemned Peking's anti-Soviet policy. The foreign-policy course of the leaders of the CPC, he said, has for long been aimed primarily against the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the international communist movement. On the basis of the information at our disposal, we can conclude that the leadership of the Chinese People's Republic is

prepared to ally itself with the extreme reactionaries as long as their activities are spearheaded against the Soviet Union.

The Chinese leaders, said Aarne Saarinen, invariably reject the Soviet Union's offers to conclude a treaty on non-aggression and normalization of relations. Such a policy hampers the development of socialism in the world and is an obstacle to détente and disarmament.

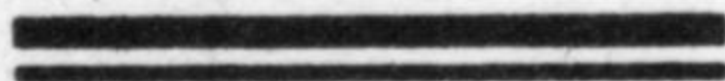
NETHERLANDS

De Waarheid has published a Central Committee resolution of the Communist Party of the Netherlands "On the Implementation of Decisions of the Party's 26th Congress in January" which says that in present-day conditions the CPN must concentrate on building up the mass movement for peace and against the arms policy and the atomic danger.

Recent international developments, the resolution continues, have been contradictory: on the one hand, broad prospects for a lasting détente and for progress and, on the other, a serious danger threatening the nations. It has become clear that capitalist circles are intent on reviving the cold war, its methods and practices. The world political climate is adversely affected by the powerful military-industrial complex in the United States which strongly influences U.S. foreign policy.

Imperialist interference in the Middle East and on the African continent, where it is brutally crushing the liberation movements, says the resolution, is a direct threat to peace.

Because international developments have reached the crossroads — either a new cold war or détente — our struggle must concentrate on getting the government to cut arms expenditures, reduce armaments and stop the nuclear arms race. To attain these vitally important goals, the resolution concludes, the communists of Netherlands are prepared to cooperate with all who realize the dangers of the insane arms race.



STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

RECENT POLITICAL EVENTS — A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

Statement by the CC CP of Honduras

As stated in our Declaration of last July, a struggle is taking place in the highest spheres of political power in our country between the various oligarchic circles. It springs from the clash of interests between the dependent bourgeoisie, who wish to retain power, and the traditionalist section of the oligarchy, which is wielding every possible means to restore the positions it lost after the coup of December 4, 1972.

In recent months this conflict within the oligarchy has been sharpened by various factors, and particularly by the current need to decide the question of power through elections. The explosive situation was denoted by the political campaign organized in defense of the candidature of Melgar. The traditionalist section of the oligarchy saw this candidature as a threat to their plans, as an obstacle to the rigging and falsifying of the elections to bring them victory.

However, the clash between these oligarchic groups over the question of political power has not resulted in a clear victory for either side. This is due to the relative equality of the contesting forces and the fact that their contradictions are not antagonistic. The solution to the crisis was eclectic, which is evidenced by the fact that power is now in the hands not of a new president but of a military junta composed of a variety of contending elements.

In this general political picture, however, there is one aspect that deserves special attention. This aspect is the eclectic solution to the crisis, which turned out to be more favorable to the traditionalist oligarchy than to the dependent bourgeoisie. It is a fact that this section of the oligarchy, which until recently was in opposition, fought against the monopoly of power by its opponents. But after the eclectic solution to the crisis was accepted, this group shared political power with the dependent bourgeoisie, thus gaining considerable opportunities for spreading its ideas. This is confirmed by the

appointment of well-known leaders of the National Party to leading posts in the new government.

It is obvious that the eclectic solution presupposes mutual concessions. For example, the Declaration of August 7 expresses support for the human rights campaign and endorses the established electoral procedure. This should be seen not only as recognition by the military junta of the fact that the Honduran people would have opposed any change in these points, but also as a concession to the dependent bourgeoisie on the part of the traditionalist oligarchy.

The dependent bourgeoisie, in its turn, has conceded certain positions to the traditionalist section of the oligarchy. This has strengthened the rightist character of the government. The people cannot expect from the new regime any respect for the standards of bourgeois democracy, which will be constantly violated. Direct attacks on the mass organizations and repressive measures in response to popular actions will be more frequent.

The above-mentioned considerations allow us to draw a political conclusion of particular importance: before the fall of Melgar the "desarrollist"¹ bourgeoisie tried to devise a machine that would enable them to retain political power by rigging and falsifying the election. Now that Melgar has fallen, and also because the National Party had taken over a number of key posts in the government, the traditionalist oligarchy will seek to use its power for winning the forthcoming elections.

In other words, the crisis is still not solved. The eclectic solution did not resolve and could not resolve the contradictions dividing the Honduran oligarchy. So the new government is even more contradiction-ridden and unstable than the previous one. In the coming months the situation will be worsened by the growing domination of the traditionalist oligarchy, which includes the banana monopolies.

We believe that the near future will see an intensification of the class struggle. In the new situation the separate political forces that took part in these "free elections" will sense the threat to their political opportunities, and it is quite possible that the opposition to these forces will steadily become more and more pronounced. This will naturally provide scope for building alliances and fronts, and for joint action. So, we communists should maintain a flexible position and respond to any desire for unity or mutual understanding coming from other organizations.

At the same time we must go on with the work of recruiting new members for the party, of political education and improving organiza-

tion, while maintaining vigilance and bearing in mind the recent circular on security. The mass organizations must be orientated on demanding fulfillment of the following points in the Declaration: respect for human rights and defense of the people's social gains and democratic freedoms. Any statements issued on this subject should stress that the fall of the previous regime was due to its failure to carry out its promises, and to its isolation from the masses caused by its use of repressive measures in reply to the demands of the masses.

To sum up, the coup against Melgar Castro was not a classical Pinochet-type coup. This does not mean, however, that it is positive. We should not be deceived by the apparent calm of today. The new government will gradually turn toward the reactionary weapon of anti-communism for a clamp-down on any popular movement, particularly our party and other left-wing forces. So security measures are absolutely essential. On the other hand, one must not give way to defeatism. This would prevent us from fulfilling our historic mission of leading the fight for democracy, the main task in our people's struggle for liberation.

Political Commission, CC,
Communist Party of Honduras
Tegucigalpa, August 11, 1978

1. The term "desarrollism" (from the Spanish "desarrollo" — development) denotes the U.S. policy in the dependent countries, designed to preserve imperialist control over these countries. "Desarrollism" is based on the theory of the ideologists of imperialism who advocate changes in the economies of the under-developed countries that would provide more favorable conditions for the penetration of monopoly capital.

IN DEFENSE OF INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM

*Resolution of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee,
Patriotic Front of Vietnam*

The resolution, adopted at the Third Plenum of the CC PFV (Hanoi, August 28-30, 1978) has denounced the anti-Vietnam policy of the Chinese ruling circles which have been using the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique as a cat's-paw in the border war against the Vietnamese people. The resolution says:

“The purpose of these plans and actions of Chinese authorities is to weaken the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, undermine the traditional friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples, and pursue their expansionism, hegemonism and great-power chauvinism in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

“The Central Committee of the Patriotic Front of Vietnam categorically rejects the lies and slander circulated by the Chinese authorities and strongly denounces their plans and actions.”

In this context, the resolution sets forth the following tasks:

“We should do everything in our power to foster patriotism and love of socialism among the people, mobilize their revolutionary heroism, their traditional unity in the struggle against foreign aggressors and their striving for self-reliance. We should strengthen the system of socialist collective economy in all spheres and on the entire territory of the country, expand the building of socialism and further strengthen national defense, quickly build up our economic potential and national defense capacity; cement our solidarity with other fraternal socialist countries and with progressives the world over, carry on the struggle against imperialism with U.S. imperialism at the head, foil the expansionist, great-power and hegemonistic schemes of the Peking rulers aimed at annexation of Southeast Asian countries; work for lasting peace, national independence and socialism.”

“In the near future we should continue consolidating and expanding the great national unity, that is, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, promote solidarity between this alliance and the intelligentsia and other sections of the population, including individuals and religious communities.

“We should orient our people, whatever their ethnic background, on strengthening their solidarity and increasing their vigilance with

regard to the enemy's plans aimed at causing a split and staging subversive acts. We should also be prepared to counter all rebellious forces and foreign aggressors.

"We must care for the ethnic Chinese living in our country and help them stabilize their spiritual and material life; show consistencey and wisdom in pursuing the party and state policy with regard to ethnic Chinese in our country and frustrate all plans and measures designed to exploit the problem of the ethnic Chinese for undermining political security and law and order in Vietnam."

The resolution also stresses the need to use the people's right to be master in their country, to promote the mass movement for efficient work and the use of an economical approach and to improve the cultural and material conditions of the people.

The resolution cites the following tasks:

Expand the movement for strengthening national defense, mobilize the whole people to uphold political security, maintain law and order and public security, be prepared to defend the motherland, strengthen friendship, solidarity and cooperation with other peoples and consolidate and expand the worldwide people's front in support of the Vietnamese people.

The above tasks include the following main points:

1. Give active support to the foreign policy of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, to hold high the banner of national independence and socialism, firmly defend independence and sovereignty and ally with all forces opposing imperialism, old and new colonialism, combat great-power, expansionist hegemony, unwaveringly strengthen and expand the world people's front of solidarity with Vietnam in building and defending our country, give firm support to the government's position on settling the problem of ethnic Chinese in Vietnam in the talks with the Chinese side, back the government's statement of February 5, 1978, on the settlement of the Vietnamo-Kampuchean border issue through negotiations.

2. Invigorate the foreign-policy activity of the Patriotic Front of Vietnam and its constituent public organizations with a view to strengthening our militant solidarity and cooperation with the peoples of fraternal socialist countries, defend and consolidate the great friendship between the peoples of Laos and Vietnam, strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of Southeast Asia, South Asia and countries adhering to nationalist positions; enhance friendship with progressives all over the world; uphold the

just position of the Vietnamese people; invariably defend friendship between the peoples of Vietnam and China and Kampuchea; oppose all attempts to undermine this friendship; and work to win the warm sympathy and support of the peoples of the world.

3. Instill the spirit of proletarian internationalism together with true patriotism and thus encourage our people to meet its international commitments.

The resolution also stresses:

“The present situation demands that the Vietnamese people undertake a new historic task of scaling up socialist construction and at the same time defending the country and its revolutionary gains.

“The Central Committee of the Patriotic Front of Vietnam calls on all our countrymen, on fighters all across the country to strengthen their solidarity, be more vigilant and proceed steadily ahead, overcoming all trials and hardships, and to score outstanding successes in our people’s current revolutionary struggle in defense of the independence and freedom of the homeland, in defense of socialism.”

Vietnamese News Agency

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FROM THE PRESS

A SHORTSIGHTED AND DANGEROUS POLICY

China's ruling clique has been stepping up its country's militarization, seeking to establish economic, scientific and technical ties abroad in order to re-equip its army, carrying on a propaganda campaign against the détente, and calling for an arms race. Forty per cent of the country's state budget is annually spent on military needs, including over \$2 billion on the development of a nuclear-missile potential.

Both the Chinese leaders' home-policy tenets and their activity in the international arena ultimately boil down to an effort to secure implementation of their great-power expansionist plans. Events have shown too well that these plans continue to be a grave threat to the states neighboring on China. One need merely recall China's armed occupation of the Paracel Islands in the South China Sea, its continued occupation of a part of Indian territory, its actual intervention in Burma, its intervention in Vietnam's domestic affairs, China's incendiary role in the Kampuchean-Vietnamese conflict, and so on. One will easily realize that the Peking leaders will have many more opportunities for putting through their hegemonistic schemes if they are able to acquire modern means of warfare. This will pose a direct threat above all to the countries of South and Southeast Asia, which are regarded in Peking as China's sphere of domination.

Peking's aggressiveness and its threat to peace have been growing, and only those who deliberately wear blinkers will fail to see this. Still, we find some political leaders vested with responsibility in some countries who, unfortunately, refuse to see the growing danger and believe that the Peking leaders' statements in diplomatic negotiations about their "peaceableness."

In their efforts to secure military might at any price, Peking's representatives have been on the lookout for modern types of weapons literally everywhere.

Hardly a month passes without another emissary from China visiting the capital of this or that country which is or is not a member of NATO. Whatever the post held by these Chinese visitors — whether

that of Prime Minister or his deputy, Foreign Minister, or Deputy Chief of the General Staff — they all have the same aims; to acquaint themselves with the economy of the country, with samples of military hardware, to study the possibility of buying these or placing their orders with arms plants in this country or in “third countries.”

In Britain, for instance, government circles openly advertise their *Harrier* vertical take-off fighter jet to the Chinese emissaries. One of the purposes of the trip to Peking by Britain's Chief of the Defense Staff Cameron was to make arrangements concerning the sale to China of a large consignment of these planes (as many as 300 according to some sources). In addition to the *Harrier*, British military businessmen have offered the Chinese yet another product, their *Chieftain* tank.

On April 3, the European Economic Community offered China most-favored-nation status. Under the usual circumstances this could be regarded as being entirely normal, but one essential detail leaps to the eye: whereas the EEC has a strict ban on the export of “strategic materials to the communist countries,” the agreement with China, according to a Common Market spokesman, does not provide for any restrictions on the sale of strategic goods to it. The point is that the Peking leaders expect this exemption to help them gain access to arms orders in West European countries.

An attempt is made in the West somehow to justify before public opinion the politicians' benevolent attitude to the requirements of Peking's present leaders. One favorite argument used by Western propaganda media says: China, which is threatened by the Soviet Union, seeks merely to ensure its security with the help of the United States and other Western powers. Those who would like to justify their stand in this way deliberately ignore the militaristic aspects of Peking's foreign and domestic policy, presenting it in a distorted light. They do not notice that in acting in this way they are making a political miscalculation which is fraught with grave consequences, including various consequences for their countries' national interests.

One cannot but draw attention to the fact that the plans to arm China conflict at root with the efforts of the peaceable states to deepen the détente and to end the arms race, and are hostile to the cause of peace. Realization of such plans would accord only with the incendiary moves by the aggressive forces, which seek to help the build-up of the military potential of a country whose leadership has overtly taken the line of aggravating the international situation and stoking up conflicts and wars.

The Peking clique's acts show that it regards the United States and other NATO countries as tactical allies in its fight against the USSR, other countries of the socialist community and the world's revolutionary and national-liberation movements. It is worthwhile to recall in this context these words of Mao Tse-tung: "We must conquer the globe. Our objective is the whole globe, where we shall set up a mighty state." There is every indication that the present Chinese leaders want to inherit these ideas of Mao's.

Peking's policy, aimed against international détente, is a potential danger to the cause of peace and may subsequently turn out to be a threat to the security of all countries which are now supplying or intend to supply China with weapons, making available arms-manufacture technology, and extending economic and scientific ties in this field in the hope of using this "card" against the Soviet Union.

One must note that among the countries planning to make deliveries of military hardware and technology to China are those who signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The unseemly activity of those who in practice encourage Peking's aggressive aspirations contravenes the commitments these countries undertook in accordance with the Final Act, namely: to promote by every means which each of the signatories of the Final Act may deem to be appropriate the creation of an atmosphere of trust and respect among nations.

It is natural to ask this question: how is it possible to square military deliveries to a country which has openly proclaimed a line toward war, and a solution of international problems by force of arms, with observance of the Helsinki understandings and the cause of détente? The Helsinki accords, supplemented and expanded by bilateral and multilateral agreements, treaties on cooperation and friendship, create a reliable material basis for strengthening security in Europe.

Peking, for its part, intends to "participate," one could say, in European affairs in its own way. In the recent period, its leaders have tried most vigorously to involve in the resistance to the international détente more European politicians, and to strengthen ties with the revanchists and all those who act from positions of anti-Sovietism. Another fact also needs to be considered: by means of diverse "Chinese ceremonies," the Peking leaders have actively tried to introduce the crafty method of the so-called "differentiated approach" with respect to the socialist states.

As a rule, the thin thread of this anti-socialist and anti-Soviet policy tends to break. But with fanatical stubbornness the Peking leaders

seek to insinuate themselves wherever these plans are being played up to, in the hope of undermining the ideological and political unity of the socialist-community countries.

An analysis of the Chinese leadership's international policy exposes Peking's true plans, which are to try to cobble together an anti-Soviet alliance, to undermine the unity of the socialist states, and to torpedo the level of détente attained in Europe, which is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

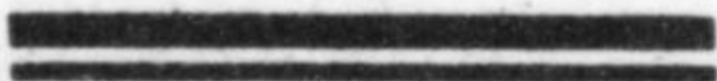
The concern of the peace-loving forces, including those in states neighboring on China, over Peking's activity in the arms race, its persistent efforts to obtain weapons from European countries and the readiness of certain circles in the NATO countries to meet China's orders for weapons and military hardware is shared in the Soviet Union.

As for the Soviet Union, it will resolutely act against China's militaristic and expansionist line. The USSR's repeated statements and its practical acts convincingly testify that our country has time and again proved its profound adherence to peace, and its sincere desire to live in friendship and good-neighborliness with all countries, including China. Nor can any sober-minded person believe that the Chinese people want the Peking leaders to plunge the country into a war. In present-day conditions, war would inflict immense devastation, calamities and mass annihilation of men and women in China itself.

All those who help China to arm are acting in defiance of the peoples' urge for détente and consolidation of peace all over the world.

Those who are now trying to use the marked "Chinese card" as a trump are making a grave miscalculation. They are the kind of leaders whom Leonid Brezhnev warned of in a speech in Minsk: "This is a shortsighted and dangerous policy! Its architects may well come to rue it."

Observer
Pravda, August 24, 1978



LOYALTY, SOLIDARITY, PROPRIETY

Every time the international situation changes, attention is focused on the foreign policy of countries and the questions that arise are: what did they say or do before? What are they likely to do in the new situation? We now face another change in the situation. In the past year or two, the opponents of détente have stepped up their effort to worsen international relations. Many a bourgeois journalist may be said to dissect the home and foreign policy of this or that socialist country so as to draw at will conclusions about their future behavior. Many of their articles reveal the wishes of their authors rather than the real situation in the socialist countries or their position on international issues.

According to a considerable section of the U.S. press Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser to the U.S. President, has lately advanced a tactic of division elaborating on his earlier theoretical works. The principles worked out by Brzezinski, the *Washington Star* writes, make U.S. cooperation with East European countries conditional on their inner political "liberalization" and "independence of the Soviets."

It will be recalled that in the cold war years advocates of the policy "from positions of strength" resorted to more or less uniform political and economic discrimination against the socialist countries. They raised obstacles to the normalization of Hungary's international position and to its admission in the UN. Later, when the balance of forces levelled up and a thaw set in on the international scene, they were compelled to revise their methods and began to treat the socialist countries selectively. They did this to disrupt the socialist countries' unity and dissociate them from their main supporter, the Soviet Union. In other words, they draped the cloak of "selective policy" over an old tactic, trying to divide the fraternal parties of the socialist countries into "liberal" and "conservative" ones, praising some of them while describing others as "dogmatic" and striving to discredit them. They hoped that they would be able by means of praise or through mutually beneficial economic relations to turn us into so many pieces on their chessboard. But these were vain hopes, and they will remain so in the future.

The Hungarian People's Republic carries on a firm, principled Marxist-Leninist foreign policy invariably and realistically taking account of the specific situation, and shows flexibility in putting this policy into practice. It has never been a secret that we are following a

socialist road, belong to the community of socialist countries, and are friends of the Soviet Union and are an active member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and CMEA. No one can divert us from this road, for we are guided by the conviction that the nation's fundamental interests, loyalty to socialist principles, and the common cause of the socialist countries necessitate this road, which also contributes to the overall progress of mankind and to the cause of peace. The Hungarian people have come at the cost of untold suffering to realize with whose assistance and on whose side they have won national independence, liberated themselves from social oppression and succeeded in starting on an ascent which, once a mere hope, has become a palpable reality for the masses.

The imperialists try to use the Maoists' readiness to collaborate with them, to undermine the unity of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of the peoples fighting for their independence, and to aggravate international tensions. The Maoist leaders, while talking big about their condemnation of hegemonistic policies, are exerting pressure on Vietnam in an attempt to make it renounce its Marxist-Leninist policy and its independence. They assail the Soviet Union and Cuba over their internationalist aid to invaded African countries. Peking's policy in the Balkans, too, is prompted by shady goals and by a bid to cause division. Through all this they infringe our fundamental interests.

Our national interests are no different from those of universal progress and, in fact, coincide with them. We are linked with our allies by ideological bonds, a common will to create an identical social system, and the community of national and international interests. This is why loyalty to our socialist allies is an immutable key principle of our foreign policy.

Our firm position in support of world peace and international progress is at the root of our solidarity with the national and revolutionary liberation movements in the developing world. We hold that if the peoples striving for independence and social advance need the assistance of the socialist countries, support from the countries fighting for complete national self-determination and liberation is, in turn, necessary to our struggle.

But we are realists and we consider that the capitalist and socialist social systems will live together and compete for a long time to come. We want to restrict this inevitable competition to the economic and ideological spheres, and we proceed according to rules taking account of the reciprocal interests of peaceful coexistence. We respect these

rules accepted by the governments of the majority of capitalist countries at Hensinki and expect representatives of the other world system to do likewise.

Loyalty to our socialist allies, solidarity with the revolutionary and national-liberation movements and propriety in relations with capitalist countries are the three fundamental and interconnected principles of our foreign policy. These differ in degree of importance, of course, but we disregard none of them. Their inherent unity stems from the fact that in deciding on our place in the worldwide struggle between socialism and capitalism, we must clearly define our attitude to three existing forces: the countries of the socialist community, to which we belong, the developing countries, which are fighting against imperialist, neo-colonial oppression and whose progressive struggle we back, and the capitalist world, with which we are competing and want to maintain proper relations, meaning also the use of opportunities for cooperation where there is a community of interests.

The opponents of international détente, who stand for a change in the balance of forces to the detriment of the socialist community and in favor of aggressive imperialist powers, deliberately misinterpret relations based on partnership. They would like partnership to mean unilateral commitments for the socialist countries, would like these countries to go back on their commitments to their allies, renounce solidarity with the revolutionary, national-liberation movements and make concessions on international issues.

Yet peaceful coexistence requires mutual tact, for this is conducive to reciprocally fruitful cooperation. We want contacts between our country and capitalist countries to serve peace, tranquil international relations, normal links between states and mutual benefit, and they should be based on respect for state frontiers and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Such relations are useful to us but equally useful to the peoples of capitalist countries. This is also recognized by those bourgeois forces which support the policy of détente, for relations based on these principles help strengthen in capitalist countries the position of those who take a realistic view of the balance of forces and are willing to cooperate with the socialist countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence. However, partnership entitles no one to tell us with whom we shall or shall not enter into alliance. Nor can it imply that we must condone attacks and slander against our allies. We fully identify ourselves with our Czechoslovak friends, against whom an intensive slander campaign is being waged.

Devices aimed at dividing us include the "economic weapon." The *Washington Post* has reported that speaking at the West Point military academy, Samuel Huntington, Brzezinski's right-hand man, said in the presence of businessmen, scientists and government officials that the U.S. government should in line with its political and security aims authorize or ban the export of American goods to socialist countries depending on whether or not their attitude to the United States was "right."

There is yet another typical fact worthy of note. Last May the NATO Council decided to increase armaments to an unprecedented extent; another \$80,000m. is to be allocated for the purpose in addition to earlier expenditures. Between 1947 and 1978, the U.S. alone spent \$1,000,000m. on armaments, or twice as much as the cost of its involvement in World War II. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Soviet-American talks on the limitation of strategic offensive arms have slowed down although the draft treaty is in the main ready for signing, with only two or three points left to be settled. This is done in the hope of wresting concessions from the socialist countries.

In the 60 years since socialism came into existence, economic blackmail against the socialist countries has invariably proved to be an ineffective weapon. Credits and trade are mutually beneficial. The socialist countries are prepared to guarantee benefit for the other side as well, but they have no intention of making political concessions, nor will they give in to blackmail.

This has been our policy to date and will be our policy in the future. The bourgeois press may indulge in conjecture but we are firmly following a line which is unaffected by passing factors. Our partners would do well to remember that we will never pose this policy of ours against our loyalty as an ally or against our ideological commitments, for we want to serve, on the basis of mutual benefit, the interests of our country, international progress, peace and normal relations between states.

Nepszabadsag, August 27, 1978

THE GLOBAL STRATEGY OF IMPERIALISM

It is a measure of the complex, dangerous and contradictory period we are in that while the UN Disarmament Assembly discusses how to eliminate the threat of war and how to end the arms race, a handful of enemies of peace and détente work out plans for moving further along the road that leads to war. As we know, the NATO Summit meeting, under the pressure of the Carter Administration, agreed to participate in a new arms race. Under the same pressure the scope of NATO was extended to reach out to Africa. All this was done on the background of an hysterical campaign about an alleged "Soviet threat" and alleged "Soviet expansionism," centered on alleged Soviet and Cuban interference in the affairs of African nations, precisely, at a time when some NATO countries were carrying out real military intervention in Zaire.

The results of the NATO Summit point up the fact that the cold warriors have pushed their way forward and that the Carter-Brzezinski aggressive line has prevailed in Washington, a line which goes contrary to the reduction of international tensions and the policy of détente.

A long-term program was adopted to end in 1993, during which time 80 billion dollars will be spent on modernization and production of new weapons. In line with this each NATO member is to spend at least 3 per cent of its income on arms over the next five years. This in conditions when there is already a stockpile of weapons in existence, especially nuclear ones — enough to wipe out life on earth.

This dangerous decision flows from the main thesis of the NATO Summit that without a clear and massive superiority over the Warsaw Pact countries, the Western democracies cannot guarantee their long-term security. The final communiqué affirms this when it states: "the allies will continue to invest all their resources which are available on the modernization and strengthening of their forces to obtain a level of *acceptable dissuasion*."

Thus the Soviet threat does not turn out to be a threat at all. What the accelerated arms drive is geared to accomplish is not the maintenance of parity but the achievement of military superiority over socialism. What is the purpose of military superiority? To change the balance of forces in the world in favor of imperialism, halt and defeat

the national-liberation movements and weaken the working class and democratic movements in the capitalist world.

Now the whole world can see and compare the positions held by the two opposite social systems.

— The Soviet Union and other socialist states advocate nuclear disarmament leading to total disarmament and are waging a struggle for arms reduction and disarmament.

— The U.S. and its allies, rejecting the Soviet proposals or dragging out discussion on them for many years as at the SALT talks, continue to step up the arms race around the discredited thesis of peace through strength.

The dangers in the present situation are obvious. If the arms race is not halted, political détente, which has been achieved as a consequence of considerable effort, may come to a standstill. If the threat of military confrontation starts to mount again it would create an extremely dangerous situation in the world.

The dangers are added to by the decision of the NATO Summit to extend its scope beyond the North Atlantic and Europe and to interfere in Africa. There are many dangerous implications in directing NATO against Africa, not least of which could be a confrontation of Black versus white with all its disastrous consequences.

Imperialism is striving to get Africans to fight Africans in the same way as it tried to Vietnamize the Vietnam war. It is out to split the unity of the African countries, weaken progressive regimes and play one African country against another. However, what stands as an obstacle in its path are the national and social liberation movements and their alliance with socialism, an alliance it is trying to break. This explains why imperialism is literally frothing at the mouth over Cuba's presence in some countries in Africa, countries to which it had been invited by their governments. This is why U.S. imperialism is seeking some pretext to enforce an economic blockade on Cuba and at the same time undertake more direct intervention in Angola and in Ethiopia. Clearly Zaire is not the last victim of NATO's sinister plan for re-colonization of the African continent. It may be a prelude to a similar intervention to protect the Smith regime in Rhodesia and the Vorster regime in South Africa.

NATO intervention cannot hide the fact that the whole of Africa is in movement against imperialism, colonialism and racism. Despite its efforts and despite Maoist China's role as a front for imperialism, NATO cannot turn back the wheels of history in Africa. Its people will continue the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism

and for peace, freedom, independence and social progress. In this they will continue to receive the support of the USSR and of the world anti-imperialist forces.

In this connection, we have the task of making clear to progressive-minded Canadians, to workers and the trade union movement, to the democratic forces, that there is a fundamental difference between support for national and social liberation which socialism firmly upholds, and interference by imperialism in the internal affairs of other countries with the aim of suppressing the fundamental rights of the people, maintaining imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. Neither the USSR nor Cuba nor any other socialist country pursue expansionist policies in Africa or in any other part of the world. But what are the aims of imperialism?

Imperialism is striving, through its stepped-up neo-colonialist efforts, to acquire controls over raw materials, markets and extend its capital exports. What is involved is a growing struggle within the imperialist camp for a new redistribution of the world. The struggle as we can see, has now entered a new stage on the background of a deepening crisis and sharpened inter-imperialist contradictions and creates within it dangers of new conflicts and wars.

The bellicose actions of NATO while the UN Disarmament Assembly is still in session are not only exercises in cynicism, they are also a mirror of a shift of policy of the U.S. Administration away from one of détente and disarmament toward one of confrontation. The Carter Administration has shifted to the right in foreign policy and is moving away from détente and toward an aggressive course of action in Africa, the Pacific, the Middle East and Europe.

As the Report of the last Central Committee meeting correctly said: "Though détente is gaining in strength, it would be premature to believe that the threat of a world thermonuclear war has passed. It has simply been pushed back. There are still quite influential imperialist circles including the NATO brass hats who would like to push back the positive processes and even reverse the course of world development. This is reflected in the stepped-up arms drive and first of all by the determination of the U.S. Administration to produce and deploy the neutron bomb and other weapons systems. The military-industrial complex and NATO militarists hope that with the help of new types of weapons they can achieve strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community and thereby shift the balance of forces in their favor. While the imperialist forces will not be able to obtain such strategic advantages through an increased

arms race, their policies increasingly endanger world peace." What we said in March holds true today.

To all intents and purposes Carter and Brzezinski have put détente in cold storage.

Why this sharp shift in U.S. policy?

Some observers attribute this shift to the domestic situation in the USA, to growing criticism and dissatisfaction with President Carter's approach to domestic and international questions, and to his effort to show decisiveness on the international front to cover up his inability to cope with domestic problems. This may be so.

But more basic in our view, is the fact that the more reactionary, aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism have come to the conclusion that they are not getting what they expected out of détente. These forces thought détente would be a form of insurance policy against social change, a means of maintaining the status quo, hold up the class struggle and the struggle for national and social liberation. They thought that imperialism, not socialism, would be the main beneficiary from détente. Instead, as we know and can see, détente has favored the struggle for social progress, expanded the anti-imperialist struggle, made possible the achievement of new victories, as for example in Angola and Ethiopia, and stimulated the movements of the working class and democratic forces in the capitalist world. This is a source of imperialism's condemnation of so-called "Soviet expansionism" based on the fact that the Soviet Union and its allies give full support to the struggle of the people for national liberation. Imperialism wants to set conditions for détente, that is, that the socialist countries should respect the status quo and should not support the forces fighting for national and social liberation. The socialist states, of course, would never agree to forego assistance and solidarity support to the peoples struggling for their freedom.

Another factor influencing this shift in policy and the accelerated arms drive in the continuing economic crisis. The continuing economic crisis and sharpened inter-imperialist rivalries among the NATO countries are major factors in the NATO moves spearheaded by the U.S., to put brakes on détente, revive virulent anti-Sovietism and stimulate soaring arms budgets.

U.S. imperialism hopes that an accelerated arms drive will help to overcome some of the contradictions afflicting the imperialist camp, and tie the NATO allies more closely to U.S. imperialism. In order to achieve this aim the U.S. has promised to share defense contracts between all the countries of NATO. This in turn has led to some

concern by monopoly interests in Canada who up to now were among the main partners of the U.S. in arms orders.

The present arms drive is a part of the imperialist effort to force concessions from the Soviet Union and its allies. Imperialism hopes that the arms race will lead to social tensions in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries as they try to keep up with the imperialist arms drive. This, imperialism believes, will lead socialism to accept what President Carter has chosen to call "genuine détente." The Brzezinski-Chinese talks are part of the same game, directed to building up pressure against the Soviet Union and force it to make concessions to imperialism.

It is useful in this connection to examine the recent talks between Brzezinski and the Chinese. Brzezinski went to Peking to use China as a lever against the Soviet Union in international affairs. These talks led to what both sides claim to be recognition of "major converging interests." And what are these "converging interests?" Bilateral relations between China and the USA based on anti-Sovietism, the formation of a U.S.-Chinese bloc against the USSR and other socialist countries. This is part of the "international united front" the Maoists called for against the Soviet Union and the national-liberation struggle waged by the peoples of the African continent.

This attitude of Maoist China in which they see the USSR as the "principal enemy" and the U.S. as the "secondary enemy" with whom to unite against the "principal enemy" is the rationale for the united front with U.S. imperialism, a united front effected mainly on an anti-Soviet basis and directed to break the alliance between socialism and the national-liberation movement.

It may be useful here to note that Teng Hsiao-ping stated recently that he agreed in principle with the U.S. Ambassador to Japan who assessed China as the "Eastern NATO," since China in his words, "ties the Soviets down to the Soviet-Chinese borders." Clearly the Maoists have placed China on the side of imperialism, reaction and colonialism in different parts of the world.

U.S. imperialism believes that it is now possible to correct the strategic balance between the USA and the USSR because of the new weapons systems it has on the drawing board and on the verge of production, as is the case with the neutron bomb, the cruise missile and other like weapons.

However the Soviet Union with its advanced industry and technology is able to meet any challenge. It is able to create any new weapon that may prove necessary. History leaves no doubt on this score.

There is no system of arms which imperialism could develop and use for any length of time as a means of forcing concessions from socialism. Thus, those who seek to interpret the Soviet Union's peace-loving character as weakness are making a dangerous mistake. The Soviet Union's peaceful policy is based on reason and concern for the well-being of all the peoples. When the socialist countries call for action to prevent the developing of a new phase of the arms race it is not fear which impels them, but a sense of responsibility for the whole of mankind.

Imperialism is likewise basing itself on quicksand when it believes that the arms race could undermine socialist stability and socialism itself. The Soviet Union showed throughout its 60 years of existence that it could meet all contingencies and come out stronger and more united than ever. This is also true today. If the people of the world unite their efforts it will still be possible to curb the arms drive and ward off the danger of a new world nuclear war. In short, the return of the cold war is not inevitable, in the same way as war is not fatally inevitable. This is not the 50s but the 70s. The balance of forces continues to shift in favor of peace, democracy, and socialism, thereby undermining the policy of strength and neutralizing the efforts of imperialism to gain unilateral advantages. This is reflected among other things in the growing might of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

This is also reflected in the increasing role the worldwide national-liberation movement has to play in the anti-imperialist struggle, the anti-capitalist orientation of a number of newly-liberated countries, the deepening of the economic and social transformations carried out in these countries, the strengthening of their cooperation with the socialist community, the deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist system.

Alongside the balance of forces shifting in favor of peace and socialism is the fact that the struggle for peace grows in strength all over the world. Moreover the more far-seeing elements within the ruling class continue to pursue a realistic policy. It is these factors which create a sound basis for eliminating situations threatening nuclear war, for halting the arms race, and for reversing the course being pressed for by the cold warriors.

It should be borne in mind that détente was not brought about by the U.S. Administration or by Wall Street. U.S. imperialism was impelled to détente by the changing balance of forces in the world.

In making an estimate of the present situation we must neither

minimize the dangers nor develop pessimistic conclusions. The road to détente and more particularly to military détente, is a difficult and lengthy process. It is made more difficult by the large-scale ideological crusade underway to instill hatred of socialism among the peoples of the world. The aim is to make communism such a dreaded word that the fear of it becomes greater than the desire to take action against the instigators of the arms race. This is what the ideological war the anti-détente forces have unleashed against communism is all about. However, the same processes which compelled imperialism to agree to détente continue to operate. This is why we can say that détente, not cold war, will increasingly dominate the situation.

What conclusions can we draw from the NATO Summit and from the UN Disarmament Assembly which is still on, but which has been completely blacked out by the mass media?

(a) First, that peace remains a priority task and must be waged with all the vigor we are capable of. The entire working class and democratic movement must be won for that fight. We must strive to broaden the fight for peace, détente and disarmament with special continued emphasis on the battle against the neutron bomb production. The so-called "Soviet threat" must be exposed for what it is — a cover-up for rejection of arms reductions on the basis of parity and equality of security, and the achievement instead of military superiority with all its dangerous consequences. It is not only necessary to fight, but to have confidence in the ability of the peoples to stay the hand of imperialism and force it to retreat.

(b) Secondly, bearing in mind the strategy of imperialism directed to suppression of the national-liberation movements, and bearing in mind that a focal point of contradictions is centered on Africa today where the struggle between a policy of re-colonization and of national liberation has become most acute, we must work to help widen solidarity support to the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Ethiopia, South Africa. The struggle to end racism and neo-colonialism in Africa once and for all is not only the objective of these peoples but must be our continued objective also. In concrete terms this means giving daily support to the fighting peoples of these countries. This must be linked to systematic explanation of the difference between acts of aggression and support to national-liberation struggles.

(c) Furthermore, in view of the efforts of U.S. imperialism to isolate Cuba and re-impose an economic blockade on that country, renewed efforts are called for to strengthen the bonds of cooperation

and trade between Canada and Cuba, and the defeat of those reactionary forces in Canada who play U.S. imperialism's game and want to break off relations with Cuba.

(d) The present situation with its threats to peace likewise re-emphasizes the overriding necessity of cooperation and unity of action of all the decisive components of the world revolutionary process — the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union, the national-liberation movements against colonialism and neo-colonialism, and the working class and democratic forces in the capitalist world and in the first place of communist and workers' parties. It is these forces which can stay the hands of imperialism in this period of general and deepening crisis of imperialism. The global strategy of imperialism must be effectively countered by proletarian internationalism, by international solidarity. Anti-Sovietism and anti-communism must be defeated. Anti-communism is a tool of imperialism against the interests of the people. Indeed the defeat of anti-communism is a necessary condition for an effective struggle for freedom and social progress.

(e) Not least the fight for peace must be linked with the struggle for social progress. The contrasts between increased arms expenditures and restraints on social services, the needs of the pensioners and the poor, the contrasts between billions spent for arms and the necessity of an investment policy geared to an expanding peace-time economy and the creation of jobs must be drawn attention to and fought for. The demand should be raised for a 50 per cent reduction in arms expenditures and its application for the above socially useful purposes. This should be combined with the demand that the 3 per cent annual increase in arms expenditures be rejected.

There is no alternative to peaceful coexistence and détente between differing social and economic systems. There is also no alternative to disarmament except the road to nuclear disaster. This is why the battle for peace, détente and disarmament must be waged with renewed vigor in Canada.

William Kashtan

Abridged from *Communist Viewpoint*, Vol. 10, 1978

THE CRISIS OF U.S. CAPITALISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DISARMAMENT

The United States is in a crisis situation. It's not a crisis of over-production or recession. The economy has moved out of the last one, and is getting ready to fall into the next one.

But it is enmeshed in a much deeper, more complicated series of crises, extending over the entire capitalist system, political and military as well as economic.

The central theme is what we call the general crisis of capitalism: the decline, decay, and step-by-step replacement of capitalism by socialism on a world scale.

But what must be listed first, because it is a major factor in all of the others, the central element in the deteriorating condition of life for the American people — is the crisis of militarism.

RECORD MILITARY BUDGET

The military budget for fiscal 1979 goes up another \$10 billion to an all-time high of \$126 billion, with another several billions threatened to be added by Defense Secretary Brown and pro-Pentagon members of Congress.

This present and prospective escalation of the military buildup is one of the main reasons why double-digit inflation has returned. It largely accounts for continued high-level unemployment even at an advanced stage of cyclical economic recovery. Why? The military program maximizes profits, but is low in employment. The modest Transfer Amendment proposal would add a significant net increase in employment for "job creating human resources programs."

The military budget is more than double the deficit in the federal budget. It accounts directly for half the deficit in the balance of payments, which is sending the dollar plummeting.

But the most ominous thing is that it multiplies the danger of war. Every past U.S. military buildup has culminated in a war.

There is rising opposition to the military budget on economic grounds. Some stress the economic harm of militarism. It is shown that there is a lot of waste in the budget, that there is overkill — "we" really have sufficient weaponry.

This argument is valid, but there are also more fundamental reasons for slashing the military budget. The U.S. military is an

instrument of imperialism and aggression. It has nothing to do with the defense of the United States, which is threatened by nobody. Nor is there any principled difficulty in obtaining proportional reductions in the Soviet military budget, in view of the heartfelt desire of the Soviet people and government to reduce their military spending as soon as the threat of aggression from NATO — and now from Maoist China — is reduced.

POLITICAL BASIS OF THE ARMS RACE

Carter states that there now is a “functional equivalent in strategic forces” between the United States and the Soviet Union. The real objective of the U.S. military buildup is to destroy that balance, to create for U.S. imperialism a “first strike” superiority at a higher level of armaments that will multiply the danger of nuclear destruction for the American people as much as for the USSR and many other countries.

There is a weakness in much of the opposition to the military buildup. It either accepts or does not explicitly reject the *political* basis of the arms race. It is most essential to face the truth about this. When we convince the American people that the whole arms race is based on a monstrous lie it will be possible to mobilize the masses necessary to really secure peace and disarmament, and to turn the swords into ploughshares.

A trend among some influential pro-peace forces in the United States, while attacking the hard-liners, is to consider that “both sides are equally to blame.” The Soviet Union and the United States each have their military-industrial complex, they insist. Both sides seek to extend their power and influence everywhere. These groups claim we really are stronger than the Soviet Union, so we do not need quite so many armaments.

This line is not likely to win the majority of the population to fight for peace. How can they decide who is right, those who say the Soviets are stronger, or those who say the United States is stronger? The man in the street’s thinking is apt to be, as between our bastards and theirs, I’d rather support our side. So the charge of parallelism between U.S. and Soviet foreign policy, in addition to being completely without foundation, is likely to be ineffective as well.

Carter’s Lake Forest speech, written for him by the Trilateralist opponent of democracy Samuel Huntington, on instructions from Brzezinski, represented the position of the hard-liners, the cold warriors, the military-industrial complex, the most reactionary circles in

the Carter Administration. The essence of the speech was the elaboration of the Big Lie of the Soviet menace.

— It spread the lie that the Soviet Union is increasing its military defenses “beyond a level necessary for defense.” Why is it “beyond a level necessary for defense” when, by Carter’s own statement, there is equivalence, not superiority, in Soviet military power? What he wants is for the Soviet Union to be weaker, and vulnerable to imperialist blackmail and invasion.

There is the lie that the Soviet Union “uses its military power to intervene in local conflicts with advisers . . . with encouragement for mercenaries from other communist countries, as we can observe today in Africa.”

That’s a triple lie — against the Soviet Union, against Cuba, against all of the peoples of Africa struggling against colonialism and for national independence.

Is it “intervening in local conflicts” to assist a country, at its request, to defend itself from invasion? Far from it. It is carrying out the mandate of the United Nations Charter to come to the assistance of countries defending their independence. It is in accord with the Organization of African Unity, which has adopted the correct policy of respecting existing boundaries.

IMPERIALIST OBJECTIVES

While Carter talked of continued negotiations for arms control, he made it clear that he has no intention of accepting any agreement that will lead to a reduction in armaments. No matter what, he said, the U.S. will continue to strengthen its armed forces. He laid claim to global power and “global responsibilities.” He went from area to area, staking out the claim of U.S. military control. This was among the most brazen claims of rampant imperialism to world domination since the first years after World War II.

Imperialist objectives are set forth with unusual candor in the Military Posture Statement of the United States, by the recently retired Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General George S. Brown:

“The role of resources, particularly energy resources, in foreign policy and national security remains crucial. The oil-rich developing nations exert coordinated control over access to resources vital to the industrial nations. . . .

“The ability of the United States to conduct limited operations virtually anywhere on the globe is unequalled by any other nation. . . .

Middle East oil reserves are important to the United States and indispensable to its allies. . . . The United States has . . . principal objectives in the Middle East . . . to protect access to Middle East oil; to enhance U.S. relations with the key nations of the area; and to limit Soviet influence in the region. . . .

"The African continent warrants attention as an increasingly important economic partner for industrialized nations. Six of the most essential commodities required by modern technological societies are found in southern Africa: chromium, cobalt, industrial diamonds, manganese, platinum group metals, and vanadium. The United States currently depends on this source for a major portion of its industrial requirements. U.S. military interests focus principally on the littoral states of Africa. Of particular concern to defense planning are access to airfield and port facilities and lines of communication through and around Africa."

Moreover, he states as a strategic objective not only to guarantee access to Africa's resources, but "to restrict access to forces inimical to U.S. interests."

In short, while screaming about mythical Soviet bases in Africa, Brown openly demands U.S. bases there in order to monopolize the continent's raw materials.

He speaks approvingly of South Africa strengthening its military forces against the eventuality of "insurgency."

On the question of disarmament, U.S. government spokesmen seem to choke on the very word. They can't get themselves to say it, except in general rhetorical statements of the President. They prefer to talk about "arms control" — rules of the game of the arms race.

True, most of the international agreements during this decade have been arms control agreements, and with important results in limiting the speed and qualitative proliferation of the arms race. Without them the situation would be much more dangerous than it is. But these arms control agreements have not yet halted the growth in the quality and destructiveness of the military stockpile. It's necessary to carry forward the struggle beyond the arms control stage, to force the U.S. government to accept meaningful *disarmament* agreements.

SOVIET PEACE INITIATIVES

Every agreement made in the past 15 years, and there have been a number, has been made at Soviet initiative, with the United States dragged to the table like a forced-sale seller. Every year there are

fresh Soviet initiatives and elaborations and modifications of old ones to try to meet U.S. objections.

These initiatives are usually kept secret from the U.S. public by the government and by the media.

Here are some of the disarmament proposals to the United Nations by the Soviet Union:

1971. To call a world disarmament conference. This year's special disarmament meeting is a delayed result of that, after persistent struggle to overcome U.S. sabotage of it.

1971. Prohibition of bacteriological weapons and their destruction. Adopted. Enforced.

1972. Non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

1972. Prohibition of chemical weapons.

1973. All permanent members of security council to cut military budgets 10 per cent and use part of funds saved to assist developing countries.

1974. Prohibition of use of environment for military purposes.

1975. Prohibit introduction of new weapons or systems of weapons of mass destruction.

1975. Complete and general barring of nuclear weapons tests.

1976. Draft treaty of non-use of force.

1976-7. Agreement not to be first to use nuclear weapons.

1978. Ban neutron bomb.

Most of these have been passed as corresponding resolutions by the United Nations General Assembly by overwhelming majorities. And most are rejected by the United States.

SALT II NEGOTIATIONS

In the negotiations for SALT II the U.S. side has resorted to every device to try to force the Soviet Union to accept a one-sided weakening of its defenses.

This applies to the attempt to wring concessions on the grounds that without them Congress will not ratify a SALT II Treaty. But this device of using the President-Senate two-stage process is a fraud and should be exposed as such. Certainly there are differences within the U.S. ruling class, and within any U.S. administration. But the real fault is that the Carter Administration itself backs into agreements, misinterprets them, slanders its partners in the agreements; fails to make honest propaganda in favor of its agreements.

The U.S. Administration represents big business, which is aggres-

sive and expansionist. And within the Administration there is an ongoing struggle between the most aggressive, adventurist, militarist, rabidly anti-communist circles, and the more sensible capitalists and politicians, who accept the reality that the course of reckless militarism and interventionism may lead them as well as their rivals to destruction. However, the latter group in no way gives up its hostility to socialism and the working class. It will not consistently resist the hard-liners. Thus only powerful mass peace forces can and must tip the balance and turn the Administration onto the course of détente and disarmament.

The press identifies the leading figures of the two groups within the Administration as Zbigniew Brzezinski and Cyrus Vance. The rabid anti-communist whiteguard Polish emigré has had the upper hand within the White House. Presently SALT II negotiations are at a critical stage. The *Miami Herald* reports that Brzezinski opposes it, Vance favors it. Carter leans to Brzezinski. Vance has to stall and make unreasonable demands. If Brzezinski wins, says the paper, it will cost the taxpayers another \$100 billion. It goes without saying that the danger of nuclear war will be multiplied.

Clearly, the position of Vance is preferable to that of Brzezinski. But equally clearly, Vance's group lacks the will, if not the power, to defeat Brzezinski's without great outside pressure.

There is not such ambivalence in the Soviet position on disarmament. The Soviet government represents the working people, who have no interest other than peace, who need peace like air.

For U.S. peace forces, this different position of the Soviet government is a great advantage. But we must use it.

THE MOST VITAL HUMAN RIGHT

What is the role of the left and the communists, in the peace movement? We must enter and build the broadest possible coalitions with other peace groups, we must join many of them, we must on occasion even be in *de facto* alliance with the Vances and Warnkes in the Administration. Our goal has to be to move the entire peace coalition to a more consistent position for real disarmament, for far-reaching détente, made permanent and secure, for increasing cooperation with the socialist countries. And we have to fight for that policy within the peace movement, not to tail ideologically behind the more reasonable Establishment faction.

The Special UN General Assembly on Disarmament was recently concluded. Never before was there such a broad front of the great

majority of the world's countries and peoples supporting serious moves for disarmament. Never before were the far-reaching initiatives of the socialist countries so well received, the eloquent principled statements of Soviet and Cuban representatives, among others, so enthusiastically applauded. And not in many years have so many thousands of peace fighters engaged in militant demonstrations for peace before the U.S. mission to the United Nations.

The recent Harris polls dramatically show that four-fifths of the American people favor détente. Everywhere, progressives should see to it that the people get full information about the issues and the debates at the United Nations disarmament session, and as much as possible mobilize local actions, local publicity, put pressure on the U.S. government to accept real disarmament moves.

By all means, accompany that, and relate it to, solutions to our domestic crisis — with programs to use the \$100 billion a year that can be released from the military for universal medical care, for homes, for mass transit systems, for helping provide the needs of the oppressed masses of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other minority peoples.

We have to give priority to this struggle for peace and disarmament, as it is central to guaranteeing the most vital human right, the right to live.

Victor Perlo

Abridged from *Political Affairs*, July 1978

IN BRIEF

AUSTRIA

A plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party held in Vienna discussed topical domestic-policy issues. The report on the communists' attitude to the government's domestic policy was delivered by CPA Chairman Franz Muhri.

Later at a press conference Franz Muhri emphasized that the Communist Party demands an immediate reform of the tax system. Now is the time to increase the taxation of enterprises and firms belonging to Austrian and foreign capitalists.

BULGARIA

A plenary meeting of the BCP Central Committee, held in Sofia on July 20-21, considered the tasks of accelerating scientific and technical progress in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Primary importance attaches today, says the resolution of the meeting, to the effort to implement the party's policy in science and technology and apply at a fast pace the achievements of scientific and technical progress in all strategic areas.

The task today is, the resolution goes on, to make the utmost and timely use of advanced scientific and technical know-how, above all that of the Soviet Union, and the possibilities of cooperation with other countries in production, science and technology.

COLOMBIA

The CC CPC, meeting in Bogota, analyzed the domestic political situation and current international problems.

The meeting pointed to the deteriorating conditions of the Colombian working people, the growth of unemployment, which has reached the mark of 279,000, and stressed the importance of joint trade union actions in the struggle for better living conditions.

In the international sphere, the meeting noted the successes scored by the peace forces in consolidating détente. They denounced the policy of keying up international tensions pursued by the aggressive NATO alliance and stigmatized the treacherous moves of the Peking leadership which acts at one with the forces of imperialism and reaction on the international scene.

FRG

The German Communist Party vigorously protested against the

anti-constitutional, arbitrary actions in relation to GCP Chairman Herbert Mies and Board members Jupp Angenfort and Martha Buschmann.

It appears that the GCP Chairman and the above-mentioned Board members have been included in a "black list of wanted persons."

The provocative, anti-democratic actions of the authorities "place the GCP Chairman outside the law, identifying him with the terrorists and grossly ignoring his basic rights and freedoms."

Such actions, the document emphasizes, run counter to the FRG Constitution and the Final Act of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation.

GDR

A delegation of the Lebanese Communist Party led by General Secretary Nicolas Chaoui paid a visit to the GDR.

Both parties, a communiqué published here notes, are convinced that to safeguard peace and to reduce the danger of a new world war it is essential to halt the arms race, reduce the existing weapons stockpiles, and to achieve concrete results in the sphere of disarmament and then to move on to general and complete disarmament.

The SUPG and the LCP express their resolve to continue developing relations of friendship with the CPSU and other fraternal parties and to contribute to strengthening the cohesion of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

GREECE

The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party, the first legal CPG Congress since the war, was held in Athens in the middle of May.

Charilaos Florakis, First Secretary of the CC CPG, delivered the report. Congress unanimously approved the main report and the report of the Central Auditing Commission.

The delegates endorsed the political resolution based on the Central Committee report, and some changes in the Program and Rules of the CPG. Congress adopted a number of resolutions on the ideological work of the party, on work in the trade unions, among the farmers, the youth and women's organizations, as well as other documents. Congress elected a new Central Committee and other leading party bodies.

At the plenary session held after the conclusion of the Congress, Charilaos Florakis was re-elected First Secretary of the CC CPG.

ITALY

At a plenary meeting in Rome the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Communist Party discussed the situation in the country and the party's tasks arising therefrom. Speaking at the meeting, CPI General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer noted that the present international situation, punctuated by the deepening economic crisis in the capitalist countries, the continued arms race and the widening gap between the industrialized and the developing countries, was a source of grave concern. There are acute and growing conflicts and persisting seats of tension in various parts of the world, he said. The latest meetings in Bremen and Bonn, Berlinguer pointed out, demonstrated the difficulties confronting the leaders of the Common Market countries and other industrialized capitalist states in tackling unemployment, energy, foreign trade and financial problems.

Speaking about the provocative anti-Soviet campaign launched by the reactionary circles around the alleged violations of human rights in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, Berlinguer said it was the duty of communists and all democrats to "expose and condemn the numerous reactionary dictatorships in various parts of the world, political persecutions and political discrimination practised also in the capitalist countries, including the United States, having various types of representative democracy." We should denounce all attempts, said the CPI General Secretary, aimed at using some of the events in socialist countries to encourage crusades designed to bring us back to the days of the cold war, to reverse the process of détente and torpedo the talks on the urgently needed limitation of the arms race.

Examining the political situation in Italy, Berlinguer described as "a step forward" the creation of the new parliamentary majority which includes the Communist Party for the first time in 30 years. The communists had demanded the formation of a coalition government with the ICP taking part, he recalled, but this was not achieved for a number of reasons, in particular because of the crude pressure from some Western countries, specifically the USA, applied publicly in the form of the notorious White House statement. It was unscrupulous, inadmissible interference, he said.

The General Secretary announced that the next, 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Italy was scheduled for March 1979.

JAPAN

In connection with the Japanese government's decision to renew talks with Peking on concluding a "treaty of peace and friendship," *Akahata*, organ of the CC CPJ, published an article setting forth the CPJ's stand on Japanese-Chinese relations.

It notes, in particular, the impermissibility of subordinating the government's foreign-policy line to any narrow party or factional aims, and stresses the need for the Japanese government to follow during the forthcoming talks an independent diplomatic course responding to the interests of the Japanese people. The article details the impermissibility of Peking's insistence on including in the treaty a clause on "the two countries' joint counteraction to hegemonism," since in the Chinese leaders' interpretation it is designed solely to further their anti-Soviet course, which has nothing in common with the national interests of Japan.

POLAND

A party and government delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic led by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, made an official friendly visit to the Polish People's Republic.

A communiqué issued in Warsaw says that the PUWP and the HSWP will continue to strive for cooperation of the communist and workers' parties on the principles defined by the 1976 Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. Both parties will vigorously come out against any anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaigns, against attempts by the reactionary forces to erode the working-class movement and to set one communist party against another.

PORTUGAL

PCP General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal came out against the country's joining the Common Market. It would signify an economic catastrophe for Portugal, since it is unable to compete with the others. On the political plane, joining the EEC is aimed at the restoration of state-monopoly capitalism, like that which existed before the April 25 revolution, he said.

SOVIET UNION

A delegation of federation secretaries of the French Communist

Party visited the Soviet Union from July 3 to 10 at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The members of the FCP delegation highly assessed the results of the CPSU's activity in developing the economy and culture, steadfastly improving the well-being of the Soviet people, in resolving the nationalities question, ensuring the broad and active participation of the working people in administering the state. The French communists expressed solidarity with the policy of the CPSU aimed at strengthening peace and détente, and friendship between the Soviet and French peoples. They called for the further development of friendly ties and cooperation between the CPSU and the FCP.

TURKEY

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey calls for united action by all the country's democratic forces. Noting that success in the struggle for the basic interests of the Turkish people, against imperialism and the fascist threat can be achieved by setting up a united national democratic front, the Communist Party proposes drafting a joint platform of this front with the participation of all progressive parties, organizations, trade unions, politicians and public figures.

WEST BERLIN

A plenary meeting of the Board of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin was held in West Berlin. The party Chairman, Horst Schmitt, said that the struggle for a lasting peace and protection of the social and democratic rights of the working people were two interrelated tasks now confronting the communists of West Berlin. Therefore consistent effort to accomplish these tasks will be the keynote in the forthcoming election campaign.

Normalization of West Berlin's relations with its socialist environment and strict observance of the quadripartite agreement, he went on, remain the cornerstone of the European détente policy. All attempts to bring the city back to the cold war times would jeopardize European security and détente.

MEETINGS AND TALKS

Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, and Rostislav Ulyanovsky, deputy head of the CC CPSU International Department, met at the CPSU Central

Committee offices with a delegation of the Congolese Party of Labor led by D. Itua, member of the CC CPL.

The head of the CPL delegation handed in a message to CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev from Joachim Yhomby Opango, President of the People's Republic of Congo.

During the meeting the sides exchanged views on the prospects of cooperation between the CPSU and the CPL. Discussing the situation in Africa they underscored the importance of building up the unity of progressive countries in Africa and their alliance with the socialist community in order to rebuff the fresh attempts of imperialist powers to impose a neo-colonialist order there, to weaken the struggle of African peoples for national and social progress, for a liquidation of racism and apartheid, and to undermine anti-imperialist unity in Africa. The talk proceeded in a friendly atmosphere.

Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, and Karen Brutents, deputy head of the CC CPSU International Department, met with a delegation of the Dominican Communist Party headed by its General Secretary Narciso Isa Conde.

The Dominican comrades spoke of their party's struggle for social and economic interests and political rights of the working people, for a genuine independence of their country. The legalization of the party and its emergence in the political arena constituted a major gain for all the Dominican progressive forces, they said. They also stressed that the Soviet Union's spectacular achievements in all spheres offered an inspiring example to the peoples fighting for a better future. The comrades from DCP wished Soviet communists and the whole Soviet people further success in the building of communism for the benefit of peace and progress throughout the world.

The CPSU representatives informed the delegates of the important headway made in implementing the historic tasks set by the 25th Congress of the CPSU and outlined the main trends of the international activities of the CPSU which has been consistently working for peace and détente. As before, the CPSU will be in solidarity with all peoples fighting against imperialism, for their national and social liberation, for democracy and social progress.

Representatives of both parties expressed their desire to strengthen fraternal ties between the CPSU and the DCP and the determination to carry on the struggle against any manifestations of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, to defend the cohesion of the inter-

national communist movement on principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The meeting proceeded in a warm and comradely atmosphere.

Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, and Rostislav Ulyanovsky, deputy head of the CC CPSU International Department, met with a delegation of the South African Communist Party headed by its Chairman Yusuf Dadoo.

The SACP Chairman spoke of the struggle waged by the people of South Africa against the racist regime, of the SACP's efforts to intensify this struggle and consolidate the unity of the national-liberation movement led by the African National Congress. The delegates highly assessed the Leninist policy of the CPSU and expressed warm gratitude for its aid and support to the patriotic forces in South Africa, to the fighters for national independence, social progress and democracy in Africa. They strongly condemned the anti-socialist course of the present Chinese leadership which had joined hands with imperialist reaction.

The CPSU representatives informed the delegation of the Soviet people's achievements in building communism, of the Soviet Union's foreign policy of peace, declared their support for the just struggle of the people of South Africa against the apartheid regime and expressed solidarity with the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress.

The sides noted that the unity of the progressive forces of Africa and their stronger cooperation with existing socialism are acquiring special importance for successfully rebuffing the imperialist policy of aggression and interference, for ensuring the African peoples' sovereign right to a free and independent development.

The talk proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, Ivan Kapitonov, secretary of the CC CPSU, and Vadim Zagladin, alternate member of the CC CPSU and first deputy head of its International Department, met with Armand Magnin, General Secretary of the Swiss Party of Labor, and Jean Vincent, its Honorary Chairman.

The sides exchanged information on the activities of both parties and on topical international issues, stressing, in particular, the need for stepping up the struggle for détente and cooperation, disarmament and peace.

The talk proceeded in a warm and comradely atmosphere.

LETTER FROM THE SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

The Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party considers it its duty in the present international situation to appeal to you through this letter to reconsider the stand taken by the Chinese leadership in relation to the Soviet initiative aimed at normalizing relations between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. This would meet the interests of the Chinese people, the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the whole world, as well as the interests of security and peace in Asia and throughout the world.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet turned to the Standing Committee of the National People's Assembly calling for the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and for a halt to the process of their further deterioration. It also proposed setting forth in a joint statement the principles of relations between the countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and the non-use of force. In our view, this Soviet initiative is dictated by concern for the interests of universal peace, for the interests of the Chinese and Soviet peoples, human progress and the unity of the world communist movement. The Central Committee of our party positively assesses this initiative and sees it as a new contribution to implementing the Leninist policy reaffirmed by the 25th Congress of the CPSU and whose foundations were laid by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Like all patriots and progressives in our country, we deeply regret your negative attitude toward this initiative, your refusal to reply to it and attempts to impose on the USSR certain conditions concerning the frontiers of the Soviet state, the interests of its peoples and the peoples of some other countries.

The patriotic and progressive forces of our country highly assess the enormous efforts exerted by the CPSU and the Soviet government to normalize relations with China both on the state and the party level. They remember well Leonid Brezhnev's words on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution regarding the prospects of developing relations with the PRC and the Communist Party of China. They recall also the practical constructive proposals made by the Soviet government in 1971 and 1973 on concluding a treaty of friendship and cooperation and settling the border issues on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and independence.

In the past period many, including ourselves, have expressed the hope that the past would be forgotten and a new page opened up in relations between China and the countries of the socialist system, thereby creating favorable conditions for the CPC's return to the ranks of the world communist movement. Unfortunately the course that was formulated and is being pursued by the new Chinese leadership is a continuation of the former one.

Such an orientation has ruined all the good hopes and is once again causing concern among the revolutionaries, patriots, progressives and communists of all countries. It has been condemned by many communist parties of the world. Instead of responding to the Soviet proposals, which meet the aspirations of the peoples, the CPC leadership is fanning hostility toward the Soviet Union.

The Syrian communists, just as everyone who thinks like them are rightly perplexed: how can a party like the CPC strike off its past, reject the principled Marxist-Leninist course and replace it by something quite the opposite? How can the CPC follow a line according to which the imperialist circles are China's allies, and its enemy — the first land of socialism? Who can believe that the Soviet Union is opposed to the cause of peace, socialism and national liberation?

It is proper to ask: aren't you forgetting that the present course runs counter to the principles of peaceful coexistence and the Bandung principles, which the CPC helped to formulate? Aren't you forgetting that this line benefits only the imperialists, and especially the U.S. imperialists? Can't you see that your present course favors the reactionaries and capitulators in the ranks of the national movement and the world revolutionary movement? In the Arab countries this line benefits those who have betrayed their country, who have rejected revolution and taken the road of total capitulation, like Sadat and his ilk, for instance.

We hold that you should consider taking another line, which would return to China its former revolutionary glory and once again make it a major force of socialism and peace.

On behalf of the Syrian communists, all patriots and progressives of the country the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party sincerely appeals to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to meet half-way the constructive proposals of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This would meet the interests of the Chinese people, the interests of the socialist-community peoples, the interests of the national-liberation and working-class movement, the interests of peace and socialism throughout the world.

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