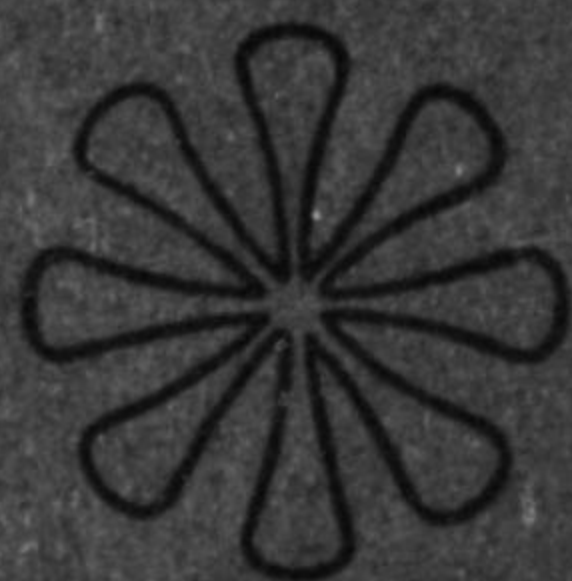


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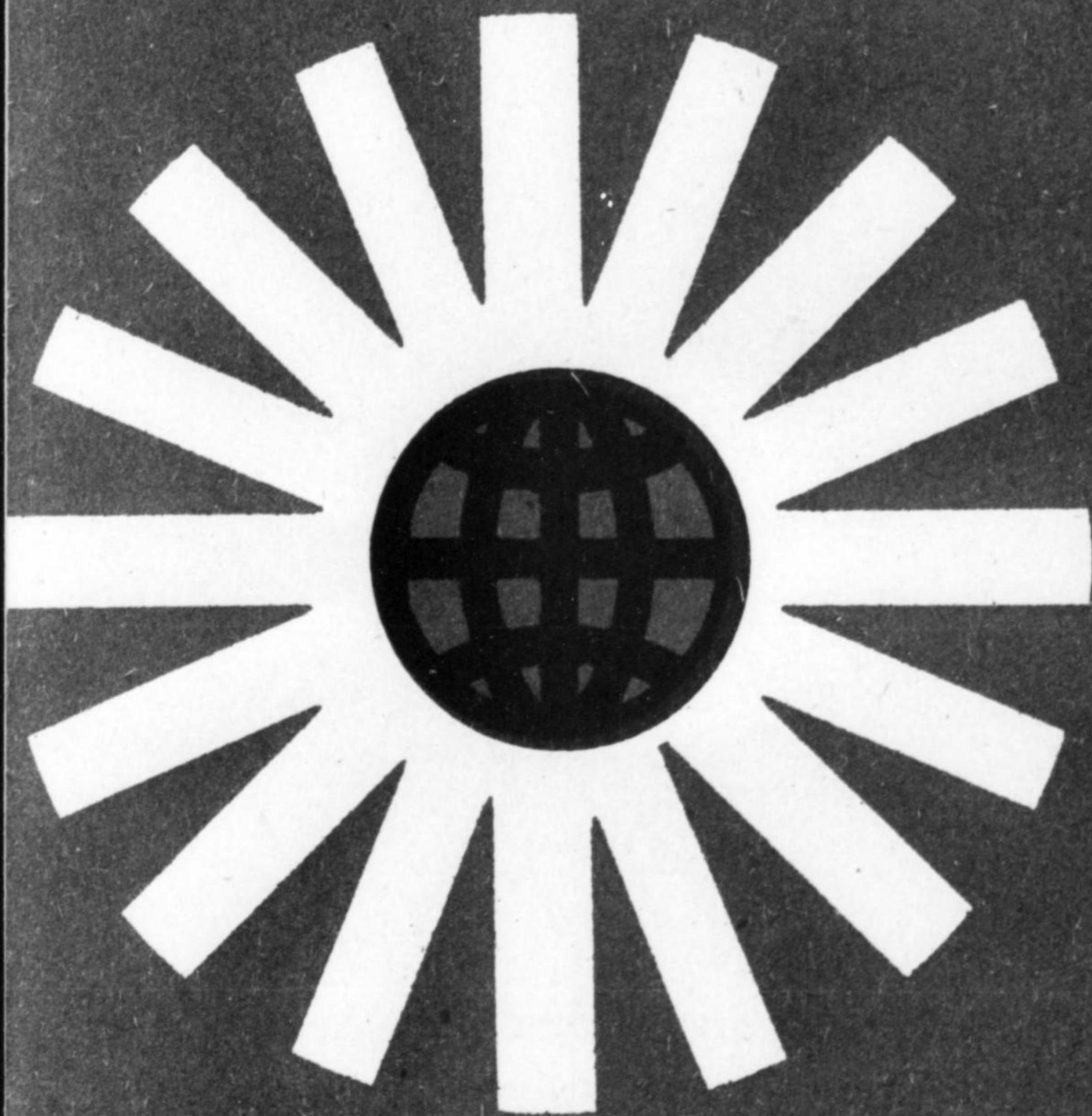


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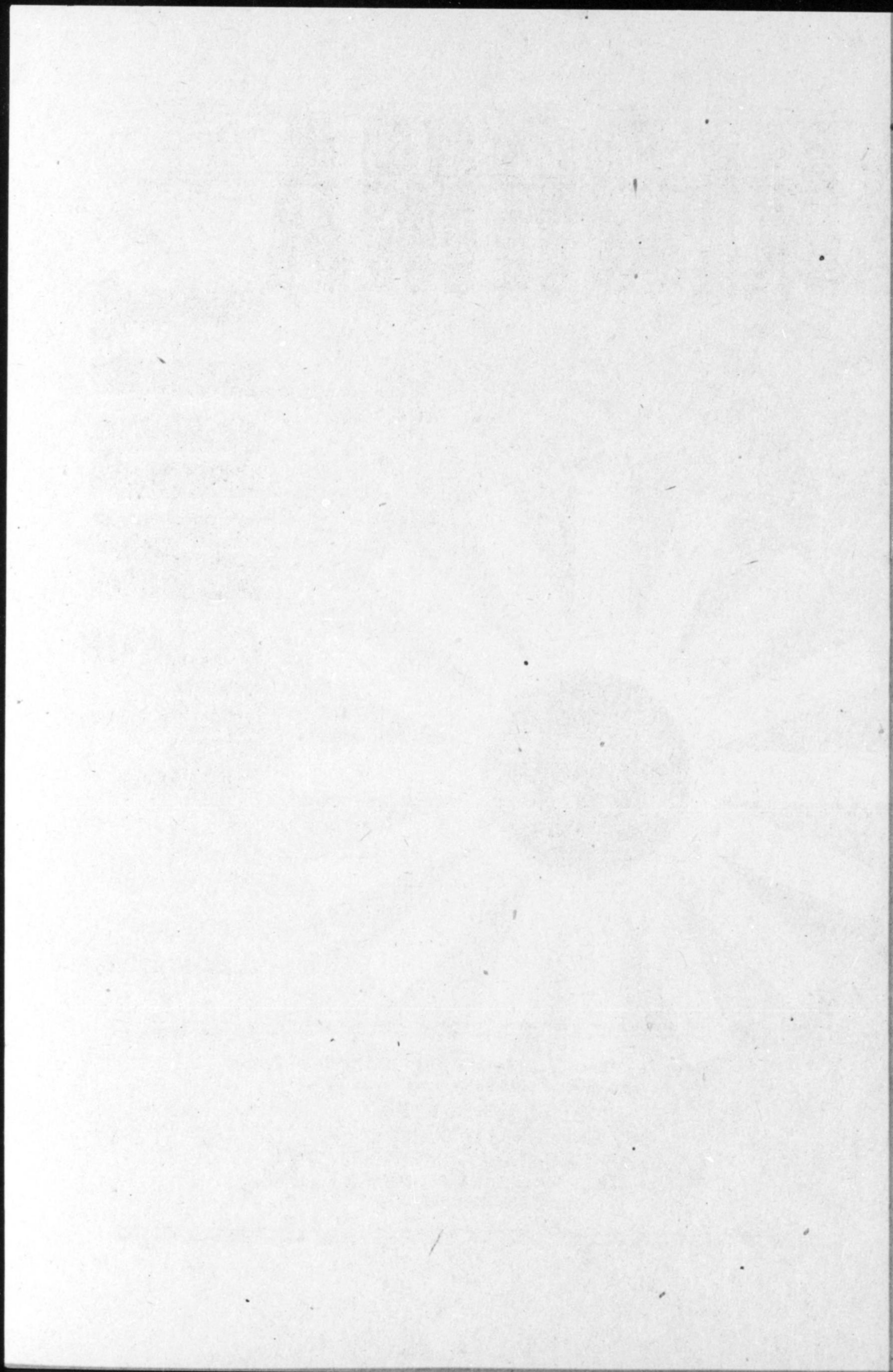
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MIDDLE EAST

SALT II

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PLENUM OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

A plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was held on April 17, 1979.

The plenum examined the questions of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, tenth convocation.

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, made a speech at the plenum.

The Central Committee of the CPSU fully approved the provisions and conclusions on the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the directions of the further improvement of the work of all Soviets of people's deputies, contained in Leonid Brezhnev's speech.

Mikhail Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, also addressed the plenum.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee endorsed the proposals of the CC Political Bureau on the organizational questions of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

THE PEOPLES DEMAND: STOP THE ARMS RACE AND AVERT WAR

From the speech by Boris Ponomaryov at a meeting with a delegation of the U.S. House of Representatives

A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet met with a delegation of the U.S. House of Representatives in the Kremlin on April 19 and 20.

At the meeting Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, said in part that since 1972, that is, ever since personal contacts at the level of state leaders began to play a big role, a good foundation was laid for their successful development. Cardinal importance attached to such documents as

“The Principles of Relations Between the USSR and the USA,” the accord on averting a nuclear war, and others, which for the first time in the history of relations between our two countries formulated their common aim — elimination of the threat of a nuclear war.

There now exists an approximate equality, a parity of strength between the USSR and the USA. This reality served as the starting point at the disarmament talks. Another point of departure at the talks is strict adherence to the principle of equal security and refraining from attempts to acquire unilateral military superiority, whatever the pretext. There can be no progress in the sphere of military détente unless this principle is respected.

Referring to the conclusion of SALT-2, Boris Ponomarev emphasized that the USA needs it just as much as the USSR. They both need it in equal measure. It takes into consideration the basic vital interests of both sides. The conclusion of this important treaty is much nearer now.

However, in the USA a hue and cry has been raised that is designed to thwart the conclusion of the treaty under diverse pretexts. The sole “grounds” for this campaign is the same harping on an alleged “Soviet military threat.” I want to make it absolutely clear: We Soviet people, the Soviet state, do not need war. We consistently advocate peace not because we are weak or do not know how to fight. We are doing so because such is the very substance of our socialist system — the most humane and democratic of systems.

No military threat emanates from the Soviet side. On the contrary, we have advanced many proposals for improving relations and for concluding the most peaceful agreements.

There are persons in the USA who are seeking to use SALT-2 as a lever for exerting pressure on the Soviet Union. There are attempts to “tie up” the problem of limiting strategic armaments with other problems which, though important, have nothing to do with the SALT-2 treaty. The underlying causes of the processes that some in the USA are inclined to see merely as “seats of unrest,” are absolutely clear. The world is changing, masses of people who have been oppressed over the centuries want to become the masters of their own destinies, of their countries. They will no longer put up with an unjust, often quite inhuman order and are rising up in struggle, in forms dictated by the concrete situation.

Our stand is quite simple: let the new progressive regimes, wherever they emerged at the will of the people, themselves determine their development road and the destinies of their countries. No one

has any right to interfere in their affairs. We consider it erroneous and dangerous to link the inevitable national-liberation movements with questions of averting a nuclear war. It should be clear to everyone, Ponomaryov noted, that the thwarting of the SALT-2 accord would lead to a new massive spurt in the nuclear arms race, to a sharp increase of military expenditures and a growing threat of a nuclear war, a threat to the security of our two countries and of the whole world. All humanity is awaiting with hope the conclusion of the SALT-2 accord. And the Soviet Union is doing everything for its speedy conclusion.

Referring to the Vienna talks, Ponomaryov said that the NATO leadership is stubbornly refusing to reach agreement on the principles of equality and equal security of the sides. By imposing on us an absolutely unwarranted discussion on the number of troops of the Warsaw pact, the NATO leaders are apparently out to gain time for speedy rearmament.

Recently the Soviet Union advanced new initiatives which were set forth by Leonid Brezhnev in his election speech on March 2. It includes an important proposal on the conclusion of a kind of non-aggression pact between the participants in the European Conference. In this speech, Leonid Brezhnev also stressed the USSR's readiness to hold talks on the mutual limitation of medium-range weapons in Europe — bearing in mind, of course, the existence of U.S. military bases there.

In the postwar period the Soviet Union has advanced dozens of initiatives on disarmament. At the present time talks are being held: on banning all nuclear weapons tests, on forbidding the creation of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, on banning and liquidating chemical weapons, on banning radiological weapons, on limiting sales of conventional arms and others. If these talks would yield real results, military détente would no longer be a mere wish but would become a fact. The deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet realize the importance of any practical advance in resolving the above-mentioned problems. They urge the U.S. Congress also to exert efforts to achieve practical results.

As for the economic ties between the USSR and the USA, the chief difficulties here stem as before from the U.S. discriminatory legislation in relation to the USSR, as well as the U.S. government's administrative measures and actions prompted by political expediency.

In assessing the Middle East situation, Ponomaryov expressed the

well-known principled stand of the Soviet Union. The separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty served merely to aggravate the situation; it does not meet the objective of a genuine Middle East settlement whose principles are inscribed in the well-known resolutions of the UN Security Council and other international documents. Only a peace based on respect for the vital rights and interests of all the people of the region, including the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to set up their own state, can be called peace in the true sense of the word, and only to it belongs the future.

Then going on to assess the situation in Asia, Ponomaryov said: We have long called attention to the real threat represented by Peking's foreign policy line. The aggression against Vietnam showed that our concern was fully justified. While extending the necessary aid to Vietnam, the Soviet Union displayed a presence of mind and restraint, a high sense of responsibility for the fate of the universal peace.

In principle we consider it quite natural that the United States decided to recognize the PRC. But when we hear statements to the effect that the "common goals," "strategic interests" of the USA and China coincide that is something different. The plans to use China to change the strategic balance of world forces are aimed against the very foundations of peaceful coexistence. The attempts to play the "China card" have prodded China to attack Vietnam. Some in the USA were gladdened by this. But it is very doubtful that there is any cause for rejoicing now. The actions of the Peking leadership have shown that it is using its partners for its own aims and intends to "play its cards" itself, with unpredictable results for the whole world.

To arm China, to encourage its expansionism in these conditions is to jeopardize the destinies of humanity, to ignore the vital interests of one's own people. It is naive to count on China, after it has increased its armaments, obediently taking part in the global strategy of the West and serving its interests.

In conclusion Ponomaryov said: For the first time in history major powers are holding talks in conditions of peace on whether to intensify preparations for war or not to do so, but to adopt a rational stand, to reduce armaments, thereby helping to safeguard peace between themselves and on a world scale. This is, indeed, an unprecedented situation. It is linked with the fact that both great powers possess arms with a colossal destructive power. It is linked also with the understanding of the truly catastrophic consequences for humanity if this weapon is used. And since this is understood, there obviously

also exist real possibilities for not permitting a war to break out. The conclusion to be drawn from this situation can only be one: a constructive approach to all questions linked with armaments, sincerely and consistently to fulfill everything that our and your electors want, what is sought by millions of people throughout the world, to remember one's responsibility to the peoples which are demanding a stop to the arms race and the averting of a war.

Abridged from *Pravda*, April 21, 1979

FINAL MEETING WITH THE AMERICAN CONGRESSMEN

Speaking at the final meeting on April 21, Boris Ponomarev noted: Our talks show that we all agree that at the present moment the key objective is an early conclusion and coming into force of the SALT-2 treaty.

Naturally, solution of the problem of averting war is not limited to the conclusion of the work on SALT-2. And we note with satisfaction that the U.S. Congressmen are just as concerned as we are over the fact that there is no progress at the current talks on other disarmament questions.

We parliamentarians cannot remain unconcerned over the solution of these important and urgent questions and passively await better times. To put an end to the arms race, to begin taking practical disarmament steps "... that is the great task facing today not only governments and not only the people endowed with power," as Leonid Brezhnev put it.

Therefore we stand for broadening the range of the disarmament talks. We propose including in them such questions as stopping the production of all types of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of their stockpiles up to their total liquidation; forbidding for all time the use of nuclear weapons and rejection by all states of the use of force; a stop to the creation of new types of conventional weapons of great destructive power; that the permanent members of the Security Council and countries linked with them by military treaties refrain from expanding their armies and increasing conventional armaments; non-deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of states where they are not deployed now; reduction of military budgets; banning the increasing of troops and armaments on the territories of other states. It is essential to implement the important decision of the UN General

Assembly to convene a world disarmament conference.

For the solution of all the above-mentioned or similar problems many hurdles inherited from the past, including from the cold war, still have to be overcome. But it is clear that the first condition for a real advance consists in not creating new difficulties or setting up additional barriers on the way of the reduction of armaments. And this is where the parliaments should say their weighty word. They can, we believe, use every opportunity for reaching agreement in the sphere of arms reduction. We are convinced that the U.S. House of Representatives has a big and serious role to play in this. It can play a no lesser role in putting a stop to the discriminatory policy in trade and economic relations.

We hope that the visit here of the delegation of U.S. Congressmen, its talks in the various cities across the Soviet Union and here in Moscow will also help to disperse the absolutely unwarranted talk in the West about a "Soviet military threat."

In conclusion, Ponomarev said: The USSR and the USA could through joint effort make a big contribution to ensuring a stable peace and on this basis, to solving the common problems of humanity. On our part there is a hundred per cent readiness to do so. Now it is up to you.

The U.S. Congressmen visited the Lenin Mausoleum on the same day.

Pravda, April 22, 1979

TRIUMPHANT ADVANCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Rude Pravo editorial

April 17, 1969 was a milestone in the history of the Communist Party and people of Czechoslovakia. On that day the CPCz Central Committee met in plenary session to adopt measures to end the crisis in the party and in society and ensure the nation's consolidation. Through the efforts of the Marxist-Leninist forces in the CPCz the conditions were created enabling the plenary meeting to effect

fundamental changes in the party's leadership and policy. Comrade Gustav Husak's election to the highest post in the party leadership ushered in a new stage during which the changes in the alignment of forces in the party acquired a qualitatively new aspect. The results of the April plenary meeting created the decisive prerequisite for finally defeating the rightist, opportunist, and anti-socialist forces and, at the same time, opened up new prospects for our society's socialist development.

The crisis of 1968-1969 was the hardest period in the life of our party and society. Essentially speaking, it was evidence not only of a departure from Marxism-Leninism but also of a direct threat to the vital interests of the people, their power and the gains of socialism. This is a period in which the counter-revolution mounted an offensive to abolish socialism.

The crisis, which in 1968-1969 evolved into a counter-revolutionary threat to our socialist society, had its roots and causes in the preceding years. The situation that led to the crisis was probingly analyzed by the CPCz Central Committee in December 1970 in a document headed "Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and in Society After the 13th Congress of the CPCz." This analysis, which remains in force, showed that in parallel with the novelty and complexity of the tasks, the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia was accompanied by some subjective errors. These were complacency, inconsistent application of the Leninist principles in the life and work of the party, inadequate generalization of the practical experience of the people, disregard of the class approach to social problems, circumvention of stages of development, and violations of the principles of democratic centralism and inner-party democracy.

Relaxation of political and ideological work diminished the efficacy of the struggle against bourgeois ideology, petty-bourgeois tendencies and ideological subversion. The leadership of those days, headed by Antonin Novotny, was unable to generalize the party's experience of the preceding period coherently and adopt the measures in the political and cadres spheres that would have helped to eliminate these shortcomings. Although, on the whole, the resolution of the 13th Congress of the CPCz oriented the party correctly, it was not carried out. This was used by the rightist and revisionist forces. Long before the 13th Congress these forces had been forming an increasingly stronger trend consisting of petty-bourgeois elements and representatives of the defeated bourgeoisie. These people infiltrated the party, chiefly its ideological organs and the media. They were joined by

unstable, vacillating elements and by various "theorists" who had drifted all the way from extreme dogmatism to revisionism.

Further developments showed that the party was ill prepared to counter the concentrated, well-organized and coordinated assault by internal and external revisionist and right-opportunist forces. The rightist forces gradually gained the upper hand. As early as at the January 1968 plenary meeting of the CPCz Central Committee, when Antonin Novotny was relieved of his duties as First Secretary and replaced by Alexander Dubcek, a right, revisionist group took shape in the party itself. On the pretext of rectifying errors this group sought to revise the party's general line, undermine its ideological and organizational principles, demolish our socialist society's political structure and change the nation's foreign policy orientation.

The January 1968 plenary meeting was a vital and essentially correct step. In the report to the 14th CPCz Congress it was stated: "Basically, the results of the January plenary meeting mirrored the striving to resolve the crisis in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and remove from its activity and the work of the leadership everything that was preventing the party from invigorating its work and ensuring society's further development. The results of the plenary meeting and its resolution were welcomed by the majority of the party membership and of the people."

However, while at that plenary meeting the forces devoted to Marxism-Leninism sought an answer to pressing problems, to rectify the shortcomings and errors of the past, and mobilize the entire party for an energetic effort to resolve urgent problems, the right revisionist group, as we have already noted, wanted socialism's total disintegration. The document "Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and in Society After the 13th Congress of the CPCz" assessed the obtaining situation as follows:

"The rightist forces engaged in a meaningful offensive against all the fundamental values and norms of socialism and systematically undermined the party and the entire political system of socialism. Their offensive was facilitated by the fact that Alexander Dubcek, who initially enjoyed the trust of the party and the nation, gradually departed from Marxist-Leninist positions, came under the influence of right-opportunist and anti-socialist forces, and ultimately became their symbol."

The politically heterogeneous, disunited and irresolute party leadership headed by Dubcek proved to be unable to ensure the fulfillment of the decisions of the January plenary meeting, to say

nothing of repulsing the frontal assault by reaction. The rightist groups, who had seized leading positions in the mass media, began to determine the orientation of political development. The "process of rejuvenation" increasingly became a process of disintegration, chaos and disorder, of the nullification of all that our people had achieved under the leadership of the CPCz since February 1948. Public opinion was grossly misled by the fact that the attack on the foundations of socialism was conducted by people with party membership cards in their pockets, by people who styled themselves "true" communists with a lily-white reputation; this aureole was peddled by the mass media. In this situation the people regarded the "process of rejuvenation" as a clash between "progressive" and "conservative" communists, heaping condemnation on the heads of the proponents of socialism. During that period the people were confused by the complex situation and knew very little about the actual plans and actions of the right opportunists, who pursued a hypocritical policy from beginning to the end. It took many more bitter months before they were exposed and their treachery was proved.

During this relatively short period the right-opportunist and anti-socialist forces inflicted unprecedented harm in all areas of our life. Their actions affected the party, the socialist state and its foundations — the economy, ideology, culture, art, foreign policy, in short, everything.

"In August 1968 a dangerous counter-revolutionary situation took shape in Czechoslovakia, and our country was on the brink of a civil war. The question of 'who will beat whom' was placed on the agenda in all seriousness. Either the counter-revolution, supported by international reaction, would complete its evil work or the socialist forces would repulse the counter-revolution and uphold the cause of socialism. . . . The August internationalist action in defense of socialism in Czechoslovakia created a solid foundation for the Czechoslovak communists, who, thanks to this aid, were able to unfold their own political struggle against the counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist and right-opportunist forces and surmount by political means the counter-revolutionary threat to socialism in Czechoslovakia ("Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and in Society After the 13th Congress of the CPCz").

The resolution of the November 1968 plenary meeting of the CPCz Central Committee, which unmasked the role of the anti-socialist forces prior to August and unequivocally characterized right opportunism as the main threat to the party, was of considerable

importance for the further development of the CPCz and of Czechoslovak society. The discussion of this resolution in party organs and locals speeded up political differentiation and enabled honest communists, devoted to Marxism-Leninism, to defend and develop the party's Marxist-Leninist course at party meetings. The rightist forces feared this deepening differentiation and stepped up their actions. The communists grew increasingly aware that resolute measures had to be taken against the actions of the counter-revolutionary forces and ensure further consolidation. They grew increasingly aware that socialist values and the party's Marxist-Leninist character could only be restored if Dubcek and his allies were removed, if steps were taken toward this end. This was a priority task of paramount significance and it was carried out by the April plenary meeting of the CPCz Central Committee, at which Gustav Husak was elected to the highest party post. This became a major factor of the party's return to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and allowed it to head the process of consolidation and prepare the ground for our socialist society's dynamic development.

The fact that precisely Gustav Husak was elected to the highest party post in that extremely difficult period was of immense significance. In the party and in society Gustav Husak was known as one of the leaders of our people's anti-fascist struggle, a principled communist who had throughout his life, under all circumstances, shown his fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and a sincere attitude to and affection for the Soviet Union. First, through his efforts the Marxist-Leninist forces in the CPCz rallied, the party returned to Leninist methods of work, and was able to continue fulfilling its mission as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and leading force of socialist society uniting all genuine patriots and internationalists. Gustav Husak's Leninist style of work, his high prestige, principled approach and tact are seen in the party's activities and in each of its decisions. In his work he draws upon all the positive experience of the party's rich revolutionary past, links current problems to tasks of the future, is in constant contact with the people, understands their problems, and safeguards their interests.

The May plenary meeting, at which the Central Committee adopted a purposeful program for normalizing and stabilizing the situation in our country, is the direct offshoot of the April plenary meeting. This program, known as the realization directive, set the following immediate tasks:

— crush the right-wing forces ideologically and organizationally,

restore the party's unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and demolish all the positions of the anti-socialist forces in society;

- restore and strengthen internationalist links with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and rebuild our party's prestige in the international communist movement;

- enhance the role of the socialist state and strengthen its organs of authority;

- ensure the party's leading role in the National Front and restore the National Front's socialist character;

- halt inflation and ensure the gradual consolidation of the national economy.

For the new party leadership, for hundreds of thousands of communists, and for millions of other citizens devoted to socialism these were days, months and years of exceedingly difficult and responsible work. This was not only a dedicated drive to surmount the effects of the crisis in all aspects of society. It was also a struggle for the minds of the broadest masses of people. People who had for months on end been pressured by right-opportunist demagoguery needed time to understand all the interrelationships and actual intentions of the rightist forces. This understanding came thanks to the principled and tactful policy of the party, which unremittently fought the actual spokesmen of the rightists and enemies of socialism and, at the same time, had the patience and wisdom to let deluded and misguided people gradually realize the magnitude of the danger that right opportunism spelled out for socialism. The policy of differentiation and the policy of unity with the people gradually led to the isolation and defeat of the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces. Also of inestimable significance was the fact that this struggle was conducted by political means.

The whole history of our Communist Party and the entire experience of other communist and workers' parties show that only a Marxist-Leninist party that firmly adheres to the positions of the working class and all other working people, and is guided in its work by the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism is able to carry out its historic role of vanguard and lead society to socialism and communism. As soon as a party retreats from these positions and loosens its Leninist character it loses the ability to perform its leading role, moves away from the masses and commits errors.

Comrade Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee, said at the 14th Party Congress: "The Czechoslovak events of 1968 bore out the Leninist proposition that if it does not

have a principled and firm leadership adhering unreservedly to the positions of Marxism-Leninism, even the numerically largest revolutionary force becomes a fragmented mass incapable of organized actions and may, under certain conditions, suffer defeat when assaulted by counter-revolutionary forces."

Hence the immediate task paving the way to consolidation was to purge the party of right-wing opportunists and other alien elements, to regain the party's Leninist revolutionary character, and unite its ranks on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. To a large extent this was facilitated by talks with party members during the change of party membership cards. The Communist Party expelled right-wing elements who had stooped to treachery and also a segment of passive, unstable members. The party acted firmly and tactfully, distinguishing, as it has always done, between those who were indeed enemies and those who erred, between people deliberately out to prejudice socialism and those who honestly and sincerely looked for ways of actively joining in the building of socialism.

The party cleansed and within a relatively short period reunited its ranks, regaining its revolutionary character, once more becoming a strong link of the international communist movement, recovering its prestige and winning the respect of the fraternal Communist parties of the socialist community and other communist and workers' parties in the international communist movement.

Since the plenary meeting of April 1969 our Communist Party has restored the Leninist methods and style of work: scientific analyses, collective decision-making, democratic centralism, inner-party democracy, and criticism and self-criticism. Our party attaches priority significance to ensuring increasingly closer links with the people, improving its membership base, consolidating its revolutionary nucleus, promoting the ideological education of members and probation members, enhancing its militancy, and consistently implementing its leading role in all areas of our society's life.

The alliance of the working class with the cooperated peasantry, the intelligentsia, and other sections of working people has been restored, deepened and developed. This is seen in the active participation, together with the communists, of non-party people and members of other political parties in the National Front in charting and giving effect to the policy of the CPCz.

We take pride in the fact that the policy our party has been pursuing since April 1969 is inseparably bound to the revolutionary spirit of

February 1948, the results of which the anti-socialist forces were out not only to revise but nullify during the crisis years.

The steady influx of new members to the CPCz, particularly from among workers and young people, is eloquent evidence of the working people's confidence in the party and its leading role. Today the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has over 1,500,000 members and probation members.

The progress achieved by society under the party's leadership is the result of immense efforts, of surmounting problems and removing shortcomings, of the constant encouragement of popular initiative, of the creative development of their skills and abilities. The party headed this complex process and successfully passed a difficult test.

The decisions of the 11th plenary meeting of the CPCz Central Committee in March 1978 and the ideological and political aim of the resolution of the 12th plenary meeting on the exchange of party membership cards are a dependable and important guide to action with the purpose of improving the work of the party, of all its organs and organizations, and each of its members.

The restoration of the leading role of the party and the working class in our society has made it possible to ensure social and legal guarantees and the people's sovereignty over public property. The party's 14th Congress in May 1971 justifiably drew the conclusion that our society was united, that stability had been restored in the national economy, and that the economy was developing dynamically.

The principal conditions of this successful development was that our state and its organs had once more become the instruments of working-class power, that the functions of socialist democracy had been restored, and that the people had once more become the sovereign master of their country.

Political practice was recommitted to the proposition that what meets with the interests and requirements of the broadest masses of the people is democratic and, for that reason, democracy can make no headway without enhancing their social responsibility and direct participation in the fulfillment of state and local tasks.

Precisely the National Front, which along with the communist and other political parties unites important public organizations like the trade unions, the Socialist Youth League, the Women's League and many occupational organizations, is the largest base for the development of our socialist democracy, which guarantees the rights and freedoms of our working people.

However complex the national problem may have been in our

country in the past, particularly in the pre-Munich republic, and however complex it may have been during the crisis period on account of the efforts of the right-wing forces to whip up nationalistic passions and thereby undermine socialist society's unity, we have been able to reinforce socialist principles and consolidate the unity of the peoples of our republic for the attainment of socialist goals.

Our federal system, based on the existence of two nations, Czech and Slovak, has created the conditions for their all-round development and for their consolidation in a single state. Socialist internationalism, which is the fundamental principle of our federation and the factor determining our home and foreign policy, is also the factor uniting our socialist society.

During the crisis period there was a substantial weakening of party and state guidance of the economy, anarchy and disorientation predominated in the national economy, and inflation gathered momentum with all its negative consequences for the internal market and the people's standard of living. Industrial production began dropping toward stagnation, labor productivity diminished, exports decreased and imports grew. Interruptions were observed more and more frequently in economic life and in the supplies to the internal market.

Following the April plenary meeting of the CPCz Central Committee, the party set out to resolve both political and economic problems in the spirit of Lenin's thesis on the interaction between economics and politics. The relevant program in this area was mapped out at the May 1969 plenary meeting of the CC. That meeting's realization directive became the point of departure for determined and consistent efforts to consolidate the national economy.

The immediate economic tasks were formulated in six points:

- restore the party's leading role to its full volume in the national economy from the center to production units;
- reinforce state and economic leadership in all areas, restore the authority of the economic leadership;
- reinforce the role of the state plan in the economy;
- intensify regulation in wages, prices and investments, and enhance the role of the state in foreign trade;
- institute energetic steps to halt negative development and stabilize the national economy;
- critically study the former way of implementing individual phases and components of the economic reform with the purpose of working out the optimal solution.

The consolidation of the undermined national economy and its

further growth were one of the most significant achievements of the party's post-April policy. Planned economic leadership was restored, prices and the internal market were stabilized, plan assignments in production and in the growth of the national income began to be overfulfilled, and the economy began to develop dynamically.

At the CPCz's 14th Congress in 1971 we were able to adopt a scientific program for the building of a developed socialist society. This program was enlarged on by the 15th Congress.

The past ten years have witnessed constructive and dedicated work, which has yielded tangible results. For instance, the output of the chemical industry has more than doubled, and a similar growth has been shown by the engineering industry. In agriculture the crop yield has been growing speedily, and livestock-breeding has been making good headway. There has been a considerable increase in the output of coal and electric power.

The social insurance level and living standard of the people have risen substantially.

The long-standing decline of the birth rate was ended within a few years. The social measures to assist large families, which were taken gradually after the 14th Congress, comprise a large proportion of the social consumption funds. Assistance to large families has risen to 31,500 million crowns from 20,500 million in 1971. This means that in terms of per child families receive a cash allowance of 300 crowns and another 600 crowns from social consumption funds monthly. Through positive economic and social development, with the help of comprehensive social means, we have achieved what seemed inconceivable only a few years ago. For the birth rate level of Czechoslovakia has moved from 15th to third place in Europe.

A new social insurance law came into force in January 1976. Pensions have been increased for approximately three million people, and for the first time in our history we now have a social insurance law covering all agricultural workers.

The medical services have been improved. In 1970 we had one doctor per 432 inhabitants, in 1978 we had one doctor per 337 inhabitants. Unparalleled progress has been made in housing construction. The assignments of the 14th Congress have been considerably surpassed: instead of the planned half million flats we have built 614,000, and another 400,000 during the first three years of the current five-year plan period.

The results that have been achieved must be constantly consolidated and developed. As Gustav Husak said in his closing speech at

the 12th plenary meeting of the Central Committee, "we shall be able to achieve further progress in economic development and in raising the living standard only when we carry out the party's strategic line of enhancing efficiency and quality in all areas of work with greater efficacy and at a faster rate. The more successfully we do this the sooner will we carry out the increasingly more difficult tasks that are facing us in the coming years. It would be a mistake not to see that the tasks are becoming more and more complex. For that reason we should pay more attention to these increasingly more complex conditions and to the effects springing from them."

The April plenary meeting set the double task of waging a determined struggle against right opportunism and revisionism and, at the same time, successfully carrying out the task linked with the exacting requirements of socialist construction.

The party was faced with important tasks precisely in the field of ideology. It had to explain the causes of the deep crisis to the communists and all the citizens of our country, mobilize them to put the party's policy into effect, and wage an unremitting struggle against hostile propaganda, which used the ideological chaos precipitated by the rightists. The party then gradually went over to an offensive in the ideological field, in which it won one battle after another against those who opposed existing socialism under the specious pretext of upholding human rights or with various pseudo-socialist theories.

The party continues to give these questions its unflagging attention in all areas of its work — theory, propaganda and day-to-day political work among the people.

Positive results have sprung from the party's principled and tactful policy in culture and art, which in the 1980s were strongly influenced by right opportunists, revisionists and anti-socialist elements.

The successes in this field are seen not only by the multiform activities of workers in art but also by the appearance of new works of literature, art, music and drama, the subject matter of which reflects the striving to show the life and creative initiatives of the people today.

The growing social activity of our intelligentsia and its sense of responsibility for our society's development are evidence of the correctness of the party's principled and tactful approach and the profundity of its political work among intellectuals.

One of the main aims of the right-opportunist and counter-revolutionary forces was to tear Czechoslovakia away from the socialist community. These forces set their sights on gradually modifying the

foreign policy orientation of our socialist state and, chiefly, on de-vitalizing our friendship and alliance with the USSR, which has been and remains the guarantor of our national existence and state sovereignty. In the long run the rightist forces openly adopted an anti-Soviet posture and deliberately violated our internationalist commitments stemming from Czechoslovakia's membership in the Warsaw Treaty. Under the slogan of safeguarding "its own face," Czechoslovak foreign policy moved step by step toward a rupture of relations with our socialist allies and with fraternal parties.

This was essentially an attempt not only to create a threat to the internal stability, security and sovereignty of our state, but also to revise the results of World War II.

Nothing came of these plans of world anti-communism and internal Czechoslovak reaction. The internationalist assistance of fraternal countries in August 1968 came in the nick of time. It was a decisive step to defend socialism against aggression by world imperialism, which made no secret of its plans to weaken the socialist world community by driving a wedge between individual socialist countries. The determined actions of socialist countries prevented not only bloodshed, which the counter-revolution wanted, but also the appearance of a dangerous flashpoint of international tension.

As further developments proved, the settlement of the crisis situation in Czechoslovakia in accordance with the interests of socialism and internationalism did not, despite the predictions of the rightist forces, complicate the settlement of outstanding international issues. On the contrary, it improved the conditions for progress in settling problems of postwar development in Europe. The policy of détente was gradually translated into life and crowned with the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The April plenary meeting of the CPCz Central Committee created the key prerequisites for restoring our international positions, which had been severely eroded by the counter-revolutionary and anti-socialist elements. The April plenary meeting prevented the rightist forces from giving effect to a policy serving alien interests and ensured a policy consonant with the national and international interests of the Czechoslovak people.

Soon after April 1969 we completely re-established and still further deepened and developed our friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

A large contribution to the promotion of these friendly relations was made by Leonid Brezhnev. Under the leadership of this outstanding communist statesman and true friend of our peoples, the

Soviet communists effectively helped us to surmount the difficulties encountered by us mainly during the initial period after the crisis of 1968-1969. Leonid Brezhnev, who continues to give unflagging attention to the promotion of fraternal relations between our peoples, has personally done much to enable friendly cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union to develop much more intensively than prior to 1968, so that it achieved a qualitatively higher level and extended to all areas. Thanks to this close cooperation, a Czechoslovak citizen, Cosmonaut Vladimir Remek, accomplished a space flight in 1978. Czechoslovakia thus became the third country in the world whose citizen made a journey into space.

The new stage of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations is symbolized by the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed by the leaders of our fraternal countries in Prague in 1970. This treaty mirrors the time-tested experience that support for and the consolidation and protection of the socialist gains won through the heroic efforts and dedicated labor of the people are a common internationalist duty of the socialist countries. Further, it reflects the similarly tested experience that our past achievements and our further advance are closely linked with the first socialist country, with the Soviet Union. Without its assistance we would have been unable to fulfill the immense tasks that socialist development set us. Having gone through the lessons of crisis development in the party and in society, we have firmly made up our minds to safeguard and cherish the sacred behest of the progressive forces of our peoples, namely, friendship and alliance with the USSR which are the guarantee of our national, social and state freedom and confidence.

Our country is an unshakable part of the socialist world community. It enjoys the trust and respect of its friends and the affection of progressives throughout the world. It is a dependable partner of many countries whose social system differs from ours.

The CC plenary meeting of April 17, 1969 is enshrined in the history of our party and society. The victory of the Marxist-Leninist forces over the rightists created the conditions for upholding the vital interests of the people and strengthening socialism. It opened the road to the building of a developed socialist society. Our practice has reaffirmed the experience of the international communist movement that the working class and all other working people can be led to victory only by a strong, ideologically and organizationally united Marxist-Leninist party that creatively develops the scientific theory

of Marxism-Leninism and is guided by the principle of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

This revolutionary militant vanguard was restored by the party's new leadership headed by Comrade Gustav Husak, who ten years ago undertook the difficult and responsible task of taking the party and society out of the crisis and rectifying the errors of the past. This task the Central Committee of our party has fulfilled with honor. In this struggle the entire party, and under its leadership, the whole of our society have successfully passed a stern test.

Abridged from *Rude Pravo*, April 17, 1979

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PROGRESS BOOKS

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PROGRAM OF URGENT MEASURES

*From the Resolution of the 23rd Congress of
the Communist Party of Belgium*

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium was held in Brussels from March 30 to April 1. CPB Chairman Louis Van Geyt delivered the main report.

The resolution adopted by the congress includes a Program of Urgent Measures, which is printed below.

After the concluding session of the congress a plenum of the CPB Central Committee was held to elect the CPB Political Bureau. Louis Van Geyt was re-elected Party Chairman.

The 23rd Congress of the CPB urges joint action of all progressive forces to vigorously rebuff the onslaught of the rightists in all spheres and to lay the foundations for deep-going political changes. The congress holds that coordinated actions should be carried out in four main directions:

- safeguarding jobs and creating new ones;
- protection of purchasing power and defense of social and cultural gains;
- defense and expansion of democracy, for democratic federalism;
- for a democratic and peaceful Europe, for a world without wars.

I. SAFEGUARDING JOBS AND CREATING NEW ONES

1. Introduction of a 36-hour working week no later than January 1, 1980, without intensifying work speeds or reduction in pay and filling the vacancies thus created.

Strict application of legislation on the length of the working day.

2. No closing down of an enterprise, no dismissals should be permitted without a preliminary regional reconversion, and whenever necessary, an enterprise receiving government aid should be sequestered.

3. Utilization of government aid primarily to create jobs.

4. Make it obligatory for capitalist holding companies and owners of other enterprises to reinvest a significant part of their profits in the country's economy.

5. Reorientation of state capital investments in the interests of regional investment societies with the aim of developing a genuine public sector, with due account for regional needs.

6. Assignment of the status of "permanent employee"¹ to workers in public services, which is necessary for the normal functioning of these services to better satisfy the needs of the population.

7. Reduction of the number of pupils in classes and a return to the 36- and 38-hour working week in the system of secondary education.

8. Bigger allocations for housing construction.

9. Assignment of a public status for power and metallurgical enterprises and the principal financial intermediaries.

10. Elaboration of a plan for aiding small and medium enterprises which create jobs and ensure social and trade union rights. This plan should envisage:

- efficient service aid in exports;
- special legislation on matters of taxation and deductions;
- organization of research.

II. PROTECTION OF PURCHASING POWER AND DEFENSE OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL GAINS

1. Rejection of any social pact;² safeguarding of trade union freedoms in negotiations envisaging agreement at various levels.

2. Defense of wages and salaries, increase of the minimal inter-trade wage to 25,000 francs, with corresponding changes in various agreements.

3. Assurance of a minimal income of 18,750 to persons living on social welfare.

4. Energetic measures against tax frauds so as to recover in the shortest period 100 billion francs by ensuring control over the incomes of several thousand persons who concentrate in their hands half of the country's wealth.

5. Full indexing of the tax scale on incomes up to 750,000 francs.

6. Eliminate the combining of incomes of spouses.³

7. Lowering of the purchasing tax on necessities.

8. No taxation on incomes amounting to less than 300,000 francs.

9. Respect for government commitments on financing the system of social security adopted before 1974. Participation of employers in

the budget of social security, using for this purpose part of the profits of the big enterprises.

10. Financing from the national budget of a definite number of medical personnel and adoption of measures for developing the health care system.

11. Development of the social and cultural infrastructure with account for the real needs.

III DEFENSE AND EXPANSION OF DEMOCRACY, FOR DEMOCRATIC FEDERALISM

1. Preservation of Belgium through solidarity and cooperation of the workers and democratic organizations of the three regions and two communes.

2. Holding in the near future of general, direct and proportional elections to the regional and communal councils, which act on the principle of majority and possess their own executive organs, that is, have the necessary requisites for democratic federalism.

3. Enhance the role of elective organs at all levels by:

- defending communal autonomy and communal finances;
- control of the deputies' activities by the electors;
- rejection of the principle of "legislative government."⁴

4. Extension of the rights of the enterprise councils.

5. Systematic use of the positions occupied by representatives of the workers and democratic movement in all state structures in the interests of the struggle against hegemony of the rightist forces.

6. The right of children and the youth to an education enabling each to make their choice, to do responsible work and to be independent.

7. Equality de jure and de facto for women; lift the sanctions on abortion.

8. Support of democratic initiatives from below in the sphere of environmental protection and equipping of territories, support of the activity of residential district committees, etc.

9. The right of immigrant workers to vote and be elected at the level of the commune.

Struggle against xenophobia and racism.

¹ A status guaranteeing against arbitrary dismissal. — *Ed.*

² Agreement between entrepreneurs and trade unions on a nationwide or branch scale. — *Ed.*

³ With reference to taxes. — *Ed.*

⁴ Administration of the country during periods of government crisis, without control on the part of Parliament. — *Ed.*

AGAINST SEPARATE DEALS AND CONSPIRACIES, FOR A JUST AND COMPREHENSIVE PEACE

On March 15, 1979 the 15th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel was held with the participation of the members of the Central Control Commission.

The session was presided over by Yoram Gojansky, member of the Central Committee. Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Party, reported on the political situation. The Central Committee endorsed the report and the summing up and adopted a number of resolutions.

Printed below is the resolution on the separate Israeli-Egyptian agreement.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel states that the separate Israeli-Egyptian agreement under the auspices of the USA does not bring peace nearer but, on the contrary, removes it still further, does not solve the Israeli-Arab conflict but aggravates it still more, does not promise security to the people of Israel and to the Arab peoples but intensifies tension and the danger of war.

The American-Egyptian-Israeli agreement is aimed at legitimatizing the continuation of Israeli occupation of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, for an unlimited period. The plan of the "*administrative autonomy*" for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is nothing but a cover for the continuation of the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories occupied in 1967, except those liable to be returned within a period of three years under limited Egyptian sovereignty.

The separate agreement leaves the fundamental questions of Israeli-Arab conflict unresolved and even complicates it still further. Not only does the separate agreement leave the principal question in the Israeli-Arab conflict — the Palestinian question — unresolved but it is also aimed at the renunciation of the Palestinian people, the negation of their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent state alongside the State of Israel.

Experience proves that it is impossible to achieve peace without respecting the right of the State of Israel to sovereign existence, and that it is also impossible to achieve peace without respecting the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, and first of all their

right to a homeland and to an independent state. Any agreement without and against the Palestinian people and their recognized and sole representative — the Palestine Liberation Organization — hinders the peace efforts, contradicts UN resolutions, justice and political realism and creates a reactionary and dangerous illusion that it is possible to guarantee the security and the future of the Israeli people in the destruction of the Palestinian Arab people.

Since the signing of the Camp David agreements in September 1978, experience has proved that the “*autonomy*” plan is nothing but a deception on the part of the Begin government with the backing of Sadat and Carter. The “*autonomy*” plan allows the carrying out of a wide Israeli colonization of the occupied Palestinian territories. Indeed, since the Camp David agreements and under their auspices, the Begin government carried out broad settlement actions in the West Bank. The area of the land that was expropriated by the Israeli occupation authorities has already reached more than 30 per cent of the area of the West Bank. The policy of brutal oppression pursued against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories was intensified still more.

Henceforth, the “*autonomy*” plan is nothing but a tool designed to negate the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people and perpetuate the Israeli occupation.

Historical experience proves that it is impossible to achieve peace between the oppressor and the oppressed. Therefore, the American-Egyptian-Israeli agreement is nothing but a tripartite conspiracy which is in the interests of both the strategic plans of American imperialism and the Likud government's schemes of territorial expansion and realization of the plan of complete Land of Israel.

The separate Israeli-Egyptian agreement constitutes a part of the American imperialist strategy, which aims at establishing a military bloc in our region, at creating American military bases on the territories of Israel and Egypt, and is directed against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is aimed at turning Israel and Egypt into policemen acting against the national and social liberation movements and against progressive states in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and Africa.

After the defeat which was inflicted upon American imperialism in Iran with the toppling of the shah's despotic regime — the American government decided to speed up the establishment of a new aggressive military bloc which will act in the interests of the American oil and arms tycoons. For the achievement of these aims the United

States intends to supply Israel and Egypt with additional huge quantities of sophisticated arms.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel warns the Israeli people against the grave danger stemming from converting Israel into an American military base, against Begin's approval of signing a mutual military alliance with the United States and the establishment of American naval and air military bases in Haifa, the Negev and other places in Israel.

The implication of the conspiracy is: the widening of the circle of wars in which Israel will have to participate in order to ensure oil for American imperialism and in order to fight in the service of the United States against the progressive and independent states. Our sons will have to serve as cannon fodder for the defense of the interests of American imperialism, Israel will be more isolated among the Arab peoples. Peace and security will be removed from us still further.

The Central Committee points out with concern that the separate Israeli-Egyptian agreement under the auspices of the United States intensifies tension in our region, poisons the atmosphere and is liable to bring about bloody wars.

"Peace" that leads to intensified arms race — is not peace.

"Peace" that leads to further military expenditures and to more dangerous war preparations — is not peace.

The Begin-Ehrlich government has already announced new unprecedented price increases for the most vital consumer goods because of the *"Peace,"* new taxes, cuts in the health and educational services, the cancellation of housing plans that already were severely limited, etc.

The separate Israeli-Egyptian agreement, under the auspices of the United States, was aimed at bypassing the Middle East Peace Conference in Geneva which was to bring about a comprehensive, just and stable peace under the auspices of the United Nations and within the framework of détente in international relations, where the Soviet Union and the United States are to serve as co-chairmen and in which all the parties involved in the conflict — Israel, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon — and the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian Arab People are to participate.

The separate Israeli-Egyptian agreement is aimed at undermining the achievement of a comprehensive and just peace. At a time of the disintegration of imperialist military pacts (CENTO and SEATO) plots are being hatched to establish in our region a new aggressive military pact. This is an adventurist policy that definitely contradicts

the true interests of the Israeli people and the Arab peoples.

The Central Committee points out the opposition of all the Palestinian Arab people, the popular and united opposition of the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to the conspiracy of Carter, Begin and Sadat. No repressive acts will deter the Palestinian Arab people from continuing their just struggle against occupation, for the establishment of their independent state alongside the State of Israel, for just and comprehensive peace.

The dangers to peace in the region and even to world peace, which are implanted in the American-Israeli-Egyptian agreement have aroused concern among world public opinion. Even governments which are considered to be in the Western camp are expressing their suspicions and doubts about and even their opposition to the conspiracy agreement.

Real, just and comprehensive peace is feasible. But it is possible to achieve it only in the framework of détente in international relations on the basis of Soviet-American cooperation, in accordance with the October 1, 1977 joint declaration of the USSR and the USA regarding the Middle East.

Peace is vital for the people of Israel and the Arab peoples. But it is possible to achieve it only on the basis of respect for the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state alongside the sovereign State of Israel, within the boundaries of June 4, 1967 to which Israel has to withdraw.

Experience in our region and in other regions of the world proves that the U.S. imperialist plans against the independence and security of the people are being foiled. The Camp David agreement was a boomerang against American imperialism and its agents in Egypt and Israel. All prospects are available for foiling the aggressive plans of American imperialism against the peoples of the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and Africa, plans that will boomerang against its initiators.

The people of Israel are not interested in aggressive military pacts, in American military bases, in a new destructive armament race nor in new wars but in a comprehensive, just and stable peace.

The tripartite conspiracy prevents the achievement of such a peace. Therefore, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, expressing the true interests of the people of Israel and the real peace aspirations of the Jewish and Arab masses, decides to oppose the tripartite conspiracy of Carter, Sadat and Begin and to struggle for a just and comprehensive peace in the interest of the people of Israel,

the Palestinian people and all the peoples of the region, in the interest of peace and security in the Middle East and the world over.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel calls upon all peace-loving persons and circles with a sense of national responsibility and political realism not to be misled by the tripartite deceptive agreement which removes further the just and comprehensive peace and severely harms the independence of Israel, It is the duty of the peace forces to unite in the struggle for a just and comprehensive peace which is the only guarantee of putting an end to wars and leading our people to safe shores.

Abridged from the *Information Bulletin* of
the Communist Party of Israel, March 20, 1979

THE ONLY RELIABLE INSTRUMENT

Statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP)* on the new amendments to the U.S. Bases Agreement.

The new amendments to the U.S. military Bases Agreement reflect the adjustments in the strategic interests of U.S. imperialism in the region. As before, U.S. military presence in the Philippines serves to create political stability for the financial and economic interests of transnational corporations and to check the advance of the national-liberation movements in Asia. The new element introduced by the amendments is the re-imposition of this military presence under the guise of "Philippine military bases," consistent with the Nixon Doctrine which seeks to "Filipinize" and "Asianize" the regional security system of U.S. imperialism in this part of the world. It is the urgent task of the anti-imperialist movement in the Philippines to expose this new cover-up of U.S. imperialism.

The amendments seek to perpetuate the U.S. military presence under new conditions in which the vast masses of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are rapidly transforming themselves into organized political forces for liberation from neo-colonialist schemes of oppression and exploitation, with the reliable support of the socialist countries. It is the main objective of U.S. imperialism to stop the

* Communist Party of the Philippines. — Ed.

movement of Third World countries toward self-determination and independent development and to retain them within the world capitalist system for neo-colonialist exploitation. The U.S. military presence in the Philippines is intended not only to insure the economic development of the country in the interests of transnational corporations but also to intimidate the Vietnamese people in their socialist construction as well as to preserve the whole ASEAN region as a sphere of economic integration of foreign monopoly capital.

It is in this light that the well-known support of the Chinese leaders to U.S. military presence in the region deserves the condemnation of all progressive and left forces. The PKP strongly condemns the Chinese collusion with U.S. imperialism specifically with respect to the continued presence of U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

The objective interests of the Filipino people have nothing to do with the perpetuation of the U.S. military presence under new disguises. It is deplorable that the position of the Philippine government in the negotiations was never submitted to the people and the people themselves were kept ignorant of the real position of their own government. Deplorable still is the fact that, as the new amendments expressly indicate, the whole transaction is covered by secret arrangements between the U.S. and the Philippine governments.

It should be clear to the Filipino people that their own organized strength is the only reliable instrument for the removal of the U.S. military presence and, together with the peoples of the other ASEAN countries, for the building of an ASEAN security system based on peaceful coexistence of countries of different social systems, on national sovereignty and independence, on self-determination of peoples, free from neo-colonialist interference and military presence of world imperialism.

It is the firm conviction of the PKP that only a united stand of all patriotic and anti-imperialist forces — including those in active military service in the Philippine armed forces — can achieve the removal of U.S. military presence and thereby also remove a major source of imperialist provocations and aggressive actions in the region. This united action can be forged on the basis of the following points.

1. Under the new amendments, the Clark Air Base and the Subic Naval Base have been renamed "Philippine Military Bases," but the U.S. military forces are guaranteed "unhampered military operations."

PKP proposes that these military bases must be genuinely converted into Philippine military bases. This should be achieved by the real actual takeover by the Philippine Armed Forces of control and

operation of all military facilities, equipment, and all forms of weaponry in these bases.

2. The total takeover of these bases should be completed by 1984 when the first comprehensive review of the Bases Agreement, as provided in the new amendments, is scheduled to take place. In that review, the desired position of the Philippine government should be to effect a total takeover of the two bases by the Philippine Armed Forces.

3. The PKP is of the opinion that the Philippine government can take that position only as a result of the most intense struggle to be waged by a broad united front of anti-imperialist forces, in the form of educational campaigns among the vast ranks of the people, in the form of agitation and propaganda and varied forms of mass mobilization and actions. This massive drive should involve the military personnel as well as all levels of civilian government personnel.

4. The united front must press upon the government to take the following position:

(a) that before the total takeover of the bases by the Philippine Armed Forces, or during the period 1979-84, all military operations involving the bases should be subjected to a decision of a Military Commission whose membership should be made up of Philippine and U.S. representatives in equal number, with the Philippine and U.S. Commanders as co-chairmen.

(b) that the Filipino members of the Military Commission must enforce a mandate, namely, that no nuclear weapon of any kind or description should be stored or used in the bases or in any military operations involving the bases;

(c) that in situations where the proposed use of the military bases would create the danger of involving the Philippines in war, the Philippine panel in the Military Commission must submit the question to the *Interim Batasang Pambansa** for decision and must be guided by that decision.

It is the hope of the PKP that all groups and organizations of the working masses as well as those of the youth, professionals and military personnel would consider these points to the best interest of our national independence, of the survival of our people, and of peace and security in the ASEAN region.

Political Bureau Central Committee
Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas
Central Luzon, 1979

* Interim National Assembly. — Ed.

FOR THE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE, FOR DEMOCRACY

*From the Statement of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Bolivia*

The broad movement of the masses, their winning of political initiative, refusal to live in conditions of fascist dictatorship, elaboration and defense of a democratic road of development to counter the maneuvers of the dictatorship and its methods of administration, the emergence of a real alternative of democratic and popular power — all this seriously threatens the domination of the reactionary bourgeoisie and imperialism. In an attempt to adapt themselves to the changed situation, the reactionary forces began hastily reorganizing their ranks and juggling with development “models” in search of a new tactical line. . . .

A characteristic feature of the present political confrontation is the regrouping of the rightist forces, their greater flexibility. While claiming that they are seeking to create conditions for a transfer to a so-called bourgeois-democratic system, they are actually working for a reactionary pro-imperialist dictatorship, for a renovated or touched-up variety of the fascist dictatorship which for seven years now has been defending the same interests.

The social base and composition of the political forces supporting the reactionary draft which they were unable to implement with the aid of the totally defeated fascist dictatorship, has clearly expanded today. But despite the fact that prerequisites have emerged in the country for the establishment of a bourgeois dictatorship, the fascists have not given up saber-rattling in the hope that if the bourgeoisie is defeated they will have an opportunity of seizing power.

This danger is quite real, for it is organically linked with the development model advanced by the bourgeoisie. . . .

On the contrary, the democratic and popular mass movement, which attained its ultimate political expression and scope on July 9, 1978, has since then lost the initiative, is in disarray and has become immobilized. . . .

The evolution of the Popular and Democratic Unity front (UDP) came to a stop owing to the popular masses’ insufficient participation in the day-to-day struggle. As a result the initiative was retaken by the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie. Here are some of the causes which led to this situation:

1. The changes that have taken place in domestic policy as a result of the liquidation of the fascist regime (after the November 24, 1978 coup). The danger of a restoration of the fascist regime has, undoubtedly, lessened, though it cannot be excluded altogether. At the same time the factor uniting the forces of the opposition and inducing the democratic forces and the people to come out in serried ranks, has been weakened. Its original import — struggle against fascism — has lost its strength and acquired another hue.

2. In a situation of an emerging political alternative the differences between the forces grouped in the UDP have intensified. The striving of each of them to strengthen their positions led to attempts of its individual participants to subordinate the front, which at times was objectively detrimental to its unity, structure and methods of waging the struggle. Some hegemonistic tendencies were manifested, particularly during the nomination of the UDP presidential candidate.

3. The role played by Hernan Siles Zuazo, the UDP presidential candidate and President of the front, as an important uniting link at the first stage of the anti-fascist struggle, was gradually reduced to nought. This was the result of the tendencies to adopt decisions on the basis of bilateral agreements inside the front, and not in accordance with the general interests of the UDP.

4. The offensive of the social democrats and Carterism partially attained their goal — the splitting of the UDP.

5. However, the chief cause was that the popular masses which supported the UDP were insufficiently active in its work, in discussing the decisions adopted at the top, behind their backs.

6. The Maoists' outright complicity in the plans of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie.

The new factors that emerged in the correlation of forces brought to light the class interests and precipitated their relative regrouping. As a result, the Maoists turned from indirect allies of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie into direct participants in its plans. . . . Thus Maoism once again clearly demonstrated the direction of its class interests.

7. The armed forces reaffirm their commitments to the country's democratization. They reaffirmed, though hesitantly, their commitments to guarantee the country's democratization, irrespective of the different tendencies and interests within the army. Their support for the government of General Padilla strengthens the real opportunities for developing the democratization process begun on November 24, 1978.

8. The UDP remains the popular-democratic alternative.

In these conditions, the historic gains of the Bolivian people embodied in the UDP remain in force, representing a possible alternative to power, which will win if it proves loyal to the program it advanced, which expresses the interests of the people and democratic forces in the country, that is, an anti-imperialist program of genuine national liberation. It will win if it strengthens its internal structure on the principles of democratism and rejection of hegemonism in relations between its participants, on the basis of mutual respect and fraternity, nominating the candidates of the masses allied in the UDP and creating conditions for a programmatic, structural and electoral unity of the front.

9. The communists urge the Bolivian people to strengthen their victory in the struggle against Pazestenssorism,* for real democratic and national liberation.

The UDP, which was forged in the process of resistance, organized actions and an anti-fascist offensive of the popular masses, embodies the fruit of their struggle, is a step toward winning power by the democratic forces and the peoples, and must be defended. Therefore we urge all the allies in the front, together with whom we are fighting for its improvement and further development (and we hope to fulfill the objectives set by the front), to strengthen the programmatic and structural unity of the UDP. We address this appeal to all political parties and groupings which stand for the fulfillment of this historic, democratic, popular, national-liberation objective.

We appeal to all workers, peasants, students, the intelligentsia, the urban and rural middle sections, small industrialists and tradesmen, employers who come out in defense of the country's interests and its independent development, the military and the carabineros, the clergy who identify themselves with the people, the youth and women — the entire people of Bolivia, to consolidate the gains won in the course of struggle against fascism and as a result of the July 9, 1978 victory. These gains must be consolidated by defeating Pazestenssorism — an alternative advanced by the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie — by ensuring the victory of the popular-democratic forces fighting for genuine national liberation.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Bolivia
La Paz, March 1979

*A political tendency, which supports the candidature of Paz Estenssoro, a stooge of the right-wing reactionary forces and ex-president of the Republic, to the post of President of Bolivia. — Ed.

FROM THE PRESS

PEKING'S HOSTILE ACTION

Statement of the Soviet Government

On April 3, 1979, the government of the People's Republic of China announced that it did not intend to prolong the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance Between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, concluded in 1950, whose 30-year term expires in April 1980, though the Treaty stipulates that it may be prolonged given the consent of both sides. In an attempt to justify this hostile action, the Chinese side resorts to gross fabrications which makes it necessary to recall the true state of affairs.

The Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance Between the USSR and the People's Republic of China was signed at a time when the Chinese people badly needed assistance and support to defend their revolutionary gains and resolve the tasks of economic and cultural construction which confronted them.

Loyal to its internationalist duty and honestly carrying out the commitments arising from the Treaty, the USSR came out firmly and consistently from the very outset on behalf of the interests of the PRC in the world arena, and effectively helped the young People's Republic to rebuff the attempts of the imperialist forces to interfere in its affairs. Soviet military units, sent to the PRC at the latter's request, reliably shielded the country from enemy air raids. The existence of the Soviet-Chinese treaty of 1950 also played a decisive role in preventing direct imperialist aggression against the People's Republic of China in the period of the Korean war of 1950-1953 and also during the so-called "Taiwan crisis" of 1958.

Assistance given in the creation of new and reconstruction of old branches of industry in the People's Republic of China, in prospecting for and extracting minerals, in developing relations in science and culture, and many other things were also a result of the implementation of the 1950 Treaty's provisions and of the cooperation agreements concluded on its basis between the USSR and the PRC in different domains. This is known to the whole world. All this was met with profound gratitude and was highly appreciated by the Chinese side.

The present unilateral action of Peking, which has announced the termination of the Treaty of 1950, does not correspond in the least to its repeated declarations of its readiness to maintain normal interstate relations with the Soviet Union. When in 1971 the Chinese government turned down the Soviet Union's proposal to conclude a treaty on the non-use of force, and the latter's 1973 offer to sign a non-aggression treaty, it said that there was no need for such treaties since there was the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance Between the USSR and the PRC. Now this Treaty, too, is being terminated on the initiative of the Chinese side. All this, combined with other steps by the Chinese leadership, points clearly to the line it steadily pursues to further aggravate and undermine the Soviet-Chinese relations.

The change in Peking's attitude to the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance Between the USSR and the People's Republic of China — from full approval and active reliance on the Treaty to the termination of it — is closely linked with the degeneration of the Chinese leaders' political course which gradually began to be increasingly determined by great-power, hegemonistic aspirations, a contemptuous attitude to other countries and peoples, hostility to everything that leads to the strengthening of peace and international security, and that runs counter to their plans of establishing world domination. China's shameful aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has shown how adventurist the policy of the Peking ruling circles has become, how low they have fallen when they betrayed the interests of socialism.

As to the Soviet Union, its attitude to the Treaty with the PRC of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance has always been clear and consistent. It stems from the principled stand of the USSR in respect to the treaties it has signed and the commitments it has assumed, which it observes without fail.

The strength and effectiveness of the 1950 Soviet-Chinese Treaty lay in the fact that it expressed the unbending will of the two great peoples to live in peace and friendship. And there can be no doubt that Peking's action to terminate this Treaty was taken contrary to the will and interests of the Chinese people.

In the Soviet Union there is invariable profound respect for the Chinese people, for their history and culture.

There are no objective reasons for any estrangement, still less for any confrontation between the peoples of our two countries. No efforts of the opponents of Soviet-Chinese friendship, nor any at-

tempts to erase from people's memory and to cross out everything positive that has been gained during the years of fraternal cooperation between the two countries and to erect a wall of enmity between the peoples of the Soviet Union and China will ever bring them the desired results.

The Soviet side declares that full responsibility for the discontinuation of the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance Between the USSR and the PRC lies with the Chinese side. The Soviet Union will, naturally, draw the proper conclusions from the aforesaid actions of the Chinese side.

Pravda, April 5, 1979

IN DEFIANCE OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China has decided against prolonging the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance concluded between China and the Soviet Union in February 1950.

The treaty, which at the time it was concluded expressed the will of the peoples of both countries to strengthen and develop their unity of action in the interest of socialism and peace and resistance to imperialist aggression, and was a striking symbol of the alliance of victorious socialism with the revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples of the East, that treaty has now been declared "outdated" and "irrelevant" by the present Peking leaders. Moreover, they claim that the commitments under the treaty have been violated "not through Chinese fault" and that the treaty "has long since been existing in name only."

Some provisions of the treaty may well require updating. So why, then, has Peking hastened to end it unilaterally without showing any interest whatsoever in retaining its substance and spirit and without having it duly amended or clarified through a mutually acceptable arrangement based on the principles of cooperation and good-neighborly relations?

True, there have been vast changes in the world during the almost three decades which have passed since the treaty was concluded. The dynamically developing world socialism has beaten off attempts of

the forces of reaction and war to edge it out of the positions it has won. It is with its decisive support that the colonial system of imperialism has collapsed. The international communist and working-class movement has gained notable ground under the influence of the economic and social achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, and the working masses of the capitalist countries have forced their bourgeoisie to make important concessions.

Indeed, these have been vast changes of historic importance, and the 1950 treaty had a considerable role to play in bringing them about at the time when China advanced in step with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

What is true, however, is not that the treaty has become outdated but that China's policy has degenerated. From friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union which Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and other Chinese leaders swore to be forever committed to, from the words of gratitude to the Soviet people, the CPSU and the Soviet state for the immense help and support they had given to China at all the stages of the Chinese revolution, the Peking leaders have eventually backslided into the positions of anti-Sovietism, great-power hegemonism and expansionism, and allied themselves with imperialism and anti-communism.

The treaty played an outstanding role in the formation and development of a young, newly-free nation. Those with short memories who are now doing all they can to muddy the wellspring of friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, would do well to recall some facts of history.

In February 1950, a bare four and a half months after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the newborn republic was in a state of utter economic dislocation consequent upon Japanese aggression and many years of civil wars. A war danger was still staring it in the face. The remnants of Kuomintang troops, entrenched in Taiwan and on coastal islands, and leaning on the colossal assistance of American imperialism, were making inroads into mainland China, blocking the Chinese coastline and intruding into its airspace. Chiang Kai-shek's men were trumpeting their early return to the mainland. The nation was under a threat of direct military invasion with U.S. participation.

The situation China had to face was very tense and extremely dangerous in that period. For this reason, the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union which had played the decisive role in defeating Hitlerite fas-

cism in Europe and Japanese militarism in the Far East was an inestimable internationalist aid to the People's Republic of China. The new China was breaking out of its international isolation; it enjoyed the help and support of the world's first socialist state.

The peoples of the world hailed it as an event of profound historic significance. This was acknowledged not only by the friends but even by the foes of socialism.

The treaty and the economic agreements, which were signed at the same time, laid the groundwork for solving the problems of both peaceful development and defending the young state in the event of imperialist aggression. Two months after the treaty and agreements were concluded Mao Tse-tung, describing their significance, said: "The new Chinese-Soviet treaty and agreements have legally sealed the friendship between the great peoples of China and the Soviet Union and provided us with a reliable ally. They have made easier our work in domestic construction and our joint opposition in the event of imperialist aggression, for the preservation of peace throughout the world." The Chinese leaders' public evaluation of the treaty and agreements in the subsequent years coincided with this assessment of Mao Tse-tung.

The multimillion Chinese people, who saw in the Soviet people a great and trusted friend, expressed a high appreciation of the friendship documents. The Chinese working people knew that Soviet air force divisions that were promptly sent to China at the request of its government cut short the piratic raids by Kuomintang aircraft on the territory of the PRC. In the tense days of the 1950-1953 war in Korea, Soviet air units protected the Chinese airspace against U.S. planes.

The agreements concluded had provided the basis for the development of large-scale economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between our countries. In the first ten years of these economic agreements the Soviet Union helped the PRC to build 200 big industrial projects and to establish industries which had not existed in China before. And the point is not only the extent of that help, but also the fact that the PRC received it at a time when the capitalist countries had established a virtual economic blockade of China.

I should also be recalled that the Soviet people rendered fraternal assistance to the people of China at a difficult time for the USSR, when our country, just out of the most devastating war, was rehabilitating and developing its national economy. This assistance is

vivid proof of the Soviet people's sincere and friendly attitude to the Chinese people.

The treaty and agreements, which met the mutual interests of both our countries, were therefore of great importance in ensuring the security of China and its rapid economic and cultural development. The report by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Eighth All-China Congress of the party, held in September 1956, said: "The facts of past years show that the great alliance of China and the Soviet Union is a major bulwark of peace in the Far East and the whole world. The Soviet Union rendered tremendous help to socialist construction in this country." The task which was set before the party and people of China was further to consolidate and promote unity and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. "Further to strengthen and advance this unity and friendship," said the report of the CPC Central Committee, "is our supreme internationalist duty and the foundation of the foreign policy of our country."

But after the Eighth Congress of the CPC the Mao group made a precipitous turn in both domestic and foreign policy, revealing its anti-socialist, anti-popular essence. Within the country it subjected millions of communists and working people of China to unprecedented repression with the aim of establishing a military-bureaucratic dictatorship. In their foreign policy the Maoists veered sharply from the joint struggle for peace and security, against the threat of a new world war together with the USSR and the other socialist states and openly embarked on the path of great-power chauvinism and hegemonism, of territorial claims on neighbor states; they have taken the path of hostility toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The ultimate expression of the Peking leadership's anti-socialist degeneration was its recent aggression against Vietnam. There are clear signs also of China's reorientation toward the West, toward the establishment of closer ties with the capitalist states. Peking today seeks not only economically, but also militarily to gang up, on the basis of anti-Sovietism, with imperialism and the supporters of reaction and war.

The present Peking leaders see in the Chinese-Soviet treaty an obstacle to their plans of knocking together a "broad united front" for struggle against world socialism. Their attacks on the Soviet-Chinese treaty have particularly intensified with the appearance of evident signs of China's rapprochement with Japan and the USA.

Speaking of the prospects of the Chinese revolution, Mao Tse-tung

once said: "If not an alliance with Russia, if not an alliance with the socialist states, then necessarily an alliance with the imperialists." It is the second variant that the leaders of Peking have now chosen. They have thus finally exposed themselves, occupying a place in the camp of world reaction. By tearing up the historic Soviet-Chinese treaty, they have betrayed the ideals of the revolution, peace and socialism, for which the millions of Chinese working people had waged a prolonged struggle.

The Soviet Union's attitude to the Treaty has always been clear and consistent. It stems from its fundamental stand of unfailing respect for the treaties it concludes and the commitments it assumes.

"In the Soviet Union," the Statement of the Soviet government says, "there is invariable profound respect for the Chinese people, for their history and culture. There are no objective reasons for any estrangement, still less for any confrontation between the peoples of our two countries. No efforts of the opponents of Soviet-Chinese friendship, nor any attempts to erase from the people's memory and to cross out everything positive that has been gained during the years of fraternal cooperation between the two countries and to erect a wall of enmity between the peoples of the Soviet Union and China will ever bring them the desired results."

The Soviet Union has put forward many proposals aimed at arresting the deterioration of Soviet-Chinese relations and to put these relations on the rails of good-neighborliness and peaceful coexistence. In 1971, for example, Peking turned down the Soviet proposal to conclude a treaty renouncing the use of force, and in 1973 — the proposal to sign a non-aggression treaty. In rejecting them, the Chinese government argued that there was no need for such important documents of state-to-state relations because, they said, our two countries already had the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance.

In February 1978, on the eve of a session of the National People's Congress of China, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet sent a message to its Standing Committee in which the Supreme Soviet, expressing the will and aspirations of the Soviet people, restated its willingness to put an end to the abnormal situation in relations between our two countries and to stop the dangerous process of their further aggravation which could lead to serious adverse consequences for our two countries and peoples and for the destinies of peace in the Far East and the rest of the world. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet offered to issue a joint Declaration of Principles to

govern mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and to have representatives of the two sides meet to discuss the matter. Yet this initiative of the Soviet Union was also rejected.

The facts are that the leaders of China had long been conducting active preparations for their latest act of hostility against the USSR in defiance of the interests of the Chinese people and the interests of peace and socialism.

"The Soviet side declares that full responsibility for the discontinuation of the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance Between the USSR and the PRC lies with the Chinese side. The Soviet Union will, naturally, draw the proper conclusions from the aforesaid actions of the Chinese side," the Statement of the Soviet government says.

The position of principle maintained by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government is unanimously supported by the entire Soviet people.

I. Alexandrov
Pravda, April 7, 1979

THE REAL AIM OF ANTI-SOVIETISM

All communists living in capitalist countries have to come to terms with the problem of anti-Sovietism. We are often called upon to explain our support for the Soviet Union and asked why we insist on defending it against its detractors. The same situation exists, although to a lesser extent, regarding our stand vis-à-vis the other socialist countries.

Such questioning may come from anti-communists whose only interest lies in red-baiting; but of more concern to us is the fact that it may also come from people who are more favorably disposed toward the communist movement. This latter group contains people who may support our policies regarding internal Canadian politics, but who cannot see the connection between these policies and our external policies and relations. They sometimes claim that our support for the Soviet Union is hindering us in our efforts to convince Canadians of the virtues of our policies, and is thus stunting the growth of our party and making it difficult to form united fronts with important sections of the labor movement. Furthermore, it is sometimes claimed that our

fight against anti-Sovietism is unnecessary because the Soviet Union is a large and powerful country which can "stand on its own feet." Thus, it is alleged, our support for the Soviet Union is something which harms the struggle for socialism in Canada without doing anything particularly important for socialism on an international level.

These arguments may at times seem quite persuasive. Indeed many communists must have been swayed at least to some extent by such reasoning at one time or another. In recent years, in fact, these and similar ideas have proved to be so appealing that some communist parties have been affected by them.

The appeal of such arguments is less due to fundamental soundness than it is due to the pressure of the anti-Soviet propaganda under which all people (including communists) in the imperialist countries are forced to live. This constant anti-Soviet bombardment does tend to tempt us to accommodate ourselves to it. A closer examination of the content and consequences of anti-Sovietism, however, should persuade us of the folly of such accommodation to pressure emanating from the media of our class enemy.

Of course, it is quite true that anti-Sovietism *does* have an adverse effect on the struggle against capitalism. It is a weapon used by the bourgeoisie and it is not without effect. There are good reasons why we should not yield to it but should instead fight it.

There are two major reasons why we should devote time and energy to exposing anti-Soviet falsehoods which are spread by the capitalist media, and to publicizing the achievements of the socialist world and especially the Soviet Union (which is of course the country which is the major object of attack in the media).

The first reason is quite simple. It is necessary to fight falsehood and to present the truth. It follows, therefore, that while we should not (and, in fact, do not) seek to present an idealized picture of the socialist world, we must strive to publicize the fact that socialism has solved problems that the capitalist system is completely incapable of solving for any sustained length of time. Examples of such problems are unemployment, inflation, poverty, racism and high crime rates. We should also strive to expose the myth about the lack of human rights (both individual and collective) in the Soviet Union, and to show that the *quality* of Soviet life is superior to that in the "affluent" West — even though the *average* per capita income is still somewhat lower than in Canada, the United States, and some western European countries. We should stress the fact that Soviet citizens enjoy *more* human rights than Canadians, Americans or any other "westerners."

These include such fundamental rights as the right to a job, to adequate and inexpensive housing, to free education at all levels, to free medical and dental care (including free pharmaceuticals), and most importantly, to a meaningful input into the making of political and economic decisions.

The intermittent campaigns on behalf of "dissidents" should also be exposed for what they are — hypocritical attempts by imperialism to slander the Soviet Union and the socialist system. The fact that these attempts are partially successful (even among certain sectors of the communist movement) does not make them any more valid and should not deter us from trying to expose them.

The second major reason for combating anti-Sovietism is just as (if not more) important than the first. Among the major victims of anti-Sovietism are the working-class and democratic movements in the developed capitalist countries, including Canada. Anti-Soviet propaganda serves the purposes of capitalists (and especially monopoly capitalists) in their constant efforts to weaken the working class in their own countries and to make larger and larger profits. Anti-Sovietism is also used as a weapon against the socialist world itself and the national-liberation movements in the developing countries, but we will concentrate in this article on its effect on the developed capitalist countries and particularly on Canada.

One of the major components of anti-Soviet propaganda is the constant reference to the so-called "Soviet threat." We are constantly being told that the Soviet Union is arming itself to the teeth with the intention of launching an attack on the Western world. These assertions, which are based on lies, half-truths, and dubiously arrived at figures, serve the purpose of creating the atmosphere that the war-hawks and bosses of the military-industrial complex need in order to keep the military budget rising.

Evidence of this is found in George F. Kennan's book, *The Cloud of Danger*. Kennan was one of Washington's leading experts on Soviet affairs during the immediate postwar period and still is no friend of the Soviet Union. In discussing United States estimates of Soviet military strength he states:

"It would be naive . . . to pretend that military establishments, in putting out for public and legislative use such figures of another power's strength, are not moved, subconsciously or otherwise, by the reflection that the more frightening the figures appear the greater will be the chances for an authorized increase in their own arsenals. . . . Such figures, often representing, as they do, only informed guesses or

vague general estimates in the first place, are usually no more than approximate, and tend to reflect a certain bias in favor of the inflation of the strength of any possible opponent."

Even at a time of "restraint" when all levels of government are cutting back expenditures on social services, housing, public service jobs, and so on, the expenditure on armaments keeps increasing. Thus resources are being diverted away from the satisfaction of the needs of the people and toward satisfying the greed of the large corporations which make super-profits from military contracts. And to make matters worse, the money that is spent on armaments creates only about half as many jobs as money spent on public services.

Scare-stories about the "Soviet threat" also create an international atmosphere which is unfavorable to détente and thus harm moves toward arms limitation and disarmament. Incidentally, the recent rash of sensationalist stories about Soviet dissidents and the alleged lack of human rights in the Soviet Union also help to create international tension and to convince the public that the "hawks" are correct in their attitude to the Soviet Union. This too has its effects on arms limitation and disarmament talks. It is thus clear that anti-Sovietism tends to create a situation where the danger of world annihilation is increased.

While the anti-Sovietes make phony allegations about Soviet human rights violations, the irrational fear of the Soviet Union that has been built up is used as a smoke screen to hide real human rights violations in the imperialist countries. An example of this was the sudden "discovery" and expulsion of 13 Soviet "spies" (that is, diplomats) in March, 1978. These expulsions, made on rather dubious evidence, came at a time when investigations of the RCMP* were beginning to reveal that the Mounties had been involved in all kinds of illegal and undemocratic activities. These included wire-tapping, mail opening, burglary, arson and harassment of democratic organizations. The "spy" discoveries were presented as an exoneration of the RCMP who were now put forward as patriotic protectors of our national security.

While this whole business did not get the Mounties off the hook entirely, it did serve to take pressure off them (and off the government). It also helped create the atmosphere that the government needed to legalize previously illegal RCMP activities — such as mail opening. So, in the interests of protecting Canadians against Soviet

*Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Besides maintaining public order it is in charge of "national security." There is a special department for this. — Ed.

“spies,” the RCMP is given a virtual *carte blanche* to spy on private individuals and democratic organizations. Our concrete human right to privacy and freedom from police harassment is usurped under the guise of protecting some abstract “democratic way of life.”

The vast majority of Canadian workers also never get to know about the high labor safety standards, subsidized vacations, recreational facilities, and worker participation in managing production that are enjoyed by workers in Soviet enterprises. Thus anti-Sovietism is robbing workers of one of their potentially strongest weapons — the example of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as proof of what is possible in the work place and in the economy generally.

The successful solution of the national question in the Soviet Union is another fact that is obscured by anti-Soviet propaganda. This, of course, also serves to hide from Canadians the fact that the problems of national oppression and racial discrimination can be solved and in fact have been solved under socialism. Even a cursory examination of the differences in the ways of life of the indigenous peoples of Canada and of Soviet Siberia will bear this out.

Thus, anti-Sovietism is a weapon that the bourgeoisie uses to weaken the working class and democratic forces in the imperialist countries, including Canada. It is used to try to divide them from the world anti-imperialist movement which includes the socialist countries and the national-liberation movements in the developing countries.

From the above, we can see that it is anti-Sovietism and not support of the Soviet Union that is hindering the struggle for socialism. Anti-Sovietism is a form of anti-communism. It is used by the bourgeoisie as a multi-faceted weapon against the working people of Canada: to justify huge expenditures of arms while cutting back in social spending; to focus attention on spurious human rights campaigns while undercutting democracy at home; to hide from Canadians the kinds of achievements that have been realized under socialism; to cause division among progressive forces. To the extent that anti-Soviet propaganda can be weakened, working-class and democratic movements will be correspondingly strengthened. Therefore the fight against anti-Sovietism is directly linked to the advance of democracy and socialism in Canada.

B. Norman

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SALT II AND BEYOND

Gus Hall

General Secretary, Communist Party USA

To be fully understood, SALT II must be seen in the right perspective.

On the scales of history, SALT II can make the difference between life and death on our planet.

SALT II would do several things:

1. It would place a cap on some of the systems of nuclear armaments.
2. It would establish ground rules for an orderly mutual reduction of nuclear stockpiles.
3. It would retain the necessary strategic nuclear parity between the Soviet Union and the United States.

However, SALT II must be seen not just by itself, but as part of a larger process. The signing of SALT II would open the way for strengthening détente, for further agreements, for putting further caps on the arms race and moving toward further, bigger reductions in the weapons stockpiles, for strengthening the barriers to the outbreak of nuclear catastrophe.

On the other hand, failure to sign SALT II would be not just giving up all these things, not just standing still, but strengthening a process that works the other way. A big dose of poison would be injected into U.S.-Soviet relations. Détente would be weakened, perhaps fatally. The arms race would not just continue, but would be accelerated. A continuation of an unchecked arms race, to say nothing of an accelerated arms race, would be the height of danger.

An uncontrolled nuclear arms race contains within it a very strong possibility of an explosion that would turn this earth into a lifeless, dead planet.

An unchecked, accelerated arms race would by itself work to destabilize relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The present strategic nuclear parity between the two countries is a stabilizing factor. The more clear and certain it is that the two sides are militarily equal, that the very notion of nuclear superiority is now meaningless, the more clear, strong and widespread will be the idea that a nuclear war is unthinkable, that there is now no alternative to peaceful coexistence.

But an unchecked arms race would fuel the hopes of those in the imperialist camp — like Zbigniew Brzezinski, Henry Jackson and others — of regaining the strategic nuclear superiority the United States once had. These elements want nuclear superiority to use it — to use it offensively. At the very least, they want to use nuclear superiority to try to overawe the Soviet Union so U.S. imperialism can have greater freedom to intervene in places like Angola, Ethiopia and Iran where the people fighting for their freedom have been inflicting defeat after defeat on it.

Some of them would go even further. They are unreconciled to the existence of socialism anywhere, including in the Soviet Union, and even at this late date are still dreaming of wiping this socialism out. It is obvious that strengthening the hand of these elements is dangerous because they keep pushing for actions that could easily lead to a nuclear war.

The claim that SALT II would damage the security of the U.S. is an absolute falsehood. It would enhance that security, it is essential to it. The whole history of the arms race shows this. The U.S. started the arms race. It has repeatedly taken actions which have added to the momentum of the arms race. A U.S. defense analyst has calculated that the U.S. has initiated the development of 25 major weapons systems during the postwar period, and the Soviet Union only two. And what has been the end result? Not more security, but much less.

On the basis of phony, trumped up, lying claims that the United States was behind the Soviet Union — that there was first a “bomber gap,” then a “missile gap,” etc. — the Pentagon and the arms monopolies have promoted the development of one new weapons system after another. But these weapons have a destabilizing effect and therefore bring less security. They cannot bring more security because they increase the danger of war, while true security means peace.

It is absolutely necessary to end the arms race. The bigger the steps we take toward this goal, the better, of course. But it would be a serious mistake to insist on an all-or-nothing approach. All steps are useful.

Some people don't see this. They look, for example, at SALT I, signed in 1972, and ask what good is it, we still have an arms race? It is true we still have an arms race. But this is far from meaning that SALT I didn't accomplish anything. It has great achievements to its credit. For example, SALT I banned anti-ballistic missile systems. This removes one big destabilizing factor from the arms race. It

removes the argument that one side is building up a defense against attack so as to be free itself to make an attack. Besides the increased security of the banning of anti-ballistic systems has brought, it has also saved us many tens of billions of dollars. And, to repeat the earlier point about arms control and disarmament being a process, it was SALT I that made possible SALT II.

We also have to look beyond SALT II toward further steps to end the arms race. Here we have to ask ourselves, who is trying to end the arms race and who is responsible for maintaining it?

The Soviet Union has made a large number of proposals for moving toward disarmament and strengthening peace. It has, for example, proposed:

A. A treaty binding all countries to repudiate the use of military force except for defense;

B. A treaty by the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries never to use nuclear weapons in Europe;

C. A treaty to disband both the NATO and Warsaw Pact military blocs;

D. A UN resolution for an immediate 10 per cent across-the-board cut by all countries in military spending;

E. A UN resolution calling for a three-stage disarmament program leading to complete disarmament;

F. A resolution to set up an 18-nation body to negotiate general and complete disarmament;

G. A total ban on the production of all nuclear weapons;

H. A public agreement and a pledge by all nations never to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

These are but a few of the many proposals made by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has been willing to move by smaller stages or more rapidly, more narrowly or more comprehensively — by whatever methods the other side would agree to. These proposals reflect the whole history of the Soviet Union and the nature of Soviet society.

The first legislative act of the Soviet government, The Peace Decree, passed in November 1917, called for "recognition of the full equality of all peoples; respect for their national and state independence; good-neighborly relations with all states irrespective of their social or political system; and non-interference in other countries' internal affairs."

The Soviet Union makes peace proposals because its interests lie in peace. What would it gain by war? It is peace that enables it to go on

with the task of further developing its economy and enriching the lives of its people.

We could ask ourselves, what if the United States had made a series of proposals like those made by the Soviet Union? If this had happened, the whole world situation would be different. The Soviet Union would have accepted such proposals because it is in agreement with them. And the world would not be in the dangerous arms situation it now finds itself in.

But far from making such proposals itself, the United States government goes to great lengths to distort the proposals made by the Soviet Union. With the help of the monopoly-controlled media, it spreads arguments such as, "the Soviets are not really serious," "their proposals are only propaganda," and "you can't trust the Russians." Large sums of money and great skill in moulding public opinion are dedicated to the propagation of this type of argument.

But there is only one way to find out whether the Soviets are serious, whether you can trust them, etc. And that is to say: Let's sit down with them and try to work their proposals out. Until the U.S. does this, its protestations cannot be taken seriously. Until it does this, we have to consider that the U.S. protestations about the Soviets are a smoke screen to cover up the fact that it itself doesn't want to end the arms race.

The basic question is, who refuses to accept military parity? Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders have stated that the Soviet Union, as a matter of principled policy, is not striving for superiority and will not do so. If one thinks of the interests of the Soviet Union, they can be believed. The interests of the Soviet Union lie in disarmament and peace, not in promoting an arms race. The Soviet leaders have also stated that they will not allow the Soviet Union to fall behind either. They can also be believed in this. The Soviet Union has to be able to defend itself. To allow the Soviet Union to fall behind would be dangerous both for itself and the peace of the world.

It is the United States that keeps pushing ahead in an attempt to gain superiority. The U.S. has been doing this from the beginning, when it started the arms race, and it is doing it today. With cruise missiles, the neutron bomb and Trident Two nuclear submarines, it is trying to break the nuclear balance.

But to end the nuclear arms race, a strategic nuclear balance, strategic parity, is absolutely necessary. The U.S. must end the drive for nuclear superiority. It must free itself of the concept of trying to be number one. The number one syndrome is deadly. Nuclear balance

with the Soviet Union means being number one together. In today's world it is not possible or necessary to be number one. It can only lead to the nuclear graveyard.

So it is vital not only to get SALT II through but to halt the government on cruise missiles, the neutron bomb and the Trident Two submarines. Only by doing this can we make further progress toward controlling the arms race as opposed to having it become even stronger and more dangerous.

It is also vital to counter the "linkage" argument that the U.S. should not sign a SALT II agreement unless the Soviet Union changes its policy of being on the side of the forces of national liberation. National liberation is a historic process. They are movements propelled by the forces of each country. What the Brzezinskis and Jacksons want is that the Soviet Union should stand aside as the forces of imperialism and, in the first place U.S. imperialism, re-establish their neo-colonial holdings over the newly liberated countries.

SALT II can be linked only to an end to the nuclear arms race. It can be the link between life or death.

Daily World, March 22, 1979

IN BRIEF

FRANCE

In a statement addressed to the Uruguayan authorities, the CC FCP Secretariat lodged a vigorous protest and expressed indignation over the wave of repressions in Uruguay, the arbitrary arrests of Uruguayan democrats, primarily activists of the Communist Party and trade union leaders.

We demand the release of all Uruguayans being detained without trial or investigation, the restoration of civil rights in the country and a general amnesty for political prisoners and exiles, the statement says.

Around 7,000 political prisoners are known to be held in Uruguayan jails and concentration camps, among whom are outstanding leaders of the illegal Communist Party: Jose Luis Massera, Jaime Perez and Wladimir Turiansky. The life of many patriots is endangered.

IRAN

Noureddin Kianouri, First Secretary of the Central Committee, People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), has returned to Iran after many years' emigration. Speaking at a press conference in Tehran he set forth the party's objectives at the present stage of the Iranian revolution. He hailed the victory of the Iranian people over the despotic shah regime, which leaned on the world imperialist system led by the USA, and emphasized that the overthrow of the monarchy is merely the first big step in the present revolution.

We face, Kianouri said, a difficult stage of eradicating the remnants of the former regime, eliminating the country's dependence on imperialism, improving the economy and ensuring genuine freedom and democracy. To this end the PPI is prepared to cooperate closely with all contingents of the revolutionary movement.

The party, Kianouri went on to say, never interrupted its activity throughout its whole history and remained a party of the working class. Now it is renewing its legal activity which is aimed at creating a new republican Iran.

Noureddin Kianouri pointed out that in domestic policy the PPI supports the initiative of Ayatollah Khomeini in creating an Islamic republic, since the leader of the Iranian revolution implies by this Iran's genuine independence, the rooting out of exploitation, implementation of democratic freedoms for the entire people and the raising of living standards.

In foreign policy, Kianouri continued, the PPI advocates total liquidation of all imperialist military and political treaties and agreements imposed on Iran, stands for the country's territorial integrity and the strengthening of its national independence. We are waging a resolute struggle against all manifestations of separatism, for the consolidation of the country's unity, for the equality of all national minorities inhabiting Iran. We lay special stress on the liquidation of Iran's military-political agreements with the USA, for U.S. imperialism is enemy number one to our people and to all the peoples of the world.

PERU

The first issue of the weekly *Venceremos* (*We Will Win*) put out by the Peruvian Communist Party, came out in Lima. It speaks of the working people's struggle in defense of their rights, against the growing prices and unemployment and against the policy of concessions to

foreign capital. The weekly exposes the criminal ties of the anti-popular and reactionary Pinochet regime in Chile with the rightist circles of Peking. Since 1973, *Venceremos* reports, China has extended the junta credits amounting to more than 200 million dollars, as well as substantial arms shipments.

Jorge del Prado, General Secretary of the CC PCP, was appointed editor of the weekly.

POLAND

The PUWP Central Committee met in plenary session in Warsaw to discuss the report "On raising the role of the public sector of local industry in the country's socio-economic development."

In his concluding speech at the Plenum, Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, emphasized that the chief factor of the country's economic development is raising the efficacy of production, stepping up scientific and technical progress, strengthening of the integrational ties with the USSR and the entire socialist community.

Referring to the preparations for the Eighth PUWP Congress, Gierek proposed convening it in the first quarter of 1980. The primary objective of the congress, he said, will be to assess the progress made in building a developed socialist society in the PPR, as well as to determine the direction of the country's development in the 1980s and particularly in the 1981-1985 five-year period.

We will expand the party's ties with the people, consolidate the alliance of the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia for the sake of multiplying the strength of our socialist state, Gierek concluded.

SOVIET UNION

On April 11 and 12, representatives of the Communist Party of Japan and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union continued in Moscow the bilateral preliminary talks held in Tokyo last February to exchange views on certain questions of mutual interest and thoroughly discussed, in particular, questions which in the past had led to disruption of normal relations between the two parties.

Taking part from the Soviet side were Vadim Zagladin, alternate member of the CC CPSU and first deputy head of the CC CPSU International Department; Rostislav Ulyanovsky, deputy head of the CC CPSU International Department, and I. Kovalenko, section head of the CC CPSU International Department. The Japanese side was represented by Tomio Nishizawa, deputy chairman of the CC CPJ Presidium; H. Tatiki, member of the CC Presidium and head of the

CC CPJ International Department; S. Onuma, deputy head of the CC CPJ International Department.

The representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declared that the CPSU considers the CPJ as the sole party representing the Japanese communist movement. The Soviet side also pointed out that any actions of former CPJ members and various groups carried out in the name of the communist movement is a manifestation of anti-party activity and that it is in no way connected with the activity of such groups, whatever the flags or pretexts they may use for cover.

The representatives of the CPSU and the CPJ noted the mutual active efforts to achieve normalization of relations between the two parties. The Japanese side positively assessed the constructive approach to inter-party relations displayed by the representatives of the CPSU at the preliminary talks in Tokyo.

The sides stressed that relations between the CPJ and the CPSU must be built on strict adherence to the generally recognized principles of mutual relations between the communist parties of various countries: on the basis of respect for the self-reliance and independence, equality, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs and international solidarity.

The sides noted that despite the different approach to individual questions, they can cooperate on the basis of such common objectives as struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace, democracy and social progress.

The representatives of the CPJ and the CPSU agreed to discuss the question of preparing for official talks between the two parties.

