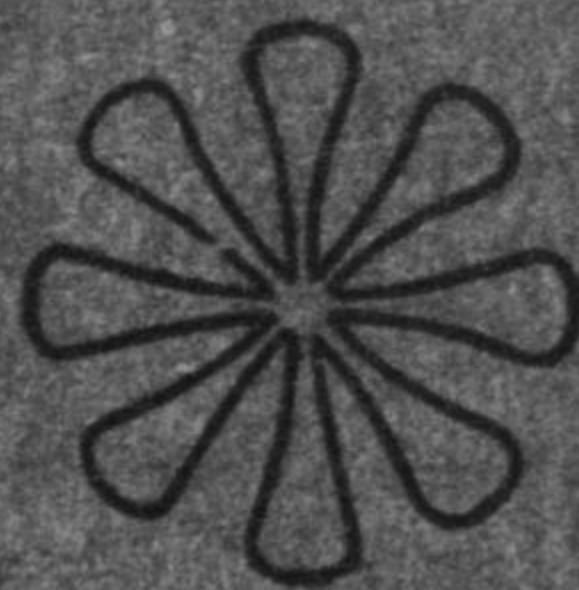


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**LIMITING
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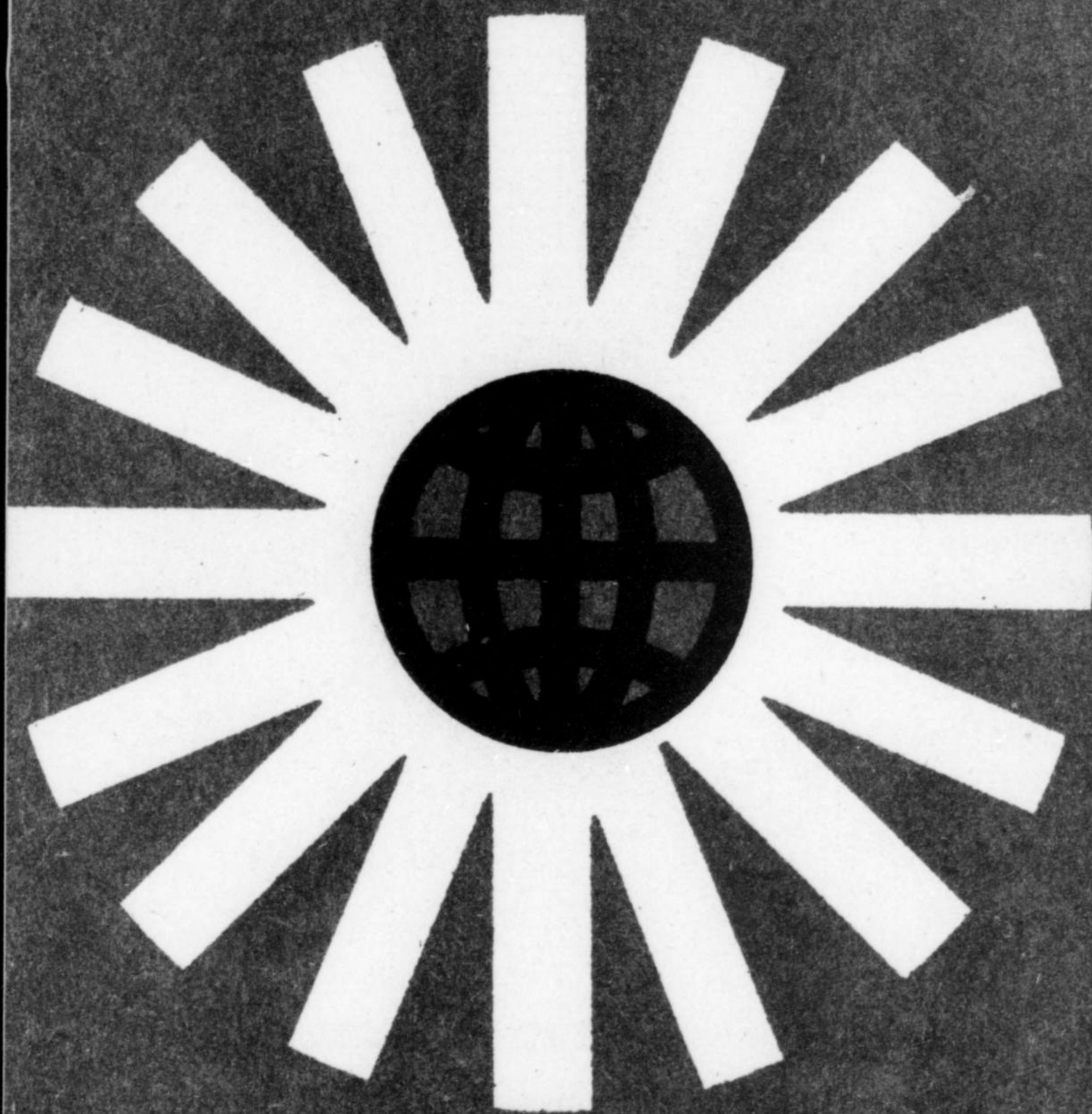
**SOVIET-LIBYAN
MEETING**

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EGYPT

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THE TASK OF LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS: PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS

Practical measures to lessen the war danger, to stop the arms race and to pass on to factual disarmament are acquiring growing importance in the cause of deepening the relaxation of international tension. For objective reasons precisely these questions have been placed in the center of international life and the prospects of the further development of human civilization depend, to a considerable extent, on how these questions will be solved. "International relations are now at a crossroads, as it were, which could lead either to a growth of trust and cooperation, or else to a growth of mutual fears, suspicion and arms stockpiles, a crossroads leading, ultimately, either to lasting peace, or at best, to balancing on the brink of war. Détente offers the opportunity of choosing the road of peace. To miss this opportunity would be a crime. The most important, the most pressing task now is to halt the arms race, which has engulfed the world," stresses the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Leonid Brezhnev.

The problem of limiting strategic arms holds a special place in the attainment of this task. It is not by chance, therefore, that the talks on this matter conducted by the Soviet Union and the United States attract the interest of the entire international public. These talks already have a history of their own marked by such substantial practical milestones as the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and the Vladivostok accord on the conclusion of a new long-term Agreement on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. The Vladivostok accord of 1974 signified a new stage in the solution of the problem, opening up possibilities for encompassing additional components of the strategic forces of the two countries, for limiting them both quantitatively and qualitatively. It is known, however, that for reasons not depending on the USSR, work to draft this Agreement has not been completed to this day.

The Soviet Union consistently and constructively pursued a line of concluding this work in strict accordance with all that was agreed to in Vladivostok, on the basis of strict observance of the principle of equality and undiminished security of the sides.

This, unfortunately, cannot be said about the American side. Without going into details, it should be recalled that the process of negotiations developed very unevenly and, especially at the initial stages, was accompanied by serious difficulties. This was connected with the advancement by the American side of such proposals that by their essence were directed at overturning the Vladivostok accords and at giving the United States obvious advantages. It took time and big efforts — mostly in the course of the Soviet-American meetings in Moscow in March 1977 and in May of the same year in Geneva and in September in Washington — for a more sober and balanced line to start manifesting itself in the American approach.

As a result, it proved possible to bring the talks back to the principled directions that were jointly defined in Vladivostok and concretized in the course of subsequent discussions. A certain advance in finding solutions to major still unresolved questions was achieved as a result of the conversations that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR had with the President and the Secretary of State of the United States in Washington last September. This became possible, first of all, owing to the consistent and constructive line of the USSR and also to the elements of flexibility and realism shown by the American side. Both sides confirmed their resolve to conclude a new agreement and firmly stated their intention to continue active talks so as to complete work on the agreement in the near future.

In subsequent statements by President of the United States James Carter and other American leaders, the importance of achieving a new agreement was repeatedly stressed both in the aspect of ensuring the security of the United States itself and from the viewpoint of the positive development of Soviet-American relations and the strengthening of universal peace.

Objectively, all this gave important new impulses for concluding the practical drafting of the texts of the relevant documents — a treaty with a period of operation till 1985, a three-year protocol on certain interim measures, which is an inalienable part of the treaty, and also a possible joint statement on the main directions of further talks on new measures in the field of limiting and then cutting strategic armaments.

It would seem that a green light has finally been given to these big

and important endeavors; facts, however, show that such a development of events does not suit the forces in the United States which are against a positive development of Soviet-American relations and which constantly try to slow down and even frustrate totally the agreement on the limitation of strategic arms. They stubbornly strive to make this question a topic of sharp internal political struggle in the United States. The opponents of the agreement became especially active when prospects for its conclusion opened up.

These forces act in various ways. Some people, especially from among the retired high-placed military, "specialists-theoreticians" on questions of strategy, the organizations like the "Committee on the Present Danger," some organs of the press that are direct advocates of the Pentagon and the military-industrial complex openly oppose any agreements with the USSR on the limitation of armaments and call for an intensification of military efforts and for ensuring military superiority over the USSR. Manipulating the thesis about protecting "the national security interests" of the United States, they impudently invent something like scenarios for waging nuclear war. Waging war, but not preventing war. They count how many nuclear warheads and bombs will be needed to deliver a strike at some country. The nations of the world want peace and lasting détente, but these people keep thinking about what else to invent to destroy human beings.

The opponents of détente in the United States could not care less about the destinies of the world. In effect, they are acting also contrary to the vital interests of their own country, no matter at what length they talk to the contrary. The historical course of development has long made untenable the designs to ensure for the United States a military superiority over the USSR. The leaders of the USA themselves were compelled to officially recognize the state of military-strategic equilibrium between the two countries.

There is no future in attempts to revive plans of achieving military superiority over the USSR. But they can lead to a new spiral of the arms race, to a greater danger of a nuclear-missile conflict with all the ensuing consequences for all countries and peoples, including the United States. Such in reality is the future that the authors of demagogical slogans about "strengthening the security of the United States" by way of a further unlimited build-up of nuclear missile armaments would like to have in store for the American people.

The arsenal of means of struggle used by the opponents of détente

and measures to lessen military danger is not distinguished for novel-
ties. The main one of these means is the threadbare myth about the
"Soviet military threat." Precisely this myth is being blown up again
to undermine chances for the conclusion of an agreement on limiting
strategic offensive weapons. American public opinion is being persis-
tently told that the Soviet Union allegedly wants, by means of such an
agreement, to acquire a strategic superiority over the United States,
to create the possibility for itself to deliver a "crippling nuclear-missile
strike," etc.

By its entire consistent peace-loving policy, the Soviet Union res-
olutely refutes the falsity and absurdity of such concoctions, their
deliberately provocative purpose. As it was stated by Leonid
Brezhnev, "Our efforts are directed precisely at avoiding either the
first or the second strikes, and at avoiding nuclear war in general. Our
approach to these questions can be formulated as follows: the defense
potential of the Soviet Union must be sufficient to deter anybody from
risking to violate our peaceful life. Not a course of superiority in
armaments but a course of reducing them, of lessening military con-
frontation — such is our policy."

The Soviet policy is clear and understandable. It finds its concrete
embodiment in practical actions and proposals directed at the lessening
and subsequent elimination of the danger of nuclear war. Of
course, those who irresponsibly talk about the "Soviet threat" pre-
tend as though there do not exist numerous Soviet initiatives, includ-
ing such initiatives as the proposals to conclude a world treaty on the
non-use of force, to reach agreement by participant countries of the
European Conference not to be the first to use nuclear weapons
against each other, to reach agreement on halting further production
of nuclear weapons. The reaction to these proposals by the United
States and other NATO countries or attempts to ignore them, to
sidestep discussing them patently demonstrate reluctance to really
embark on the road of ensuring lasting peace. This is also confirmed
by the continuing growth of the U.S. military budget. Thus, for the
coming fiscal year the American government has already planned a
9.4 per cent growth in direct military spending alone as compared to
the present spending that will reach the truly astronomical sum of
117,800 million dollars.

Along with open opponents of the agreement on the limitation of
strategic arms, there are some people in the United States who do not
appear to directly oppose it, but in reality strive in every way to create

new obstacles on the road to its conclusion. This is done under the outwardly respectable pretext of trying to "amend," "improve" the agreement. True, when they think that the government insufficiently heeds their arguments, they throw off the mask and openly begin to accuse it of allegedly being excessively "soft" and "yielding" at the talks with the Soviet Union. And here vanishes even the outward distinction between them and overt opponents of the agreement.

They would like to "amend" the drafted agreement in such a way as to undermine the fundamental principle of equality and undiminished security of the sides, to ensure for the United States obvious advantages to the detriment of the Soviet Union's security interests. If this cannot be achieved, they reason, at least it is possible to additionally procrastinate and complicate the attainment of agreement.

It was repeatedly stressed by the Soviet side that there should be no illusions about the USSR accepting such limitations that would give the United States one-sided advantages. Those Americans who try to make the public think that it is possible to impose unacceptable terms of an agreement on the Soviet Union are doing their own people a great disservice. The agreement is needed equally by both sides, just as it is needed by all countries and peoples. The principle of equality and undiminished security, as the only basis of agreement, is not some artificial invention. It is organically connected with the very nature of modern weapons and the objectively existing equilibrium between the strategic forces of the USSR and the United States.

Let us dwell, in somewhat greater detail, on questions used these days most frequently in the USA by those who would like to "amend" the agreement.

It is known that the talks have been at a standstill for a long time as a result of the U.S. position on the matter of the long-range Cruise missiles. Yet, it was clear from the very outset that long-range Cruise missiles, recognized as a strategic weapon by the Americans themselves, are subject to limitation along with other strategic systems, such as intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-borne ballistic missiles and heavy bombers. In the final analysis, the sides did agree that the "air to earth" type Cruise missiles with ranges from 600 to 2,500 kilometers ought to be limited. It was agreed that heavy bombers equipped with such missiles will be equalled to strategic multiple independently-targeted re-entry vehicles and that these bombers will be counted in the established quotas for such carriers — 1,320 units

on each side. As to "air to earth" Cruise missiles with ranges in excess of 2,500 km, these are subjected to banning altogether.

Owing to the Soviet side's constructive position, the question of sea- and land-based Cruise missiles with ranges in excess of 600 km was also agreed. It is envisaged to ban their tests and deployment initially for a three-year period in order to give the sides additional time for finding an ultimate solution.

It would seem that everything is clear, and that it just remains to tackle what looks like a basically technical task — to put these decisions into appropriate treaty wording.

Yet it is here that those who clamor for "amending" the treaty get into action. It turns out that the limitations on Cruise missiles do not suit them. On the one hand, they allege that this is an unwarranted "concession" in favor of the USSR in general. On the other, attempts are being made to practically emasculate the above-mentioned agreed limitations. For example, an argument is put forth to the effect that the USA must have the right, don't you see, to deploy "air to earth" Cruise missiles not only on heavy bombers, subject to limitations, but actually on any type of aircraft, transports included. This would practically allow an unlimited and actually uncontrollable number of aircraft to appear, stuffed with scores of long-range Cruise missiles and having the same destructive force as nuclear warheads on inter-continental missiles and submarine-borne missiles.

What, then, one may ask, would be the worth of limitations contained in the treaty, and of the treaty altogether?

It would be a scrap of paper, not an agreement aimed at averting nuclear war. The Soviet Union is not going to put its signature on such a scrap of paper.

These people would like to exempt sea- and land-based Cruise missiles from the limitations. Here we see an obvious striving to secure already today a free hand after the three-year protocol period in regard to the deployment of such missiles and to increase their agreed range over 600 km and, lastly, to reserve the possibility of deploying them outside U.S. territory, i.e., as close as possible to the borders of the USSR. No comment, as they say, is needed, for it is clear that this is just another attempt to emasculate the essence of the already agreed limitations, to explode the entire agreement.

One must specially stress the danger of attempts to leave loopholes whereby the Cruise missiles could appear on the territories of other countries, first of all, the United States' NATO allies. This question is part of the overall problem, that the agreement being elaborated must

completely exclude any possibility of transferring strategic armaments to third countries, or its obviation through the mediation of third countries. The sides must take unambiguous commitments on this score, otherwise, the agreement's viability will again be reduced to naught. Those who are now trying in this way "to amend" the solution of the question on Cruise missiles must realize how grave a responsibility they are taking upon themselves, both in regard to the agreement, and from the viewpoint of the interests of the USA itself, since the Soviet Union, of course, will not remain passive if someone will try in this manner to upset the present balance of forces to the detriment of its security.

Another matter which is constantly being talked about by certain quarters in the USA in connection with the new agreement is control over its observance. It is being asserted beforehand that the control system envisaged by the agreement is unreliable, and there is no guarantee that the Soviet Union will not violate it. Actually, this is an attempt to cast aspersions on Soviet policy, to bolster once again the tattered myth about some ill intentions on the part of the Soviet Union. In particular, rumors are being spread alleging that the Soviet Union is developing means of destroying American observation satellites.

All these are ill-intentioned fabrications; when it signs agreements, the Soviet Union strictly and unswervingly observes its commitments. By the way, American leaders themselves have repeatedly stated that there are no violations by the Soviet side of commitments under the earlier concluded Treaty on Limiting Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Strategic Arms Limitations.

This kind of talk alleging that control is unreliable is aimed at questioning the system of control by the national technical means of each side, adopted by the sides and which has reliably justified itself. The realization of the already existing accords in the sphere of strategic arms limitation has proved convincingly that such means of control fully answer their purpose. This is fully applicable to the new agreement as well.

While stating that the national technical control means are adequate, the Soviet Union, in the name of finding reciprocally acceptable solutions, expressed its readiness, in principle, to agree that if a strategic missile of any type will be, but once, tested with multiple warheads, then all the missiles of this type will be counted in the quota of carriers with such warheads, as established under the agree-

ment. This measure is aimed at raising the effectiveness of the treaty still more in terms of controls.

It is known, lastly, that a reliably operating mechanism of the Standing Consultative Commission has already been created, in whose framework individual practical questions that may arise in the process of implementing the agreements being concluded, are resolved to the mutual satisfaction of the sides. Thus, fabrications about the "unreliability" of controls are intended for uninformed people, and what is more, are deliberately aimed at sowing doubts about the agreement as a whole.

We ought to dwell separately on the matter of new types of strategic armaments and the modernization of existing systems. Opponents of the agreement have raised a hue and cry around these questions, trying to present matters as if the American side were coming out here with far-reaching "radical" proposals, yet, the Soviet Union, you see, is not ready for such a solution. The purpose is the same — to distort, to denigrate the Soviet position. What, then, is the actual state of affairs? Let us note, first of all, that this thesis as such is nothing new. The American side had already put forth similar unacceptable proposals during the Moscow negotiations last March. At that time these proposals were given a principled evaluation, and it was convincingly shown that they are aimed at a revision of the Vladivostok accords, at undermining the principle of equality and the undiminished security of the sides.

Well known, at the same time, are the really constructive proposals set forth during the negotiations by the Soviet Union aimed at the reciprocal renunciation of the manufacture and deployment of new kinds of strategic weapons. In view of the discussions held and taking into account the American position, the USSR subsequently proposed a ban for the period the three-year protocol is in force, on new types of intercontinental ballistic missiles with multiple warheads. Such a ban would, in full measure, meet the purposes of the agreement, since it is precisely this type of missile that may render the main destabilizing effect on the prevailing strategic situation. At the same time, concerning both sides in equal measure, such a commitment fully corresponds to the principle of equality and undiminished security.

Yet the American side proposes to ban, for the period the protocol is in force, all new types of land-based inter-continental ballistic missiles in general, both with multiple warheads and without them.

Now, this is just the proposal that is being depicted as if going much further than the Soviet position; however, just as in a number of other cases, it is intended for naive and uninformed people. What does it really mean?

By suggesting a ban on all new types of intercontinental ballistic missiles, those who make this proposal, at the same time, omit all other kinds of strategic arms altogether: submarine-borne ballistic missiles, heavy bombers and Cruise missiles, which means that ever new, more sophisticated and more powerful types of such systems are allowed to be created, so long as there are limitations on land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles. If one further takes into account that, for different reasons, the two sides have by no means a similar composition of strategic forces, it becomes absolutely clear that the above-mentioned proposal is against the principle of equality and undiminished security, that it is aimed directly

By suggesting a ban on all new types of intercontinental ballistic missiles, those who make this proposal, at the same time, omit all other kinds of strategic arms altogether: submarine-borne ballistic missiles, heavy bombers and Cruise missiles, which means that ever new, more sophisticated and more powerful types of such systems are allowed to be created, so long as there are limitations on land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles. If one further takes into account that, for different reasons, the two sides have by no means a similar composition of strategic forces, it becomes absolutely clear that the above-mentioned proposal is directly aimed against the principle of equality and undiminished security, that it is aimed at securing unilateral advantages at the expense of the Soviet Union. This precisely is the very essence of the United States' so-called radical approach!

The same goals underlie the U.S. stand on the matter of modernizing existing strategic armaments. There are some who would, again, like to "amend" the earlier agreed clauses of the treaty, so as to arbitrarily limit certain Soviet weapon systems, while giving the USA a free hand in regard to a whole range of components of strategic forces. The acceptance of such proposals would practically mean that, far from limiting a qualitative strategic arms race, the agreement would give it a new big boost.

The one-sidedness of the American position is also confirmed by the practical actions of the USA. Leaving aside more earlier examples, testifying beyond any doubt that it was precisely the American side which at every stage was the initiator of unleashing the strategic

arms race by introducing ever new weapons and new systems of such weapons, suffice it to turn to the latest facts. It is known, in particular, that already at the time of the strategic arms limitation talks, when the first agreements were elaborated and accepted, the USA began deploying missiles with multiple nuclear warheads. Recently created for Minuteman missiles is a new, much more powerful nuclear warhead, the MK-12a, and measures are being taken to further increase the accuracy of these missiles, the Trident missiles complex is being developed for new submarines, the M-X intercontinental missile is being developed, intended, in particular, for use on mobile launchers, and long-range Cruise missiles are being readied for serial production.

Apart from those mentioned above, new, even more sophisticated weapons system are in the stage of research and development. For it is not fortuitous that the USA intends to allocate for these purposes the enormous sum of 11,100 million dollars in the new fiscal year (this year 10,100 million dollars will be spent for these purposes), and the bulk of these funds will be spent precisely for creating strategic armaments.

The thesis alleging the Soviet Union's unwillingness, in distinction from the USA, to agree to a considerable reduction of strategic offensive weapons, still figures among the inventions used by the agreement's opponents. The Soviet side has repeatedly outlined its position in this regard. The problem of balancing the interests of the sides, and the practical realization in the agreement of the principle of equality and undiminished security, is concentrated in this question perhaps more than in any other. The Soviet proposals proceed from the need to take into account, without fail all the factors of the strategic situation as it evolves at present, and is likely to evolve in the future — in the period when the new agreement comes into force. This includes, in particular, such factors as the geographic position of the sides, forward-based nuclear means as available to the USA (on territories of other countries in the immediate proximity to the USSR), and the fact that some of its allies possess strategic weapons of their own. All these are rather tangible factors and they must be taken into account. Nor can there be any different approach. Only in this case, substantial reductions of levels will not destabilize the strategic situation and will not result in advantages accruing to one side at the expense of the security interests of the other.

The Soviet Union by no means holds that the new agreement will be the ultimate stage in the efforts of the sides directed at restraining the

nuclear arms race. The sides have already reached agreement that talks on further measures in the field of limiting strategic armaments will be started immediately after the conclusion of the currently drafted agreement. Moreover, there is an agreement in principle about the possibility of a certain lowering of the initially agreed ceilings already during the period of operation of the currently drafted agreement.

Everyone has long become sick and tired of the artificially created question of the Soviet plane called "Backfire" in the West which has been artificially attached to the agreement. Clearly manifesting itself in this question is the obviously obstructionist tactics of the overt and covert opponents of the agreements, their striving to deliberately erect obstacles on the road to its conclusion.

The question is sufficiently well known. This plane is a medium-range bomber, and as such has nothing to do at all with the subject matter of the negotiations, because it does not belong to the class of strategic weapons. Nevertheless, consistently displaying a constructive approach, the Soviet side found it possible to give all the necessary explanations concerning this plane. American specialists have a clear idea of the actual state of affairs. Nevertheless, this plane is the object of a continuing propaganda outcry. This is being done with the sole purpose of making this question another stumbling block at the talks. Despite obvious facts, concoctions are being constantly circulated about the danger that this plane might pose to the United States, for instance, if refuelled in flight, or in some other invented variants of its use. But if we take to this road, then virtually any combat plane ought to fall under the limitations of the agreement that is being drafted. In any case, this would apply to the entire carrier-borne aircraft and the tactical aviation of the United States stationed at so-called advance bases, for instance, in Europe, from which it can reach the territory of the USSR even without refuelling in flight. If we are to go further, we could recall the well-known facts of American fighter-bombers making trans-atlantic flights from the United States to Western Europe with refuelling in flight. So if anybody really has grounds to raise such questions, it is the Soviet side, but to raise all these questions now would mean not to advance along the road of the earliest achievement of the agreement but, on the contrary, to lead matters to a situation when there would be no agreement at all.

It appears that these are exactly the motivations of those who are continuing the clamor over the "Backfire." But it should have been

long since understood that nobody will succeed in imposing unacceptable conditions on the Soviet side, be it on the question of the "Backfire" or any other question.

Just as hopeless are the designs to scare the Soviet Union by talk that if the relevant provisions of the agreement are not "amended" in favor of the United States, the U.S. Senate will not ratify it as is required by law.

Those who resort to such a maneuver are in fact trying to challenge not the Soviet Union, but their own country, their own people, who are interested objectively in the same measure, and not one iota less than Soviet people, in putting an end to the strategic arms race.

So to bully the Soviet side by refusal to ratify the agreement is just pointless. For we, too, could pose the question in exactly the same manner.

Those who artificially retard the preparation of the agreement by returning again and again to questions of levels of strategic armaments, modernization, the "Backfire" aircraft, etc., should not forget or pretend to forget the presence, for example, of such a really grave problem as the above-mentioned American forward-based nuclear means and the U.S. carrier-based aircraft, that is, weapons which, due to their location, are capable of reaching Soviet territory. The Soviet Union by no means forgets this, for it immediately involves its security: this means many hundreds of nuclear weapon carriers aimed at targets on USSR territory. It is understandable, therefore, that the Soviet side comes out firmly for resolving this question in accordance with the principle of equality and undiminished security.

One should not forget that ever new mass annihilation weapons are being created in the USA, including the neutron weapon. The Soviet Union has proposed a comprehensive ban on new kinds of mass annihilation weapons and new systems thereof, as well as the reciprocal renunciation of manufacturing, specifically, the neutron weapon. We shall resolutely work for the realization of these proposals. A really lasting peace and international security, as desired by all the peoples above all, can be ensured not by talk and declarations, but by concrete practical steps toward ending the arms race and toward disarmament. To do everything possible for this is the duty of all governments.

All these questions are of exceptional importance and the Soviet Union could also tie them to achieving agreement on strategic arms

limitation. But would this improve the chances for concluding an agreement? The answer is obvious. When thinking about this concrete agreement, one should clearly distinguish between what is realistic and what is not, and be guided by common sense.

Lastly, one should bear in mind that resolving the problem of limiting strategic arms is not something that can be done at one go, but a continuing and lasting process. The conclusion of its current stage, the signing of the agreement now being elaborated, by no means signifies the end of the negotiations. Following at once the current agreement, even before it expires, the next stage of the talks, as was already mentioned, must begin with the aim of elaborating and adopting further-going measures toward limiting and reducing strategic armaments.

It is appropriate to recall all this once again now, in connection with the atmosphere which is shaping up in the USA around the question of concluding a new agreement. American and world public opinion should clearly realize that those who are trying to frustrate or drag out its conclusion, are acting contrary to the interest of strengthening peace and security, are leading matters to a new spiralling in the race of the most dangerous means of warfare, which can have only one outcome — the steeply mounting danger of a nuclear-missile holocaust. To ignore these tendencies, and moreover, to give in to the pressure of the opponents of détente and peace, would only whet their appetites.

The peoples want to believe that wisdom and statesmanship will prevail, that leaders responsible for policy-shaping and policy-making will demonstrate their concern for the prospects of peace, for the destinies of the present and coming generations by deeds and concrete measures. Of great importance here would be the earliest conclusion of a new agreement on reducing strategic offensive armaments. The Soviet Union has done and is doing everything necessary for this, and it counts on the United States of America to be working in the same direction.

“... We do not lack the readiness to conclude these talks successfully,” stated Leonid Brezhnev in his answers to questions from a *Pravda* Correspondent on the eve of the New Year of 1978. “In our thinking, there are possibilities for this, and I might even say, the possibilities are not bad at all. Judging by certain statements, the American side has also expressed definite optimism. One would like this to be backed up by practical deeds.”

Pravda, February 11, 1978

UNITY IS THE MAIN WEAPON OF THE POPULAR MASSES

Plenum of the PCP Central Committee

The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party held a plenary meeting in Lisbon in February to discuss questions connected with the formation of a new government on the basis of an agreement between the Socialist Party and the Social-Democratic Center, and its program.

In its resolution the plenum emphasized that "neither the composition of the government nor its program meet with the requirements of the country's present political, economic, financial and social situation." The government, the PCP Central Committee notes, is incapable of resolving the complex tasks facing Portugal. "We can predict only a further aggravation of the situation. The new sacrifices demanded of the people and the country will not provide a way out of the crisis. The social support base of the government will grow narrower with every passing day."

"Contrary to numerous declarations," the resolution says, "the need will soon arise to form a new government and to draft a new policy responding to the aspirations of the Portuguese people and the country's needs." "The Socialist Party leadership," the plenum document points out, "made a historical mistake in preferring a coalition with big capital and the ultra-right party to mutual understanding with the working people and their class party, the PCP. Not surprisingly, the composition of the government engendered just indignation and legitimate concern among the working classes, the broad masses and democratic circles, including in the Socialist Party."

"The PCP Central Committee emphasizes that giving the Social-Democratic Center the posts of Minister of Foreign Affairs, Trade (including foreign trade), and of Minister of Administrative Reforms, who has the right to interfere in the affairs of virtually the entire state apparatus, has very serious implications."

In analyzing the government program, the Communist Party notes that it leads to the country's greater dependency on the international monopolies and imperialist markets. "Receipt of foreign loans is depicted in the program as the sole method of surmounting difficulties. Therefore the main directions of economic policy, which respond to the demands of the International Monetary Fund, for instance for higher taxes, could in future catastrophically affect the economy and independence of Portugal."

Explaining its policy in relation to the new government, the plenum stated that the "Communist Party will, as before, carefully and objectively follow the activity of the Cabinet of Ministers and determine its stand in each concrete instance." The resolution emphasized that the PCP "will vigorously oppose any inroads on the interests of the working people, the democratic regime and the Constitution, on the independent future of Portugal." Using the rights and freedoms inscribed in the Constitution, it says, the Communist Party will, together with the working class and popular masses, continue to take part in all spheres of the country's life, and will help to solve the concrete problems facing the country and the people.

The CC PCP, the resolution stressed, continues to adhere to the viewpoint that pre-schedule parliamentary elections is a possible and fully constitutional way out of the political crisis.

"It is essential to analyze and draft a democratic alternative by the time when, in view of its obvious inability to resolve national problems, the question of a change of government will be put on the agenda.

"A democratic alternative, even if it is a matter of a provisional government before pre-schedule elections, entails the conduct of a new policy based on respect of the Constitution, freedoms and other gains of the revolution, on firm defense of national independence."

"In the economic, political and social conditions created by the Portuguese revolution," the document points out, "a way out of the crisis in the framework of the democratic institutes and national independence cannot be found without the help of the Communist Party, and still less in case of attempts to bar it from the solution of national problems. A democratic alternative to the crisis is possible only on the basis of an alliance of the working people and not against them, only with the participation of the PCP and not its exclusion. Portuguese reality and the will of its people will in the final count result in the drafting of such an alternative."

Abridged from *Avante!*, February 9, 1978

MEETINGS AND TALKS

VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION BY ABDEL SALAM JALLOUD, GENERAL SECRETARIAT MEMBER OF THE GENERAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

LEONID BREZHNEV RECEIVES ABDEL SALAM JALLOUD

On February 15, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet received in the Kremlin Major Abdel Salam Jalloud, member of the General Secretariat, General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, who was in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

During the talk views were exchanged on questions of promoting and strengthening friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Libya, and on some topical international issues.

Leonid Brezhnev and Abdel Salam Jalloud expressed satisfaction with the furthering of cooperation between the USSR and Libya and stressed the resolve of both countries to deepen and expand Soviet-Libyan relations in all spheres.

In discussing international questions attention centered on the Middle East situation. It was noted that the separate negotiations of the Egyptian leadership with Israel seriously prejudice the Arab peoples' struggle to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression, and obstruct the establishment of a firm and just Middle East peace. In this connection Abdel Salam Jalloud informed Leonid Brezhnev on the decisions of the recent Algiers meetings of the leaders of Libya and a number of other Arab countries, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, which worked out — in line with

the decisions of the Tripoli conference — concrete measures for countering the capitulatory course of the Egyptian leadership, for uniting the progressive Arab states.

Both sides stressed the importance of consolidating the progressive forces of the Arab world and stronger interaction with their natural allies in the anti-imperialist struggle — the USSR and other socialist community countries.

In discussing the situation in the Horn of Africa Leonid Brezhnev and Abdel Salam Jalloud noted that the continuing military conflict in this region serves the interests of imperialism and reaction. They expressed the conviction that a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia will contribute to the free and independent development of all states in the Horn of Africa on the basis of non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Leonid Brezhnev and Abdel Salam Jalloud noted with satisfaction that high-level Soviet-Libyan meetings and contacts are becoming a good tradition in Soviet-Libyan relations and facilitate fruitful development of friendship and all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Libyan Jamahiriya.

Pravda, February 16, 1978

JOINT SOVIET-LIBYAN COMMUNIQUE

Major Abdel Salam Ahmed Jalloud, member of the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, was in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit from February 14 to 17, 1978, at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government.

Abdel Salam Jalloud was given a warm and friendly welcome, an expression of the unbreakable friendship uniting the peoples of the Soviet Union and Libya.

During his stay in the USSR Abdel Salam Jalloud laid wreaths at the Lenin Mansoleum and at the Unknown Soldier's Tomb.

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received A.S. Jalloud and had a cordial talk with him which was held in the atmosphere of friendship existing between the two countries. Several questions of bilateral relations were discussed during the meeting and mutual satisfaction was expressed that they were developing positive-

ly. There was also an exchange of opinions on the more important contemporary international problems.

Alexei Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Major Abdel Salam Jalloud, member of the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, had talks which were held in a friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding.

A.S. Jalloud spoke about the achievements in the political, economic, social and intellectual fields that have resulted from the September 1 revolution, which made an important contribution to the struggle of the progressive forces of the world against reaction, imperialism, colonialism, racism and Zionism, which is a form of racism and racial discrimination. He outlined the recommendations and decisions of the extraordinary and the latest (third) sessions of the General People's Congress of Libyan Jamahiriya regarding the exercise of direct democracy by the Libyan people and the establishment in the country of people's power, and described the decisions of the Congress which envisage economic and social transformations in keeping with the people's hopes. He stressed that the Congress adopted recommendations on strengthening and fortifying friendship with the socialist community in the interests of the Arab nation and the states of this community.

A.S. Jalloud also spoke about the measures taken by the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to intensify the struggle against colonialism, Zionism and reaction in order to safeguard the revolutionary gains of the Libyan people and their firm resolution to defend these gains.

The Soviet side confirmed its high evaluation of the achievements of the September 1 revolution in the political, economic, social and other fields and its active role in the struggle against imperialism, reaction, colonialism, foreign monopolies and racism. It also expressed appreciation of the important role of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in forging Arab unity.

The Libyan guest was told about the new USSR Constitution, which has marked the historic high point in the development of the Soviet state — the building of a developed socialist society, about the important and creative work which the CPSU and the Soviet government are doing to implement the plans for building communism, and about the practical measures to fulfill the program of the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and

independence of the peoples, adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress.

The Libyan side spoke highly of the Soviet people's social, economic and cultural achievements, of the foreign policy of peace conducted by the Soviet Union in keeping with the 25th CPSU Congress decisions, and of the USSR's role in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and racism, for strengthening peace and international security and for easing international tensions.

When considering the contemporary international situation, the two sides stated that their positions coincided or were very close on questions of the struggle for peace and international security based on the ideals of justice, for easing international tensions, and also on several other important current issues. They again declared their mutual aspiration to strengthen their political cooperation in the international arena.

Special attention was given to the situation in the Arab world and in Africa, where imperialism has intensified its offensive.

The Soviet side highly evaluated the important role which the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya plays in the struggle for the unity of the progressive forces in the Arab world. The two sides resolutely condemned Sadat's policy of capitulation, which leads away from a genuine and just Middle East settlement, greatly harms the interests of the Arab peoples and the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine, and deeply divides the ranks of the Arab people, which essentially encourages the aggressor.

The two sides noted the positive significance of the Tripoli summit meetings at which the "front of fortitude and rebuff" had been formed, and emphasized the need for forging Arab unity on a progressive and anti-imperialist basis and the in-depth development of the friendly relations of the Arab peoples with their natural allies — the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. The Libyan Jamahiriya and the USSR confirmed that they would continue to firmly resist any attempts to undermine Soviet-Arab friendship and cooperation, which is in keeping with the interests of the Arab peoples in their just struggle, and that they consider that their duty is to help strengthen and expand it in every possible way.

The two sides again declared their conviction that a genuine Middle East peace can only be achieved provided all occupied Arab territories are liberated and the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine who were violently deprived of their native land are guaranteed, including their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own national state. There can be no settlement of the

Palestinian question that encroaches on the rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The two sides confirmed their support for the struggle waged by the Arab people of Palestine, whose legitimate representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization. The legality of this struggle is based on the decisions of the United Nations Organization, and they consider it an inseparable part of the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples. Both sides condemned the systematic violations of human rights by the Israeli aggressor on the occupied Arab territories, and the practice of ousting the native Arab population from their lands and setting up Jewish settlements there.

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Soviet Union are certain that the strengthening of Arab unity on a progressive, anti-imperialist basis is the most important guarantee of the success of the liberation struggle which the Arab peoples are waging against imperialism, colonialism and aggression. They act in the name of strengthening and thoroughly developing these relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries, and declare that they will continue to promote the strengthening and development of these relations.

The USSR confirmed that it will continue to give resolute all-round support and assistance to the struggle of the Arab peoples for strengthening their national independence, progress and development.

The two sides condemned the racist regimes in southern Africa, as well as the plans and machinations of imperialism to defend its interests and to undermine the positions of the progressive forces in Africa, and to liquidate the African liberation movements. They demanded resolute measures to achieve the political and economic isolation of the racist regimes in Africa and a complete embargo on arms deliveries to them.

The two sides considered the explosion-prone situation in other regions of the continent and again confirmed the need to end imperialist interference in Africa and to grant Africans the right to decide their destiny by themselves.

The participants in the talks said they were seriously concerned about the dangerous situation that has evolved in the Horn of Africa, and declared that they favored a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of borders, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, which is in complete

accord with the principles of the UN and the relevant decisions of the OAU.

The USSR and Libya strongly favor the complete and final liquidation of colonialism and racism and declare their firm resolve to continue giving comprehensive support to the struggle waged by the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa for national independence, freedom and equality. They condemn every machination aimed at preserving the colonial and racist order in whatever form, and believe that genuine solution of the vitally important problems of southern Africa is possible only by eliminating the racist regimes and transferring all power to the representatives of the African majority.

They again confirm that they will continue to support the African peoples in their struggle for liberation and for the ultimate banishment of foreign monopolies, and are against any attempts by imperialist and neo-colonialist circles to establish their domination over the African peoples' national wealth.

The two sides likewise condemn the collusion between the racist regimes in Israel and South Africa which is aimed at striking out against the liberation struggle of the Arab and African peoples. They condemn the policy of racial discrimination and racism.

Special attention was given to the question of disarmament in view of its seriousness and importance for the struggle to strengthen peace and international security. The need to hold the World Disarmament Conference in the nearest future was confirmed.

The two sides stress the significance of the important contribution of the non-aligned countries to the anti-imperialist struggle, especially their efforts in support of law and justice in international relations in order to guarantee security and peace around the world. The USSR highly values the positive role of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in the non-alignment movement.

The two sides support the right of all peoples to use their natural resources as they see fit and their struggle to end all manifestations of inequality in international economic relations. They confirm that efforts still have to be channelled toward the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice, which would end the domination of the monopolies and exploitation, would end inequality in international economic relations, and would ensure well-being and prosperity for all peoples.

The two sides confirm their respect for and high assessment of the UN and again declare their adherence to the goals, principles and the

Charter of this Organization. They note its positive role in strengthening peace and international security.

The two sides came to the same opinion on the importance of political cooperation and coordination of actions of both countries and of continuing contacts at different levels on questions of mutual interest.

They express satisfaction with the development of Soviet-Libyan relations and confirm that they will develop and expand their cooperation in the economic, cultural, scientific and other fields.

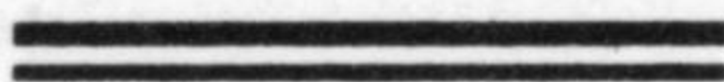
The two sides highly evaluate the results of the talks that have taken place and believe that the visit by A.S. Jalloud to the USSR gave new impetus to the expansion of relations and cooperation between the two countries.

Abdel Salam Jalloud thanked the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet government and the people of the Soviet Union for the warm welcome he and his party received.

On behalf of Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi, General Secretary of the General People's Congress of Libyan Jamahiriya, and on his own behalf, he invited Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to visit the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Pravda, February 21, 1978



STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

LAW OF THE IMMORTALITY OF GREAT ART

Speech by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary, CC BCP, Chairman of the PRB State Council at a meeting of the CC BCP Secretariat with participants of the Third National Young Writers' Conference.

In his speech Tudor Zhivkov noted that the problems of work, struggle and life of the Bulgarian people must become also the problems of Bulgarian literature and above all of the young writers.

The main thing, the speaker said, is that we have advanced along a broad front to key positions in building a mature socialist society, which require profound qualitative and quantitative changes in our economy and culture, in our material and spiritual development, in solving cardinal problems in all spheres of life.

Life in the country today, Zhivkov noted, engenders and cannot but engender complex and extremely important processes in the mentality, morals, culture and the entire spiritual life. In this connection our belles-lettres must make a worthy contribution to solving the new tasks, reflect phenomena and processes linked with the moulding of the new man.

The BCP, Zhivkov said, closely follows and attaches immense importance to the timely discovery of new artistic talents, to creating the necessary conditions for their correct education and development, their all-round socio-political, moral and professional grounding, for the manifestation of their creative abilities and civic positions. This is one of our party's best traditions which is linked with the names of Blagoyev and Dimitrov, and with the decisions of the April (1956) plenum — a tradition which we are steadfastly following and continually developing and enriching. A businesslike contact with our young creative workers in literature and the arts is not only most rewarding but a major social duty of our party, its Central Committee and Political Bureau, and of all of us. Whoever ignores or is lackadaisical in carrying out this duty is seriously remiss both in relation to the

behests and traditions of the party, and the immediate demands of our present development along the road of socialism.

For us literature and the arts is not just an ordinary matter, but a crucial factor in building the new society and above all in moulding the new man.

We see in our young creative intelligentsia the morrow, the future image of our culture, literature and art, and we want that day to be as bright and fruitful as possible, and that image to be as shining and noble as possible. Our concern for the young signifies concern for the future of Bulgarian literature and art.

We are aware of the enormous social, spiritual and aesthetic value of the ideas, knowledge and merits of the young generation, their contribution to our struggle, labor endeavor, to our common advance to socialism and communism.

We have faith in our young creative intelligentsia. We have faith in its political stance, its boundless fidelity to the ideas and cause of socialism, its vital link with the people, its keen social awareness, exactingness and sense of responsibility. Ours is not only a fine worker and rural youth, but also a splendid young generation of the creative intelligentsia.

I note with satisfaction that there exists a deep mutual understanding, mutual respect, mutual regard between the party and the young creative intelligentsia.

The Bulgarian Communist Party never has and is not now resorting to demagogy. We duly assess our historic gains, what we have achieved, the problems we have resolved. We see at the same time the shortcomings, as yet unresolved problems, objective and subjective difficulties. Such is our approach in all spheres of our development. Our approach is the same to the sphere of your activity, to the literary field of our socialist construction.

That is why — and I stress this — in showing concern for the young workers in the arts it is essential to be both trusting and exacting, respectful and principled. Only in this way can we educate talented young writers to become dedicated creators and builders of socialist culture, confirmed and staunch champions of our sacred communist ideals.

Talent is an exceptionally important social value. It is something we must nurture and safeguard, and create conditions for its correct development. Without talent there is no art, no literature. But talent is

not something standing above society. Talent also carries a responsibility, and perhaps the highest of all, to society. The people, in the final count, are the most important judges of everything, including art.

The 20 years since the April (1956) plenum irrefutably prove that the policy in the sphere of literature, the arts and culture, which we call the April line and policy, is correct and has been confirmed by life.

Thanks to the April plenum we have not permitted literature and the arts to become a rostrum for bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views or the destruction of what the party has instilled in the minds and hearts of the people.

Genuine literature and art, Zhivkov emphasized, have always been, apart from everything else, the conscience of the people who rose up against obscurantism, tyranny and injustice. Like a clarion call, they have always appealed to the popular masses to fight for freedom and happiness. Scanning the pages of any national literature you will find inscribed in golden letters the names of the writers and the titles of works which are most closely linked with the people's struggle for freedom and progress. I believe I will not be amiss in saying that there is not a single work of genius in literature or art which is not linked or does not reflect and fight for the progressive ideas and ideals of its time.

Such is the law of the eminence and immortality of great art, and it is the action of that law that has immortalized Dante and Cervantes, Shakespeare and Pushkin, Balzac and Goethe, Tolstoy, Gorky and Mayakovsky, Garcia Lorca and Hikmet. Such is the law which has immortalized Hristo Botev, Ivan Vazov, Peiyo Yavorov, Hristo Smirnenski, Geo Milev, Nikola Vaptsarov and other splendid luminaries on our national literary horizon. There is no other road, or other law for the greatness and immortality of literature and its creators.

Progressive, revolutionary literature has played an outstanding role in our history. And we take pride in this, pride in the existence of this model of close intertwining and interaction of politics and literature.

It has become habitual nowadays to speak of all kinds of models. Bourgeois ideologues and modern-day opportunists seek to capitalize on it with the aim of counterposing, for instance, one socialist revolution to another, of substantiating the absurd thesis that socialism is possible without the key factor which makes it a qualitatively new social system, without its common principles and regularities.

Our credo, the credo of every Marxist-Leninist, a well-known credo that has been spectacularly confirmed by life and practice is: there is not nor can there be a socialist revolution if the chief, fundamental, decisive factor — the power of the working class in alliance with the other working masses — is negated, if the leading and guiding role of the Marxist-Leninist Party, if the need to eliminate capitalist ownership and the exploitation of man by man is negated. To negate all this is to negate socialism itself, its fundamental principles. Therefore we are against all attempts to set up “national models,” whose only merit is their incompatibility with genuine socialism.

What is really at issue? The point is that socialist society can serve as a model if it provides instructive experience, lessons for the communist movement in other countries where such a society is also being built, if this experience and these lessons enrich the theory and practice of socialism and communism. And this is possible only when the socialist society implements the general principles and regularities of the socialist transformation process.

We have always stressed and it has always been axiomatic with us that the fundamental regularities of socialist revolution were first manifested in the Great October Socialist Revolution, that the fundamental regularities of socialism and construction of a new society were embodied for the first time ever in the Soviet Union. That is why the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution and socialist construction carried out under the leadership of the glorious party of Lenin is of universal significance. That is why the communist and workers' parties learn from it. To use the language of science or the model theory, it is a model that shows the prototype of a new society.

In view of the common regularities of the revolutionary process, of building and developing a new society, each Marxist-Leninist party must take account of the concrete conditions, traditions, etc., in which they are being implemented, seek specific ways, forms and means of realizing the communist ideas and ideals, determine independently its tactics for uniting the popular masses and progressive forces in the struggle against the capitalist social system. This is not only the right, but the primary duty of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party.

If one or another party does not do this, does not or cannot successfully carry out this function, it signifies that it has not yet attained the level of a conscious vanguard and militant headquarters

of the working class. This can prejudice the Communist Party itself, its historic mission and its struggle. This will unfavorably affect not only fulfillment of its national objectives, but its international responsibilities as well. It can neither take account of the real balance of forces nor successfully lead the working class and popular masses in the struggle against capitalism.

Each party must itself carry on this complex and extremely responsible activity, no one else will do it for them. A party which has not mastered the dialectics of common regularities and their concrete manifestation in corresponding circumstances, the dialectics of the national and international, cannot be considered a mature Marxist-Leninist Party.

Therefore, in speaking of models it is not our aim to view socialism separately from its content or to create artificial blueprints, but to emphasize the common regularities of the revolutionary process, to show the international significance of the experience of each Communist Party. Different models, in the sense mentioned above, will continue to exist because life is multi-faceted, because the forms of transfer to socialism are specific, concrete. But the chief and decisive thing is what class will come to power and what the historic mission of that class is. That is the heart of the matter.

In accordance with this credo and in the name of this credo, we Bulgarian communists waged bloody battles against the old world, carried out the socialist revolution and are building a new life. We will in future too follow this road, together with the other fraternal socialist countries, together with the great Soviet Union, under the banner of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

Further Zhivkov touched on the so-called "dissident" question, noting that in Bulgaria this phenomenon does not exist.

Dissidence, Zhivkov said, is not a literary but a political factor, it is not a phenomenon of world literature, but a phenomenon of the present sharp ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism. The essence of the question is that in the socialist countries, including in Bulgaria, there may be a few people with "dissenting" views. It is not only possible but, I would say, a normal thing. Differently thinking people exist and will of necessity exist in the course of such a complex, contradictory and difficult historical process as the socialist transformation of society. Some of these people are deluded, others are unable to find their bearings in the modern situation and lose their

direction, and a few individuals ignominiously go over to the other side of the barricades.

It is not a matter, however, of the existence of different views or even a different understanding of one or another question, but that the bourgeois class, bourgeois propaganda, our class enemy is out to create the impression that there exists a political anti-socialist opposition in our countries. They, experience shows, are seeking in every way to set up such an opposition from individuals who have broken with the ideas and cause of socialism.

Dissidence in the forms it is manifested in the present-day ideological struggle is a matter of expediency. It has no future, nor can it have any. As experience shows, dissidence is the easiest way of becoming quickly known by the enemies of socialism, of being quickly disgraced in the eyes of one's own people and progressive opinion, and then just as quickly forgotten by the one and the other.

The great majority of our artistic and creative intelligentsia of all generations and fields of art and culture, the best, the most talented stand firmly and clearly on the positions of socialism, consciously follow the policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party and are fighting selflessly for its implementation; they are inseparably linked with the people, with its aspirations, its labor endeavor and struggle to build a socialist and communist society. In such circumstances, as you can see, dissidence is doomed to failure.

Our artistic intelligentsia possesses not only the conditions for creative work, conditions for creating artistic values, for rejoicing in the beneficial results of dissemination of its work among the people, but also to participate directly and fully in the country's social and political life, to occupy an important place in discussing and resolving fundamental questions of our development, in managing cultural and social affairs.

A spirit of unity and cohesion, a stimulating atmosphere, a striving to higher aims and achievements dominate the Bulgarian artistic-creative intelligentsia. This phenomenon is the primary and decisive one, it is a soil in which dissidence cannot grow, to say nothing of its bearing fruit.

Our strength lies in our truth, our ideas, our Leninist line and cultural policy, in the real conditions and advantages of our socialist social system.

Abridged from *Rabotnichesko Delo*, February 3, 1978

THE CRISIS OF CREDIBILITY

Statement by the Communist Party of Canada¹

Federal elections are to be held shortly in Canada.² The political situation in the country is extremely complex. The unresolved national problems — crisis of Confederation, growing unemployment, high inflation rate, have undermined confidence in Canada's Liberal Party government under Pierre Trudeau, and the crisis of credibility has been intensified by the revelation of illegal activity of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Canada's national security and intelligence force.

The Commission of Inquiry Concerning Certain Activities of the RCMP was set up by the federal government to probe the illegalities. Such devices have often been used in the past by Canadian governments wishing to ride out an embarrassing problem, hoping people's interest and concern would die down with the passage of time.

It hasn't always worked out that way. Many public bodies have made submissions to the Commission. The Communist Party of Canada presented on January 18, 1978 a statement, which says:

"Canadians, generally speaking, believed that Canada was an open society. It must have come as a shock to many that far from being an open society, activities of an undemocratic and illegal manner were undertaken which showed that the open society is not so open. The activities referred to are the reports of alleged illegal activities of the RCMP. Mr. Fox, Solicitor-General of Canada told the country that the offices of a left-wing newspaper and of some parties were raided and lists of members seized. He told the country of the surveillance of individuals, the interception of mail, the burning of a barn, the stealing of dynamite. In the last few days the country was further informed by Mr. Fox that a fake communiqué was issued by the RCMP in the name of the Front de Liberation du Québec which called upon the people of Québec to rise in armed revolt. According to Mr. Fox these illegal actions were committed by the Security Planning and Analysis Branch of the RCMP. He has further informed the country that this is the last of a series of illegalities. Frankly we have our doubts. We believe there are other illegalities yet to be uncovered.³

"It has been reported that all the above activities were carried out in the name of national security. This raises a question which your Commission must of necessity give thought to — what constitutes a threat to Canada's security? What is a subversive act? What consti-

tutes a security risk? What is legitimate political dissent?

"According to the Security Branch of the RCMP any movement which opposes the status quo and which, in one way or another, advocates social change, is a security risk, a threat to Canada's security. Otherwise why should the trade unions, the farm movement, the Indian movement, social reform movements, the national movement in French Canada be under investigation and labelled a security risk? It is interesting to note that insofar as the Security Branch of the RCMP is concerned, the Establishment or any member of it, be it the multinational corporations, the racists, the pro-fascists do not constitute security risks. Nor is this accidental. In point of fact the Security Branch of the RCMP has been holding briefing meetings with industrialists to draw their attention to what are considered dangerous organizations. The *Globe and Mail* reported⁴ that labor groups and their traditional political affiliate, the New Democratic Party, have always been a primary concern of the Bourne group, that is the Security Branch of the RCMP. This linkup between the RCMP and the corporations in Canada shows what is the real intent of the Security Branch. It has very little to do with the security of Canada but very much to do with maintaining the status quo.

"In the opinion of the Communist Party of Canada, the real threat to Canada's security comes from those who support aggression abroad and advocate violence against the people at home ... It includes advocacy of racism, of cultural genocide against Native Peoples, of anti-Semitism, of fascism, of the use of violence in different forms against the French-Canadian people.

"It is these forces, combined with those who connive in the U.S. takeover of Canada, and thereby undermine Canada's independence and sovereignty, who are the ones threatening Canada's national security."

However, these are not the forces that are watched and acted against, the CPC statement emphasizes. An example are the immigration laws which welcome fascist supporters and criminals guilty of mass murders in World War II, but close Canada's doors to anti-fascists, including communists.

"The CPC stands for the security of Canada based on the unrestricted defense of its sovereignty and independence. That is why it advocates public ownership of Canada's natural resources and democratic control of U.S. branch plants in Canada; for a made-in-Canada Constitution based on equal partnership of English and French Canadian people in a bi-national state; for a bill of rights

guaranteeing democratic rights for all Canadians; for a foreign policy based on peaceful coexistence, détente and disarmament as the only safe alternative to the danger of world nuclear war. Coupled with policies leading to full employment and rising living standards for Canadians, these measures constitute a firm base for Canada's national security."

Pointing to the efforts being made to play down the revelations and to pass the buck, the submission says the RCMP responsibilities should not be whitewashed but in the final analysis the responsibility lies not only with the minister in charge but with the government under whose authority the RCMP acted and continues to act.

"One would have thought and hoped that the government which in the past claimed to be for a Just Society and opposed to even peeping into the bedrooms of the nation, would make it unmistakably clear that a serious attack on democratic and civil rights had taken place. Instead we are given the picture of the Prime Minister declaring that if illegalities had indeed occurred, the thing to do was to make these illegalities legal. What this boils down to is that the Prime Minister defends undemocratic actions as necessary to safeguard democracy, an extremely dangerous thesis, to put it mildly.

"In our opinion the way to come to grips with the illegalities perpetrated by the Security Branch is by democratization of the RCMP and by undertaking effective parliamentary control over its activities. There cannot be two laws, one for the RCMP and another for the Canadian people. The RCMP must uphold civil and democratic rights. Canadians must not allow a situation in which, to all intents and purposes, a state operates within a state and is outside the control of the democratic institutions of the Canadian people. To prevent this, the RCMP and the armed forces must be subordinated to civil law and to the democratically designated authorities, and all paranoid and anti-democratic elements removed from these institutions. We have enough lessons from history and the more recent period to emphasize how important that is." (Abridged)

¹The material was prepared for *Information Bulletin* by CC CPC member Peter Boychuck.

²Federal elections must be held at least once in five years. Normally they are held every four years. It is up to the party in power to set the date of election. It picks the most advantageous time for itself. The last elections were held July 8, 1974.

³On January 30, 1978, Solicitor-General Francis Fox resigned from the federal government.

⁴A list of over 60 such organizations was published in the *Globe and Mail* on December 19, 1977.

STOP THE REPRESSIONS, DEVELOP FREE DISCUSSION

Statement by leaders of the Tunisian Communist Party

Tunisian Communist Party leaders Ennafaa, Harmel and Ben Mustapha issued a statement recently in Tunis in connection with the January 25 events and the "unprecedented in the country's history" repressions against the leadership of the General Confederation of Tunisian Working People (UGTT), which threaten "all progressive and democratic forces by throttling trade union autonomy."

The Tunisian Communist Party states that:

First, the UGTT cannot be held responsible for the deplorable acts of violence and destruction perpetrated by adolescents and youths, who, moreover, were brutally repressed. "The trade union organization obviously could not have provoked actions running counter to the methods of its activity, and which today serve as the basis for the charges levelled against its leaders. This violence could have been avoided had the UGTT been permitted to fulfill its role on the day of the strike and to intervene publicly and actively to eschew any misuse of the strike slogans in a direction contrary to the interests of the working people."

Second, the warning general strike that was declared on the UGTT's appeal was not intended as an insurrection or uprising. The UGTT was virtually compelled to declare the strike in protest against the mounting denigration of the trade unions, and against the increasing threat to their autonomy. "We regretfully note that preference was given to clashes and repressions instead of recognizing trade union autonomy, and instead of an open democratic dialogue a showdown was chosen as a means to resolve the crisis. A blow was dealt at the most precious gains of the working people and against all those who opted for progress and democracy: at the powerful trade union organization which had the courage to assert its own autonomy, to uphold the demands of the working people, reflect their aspirations, defend them against the onslaught of capital and which had begun to carry weight in the country's development along the road of progress and democracy on the basis of our people's interests and in the framework of a genuine national alliance, an alliance renovated by the force of the new economic, social and political objectives characterizing the country's present development stage.

Third, the Tunisian communists are convinced that the repressions do not provide a solution to the country's fundamental problems and believe that a genuine solution of these problems consists "in a rejection of all forms of repression, repeal of the state of emergency, release of Habib Achur (UGTT Secretary-General. — *Ed.*) and other detained trade union leaders and activists, recognition of the UGTT's right to autonomy, a general amnesty, establishment of democratic freedoms and in launching a national dialogue with the aim of a free and responsible discussion of the solutions needed by the country".

Unita, February 10, 1978

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REPORT BY ENRICO BERLINGUER AT CC ICP PLENUM

The Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party held a plenum over January 26 to 28, at which General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer made the report. Below we print excerpts from his report.

The present government crisis occurs in a situation characterized by a political and social tension that is similar in intensity to that which the country experienced in 1947. At that time it resulted in a split of the popular and democratic unity, the unity which had extricated Italy from the fascist catastrophe and war, initiated a material and moral reconstruction and facilitated the formation of a republic. Now, 30 years since the split the country must urgently find a way for its salvation and renovation. For this it is essential that the democratic parties ensure its new leadership that is strengthened by shared responsibility. Then, for a number of reasons the political tension led to an agonizing split, today it must and can lead to cooperation and to elaboration of a unitary direction.

We are asked, why did the crisis occur six months after the July agreements? We have always acknowledged that the agreements then concluded between the democratic parties as well as some of their results were a positive factor. But in concluding the July agreements, which we pledged to fulfill consistently and faithfully, the communists declared that this accord shows even more clearly the contradictions arising from the fact that such broad and responsible accords are to be implemented by a government formed by Christian Democrats alone which is not supported by a genuine parliamentary majority. Just as openly and clearly we reaffirmed that the question of creating in Italy a government of democratic solidarity capable of delivering the country from the grave situation remains open to us.

Then, beginning with the autumn, conditions became aggravated, with signs of their further deterioration. With every passing day the objective facts became ever more alarming with respect to industrial

production, employment, public order, the situation in various services, to say nothing of other negative aspects, intensifying the material hardships of the working people and popular masses. At the same time the government, whose previous activity had shown certain positive aspects, revealed an increasing inability to solve problems and to fulfill in time its commitments as stipulated in the program agreements. A long list of program commitments remained a dead letter or were distorted through the fault of the Christian Democratic Party and its government.

In such a situation, there quickly spread not only criticism and disenchantment among the parties which refrained from voting, but also a demand for an urgent change of political leadership. The position is known in this connection of the Italian Republican Party, which stated that the only way of salvaging the country was to urgently form an emergency government, which would invite the ICP to share full responsibility in the political leadership of the country. At the time the Socialist comrades also posed the question of this need.

Our party, displaying the utmost patience and moderation, arrived at the conclusion that any further delay was impermissible and in its December 7 resolution the ICP leadership openly posed the question of the need for political change and forming a democratic unity government, adding its weight to analogous demands advanced by the Republicans and Socialists.

It was noted that the goal we set — a democratic coalition government including the Communist Party — engendered on the one hand, approval and interest among the other parties and broad mass support, and on the other — alarm and a variety of reactions, primarily of the conservative elements in the Christian Democratic Party and the Catholic world, among the more narrow-minded and inert part of the capitalist class and anti-communist forces abroad — in the United States, France and elsewhere.

At the present time our nation's highest values are at stake. We must make our choice. Either, the political conditions, relation of economic and social forces, contradictions and habits which led and lead to dissolution of the institutions, of the very tissue of society and civic existence, endangering and undermining national independence and unity will continue to operate; or, new aspects must appear in the life of society and the state, in the public consciousness on the political and social plane that would permit launching activities for

salvation, improvement and renovation. This is admittedly a most difficult activity requiring bold, patient, sustained and profound effort, but for which there still exist the necessary forces and conditions.

We must bear in mind, however, that it is essential to act before it is too late, before the situation that is now maturing for real change has irretrievably deteriorated.

The ICP, though not taking part in government, was able, by rebuffing all attacks and expanding its initiatives, to increase its political and numerical strength, which helped it to become ever more aware of its national function, and extended its influence among the voters right up to the highest moments — June 15, 1975 and June 20, 1976. As a result of these elections, the ICP became a party with a decisive say in the municipalities, provinces and regions, with more than one-third of the seats in Parliament, and the post of President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Facts today show that the attempts to prevent a party which has attained such prestige and such broad support from direct participation in government make it impossible to seriously govern the country. The ideological discrimination against the ICP is not only unjust in itself — as it has always been — but also insofar as it continues (and which it is sought to continue further) will make the country's crisis a chronic phenomenon and will not allow stopping the deterioration of the democratic process itself in a corporative and anarchic direction, along the parabola of attempts at a reactionary and authoritarian solution of the problem.

During 30 years the ICP has invariably moved ahead, and I stress, invariably, at each election, making a jump from 19 per cent to 34.5 per cent and finally winning 12,620,000 votes.

Thus everything points to the fact that in such an emergency situation the parties should find the courage and confidence for an exceptional political solution, i.e., for the creation of an emergency government.

We insist on our position and on our proposal. It is a serious, clear and understandable proposal that corresponds to the real conditions and points to the root of the evil. We insist on it, knowing full well that participation in government in such a complex situation would place an even higher responsibility on the ICP than ever before.

What was the CDP's response to this? Till now its response has been negative and as a whole contradictory. The leadership of the

Christian Democratic Party acknowledges, in fact, the increasing gravity of the situation in the economy and in ensuring public order and speaks of the need for a firm solidarity of the social and political forces. But it arrives at the conclusion that it is only necessary to update the program agreements while leaving the political structure unchanged, thereby not only excluding the possibility of the communists' participation in government, but denying even their recognized, explicit majority. This is an absurd and unacceptable contention dictated simply by considerations of party advantage and leading to a deepening of the government crisis.

As a result this narrow-minded stand of the CDP objectively leads to a new dissolution of Parliament and to a confrontation of forces at the elections, which would be more damaging than ever to the country and to inter-party relations.

Should the government crisis become aggravated and a deadlock appear as a result of the continuing inactivity of the CDP, we consider it justifiable for us to advance the idea that the Christian Democratic Party should not oppose the creation of a government on the initiative of parties which demand a change in the political situation. Such a government must have a program that has been agreed upon by all democratic parties, and simultaneously possible forms of control could be envisaged in addition to the control usually effected by Parliament.

In this case we would insist that the CDP must adopt a responsible stance in relation to the country and the state institutions, analogous to the stand which we adopted in agreeing to the creation and activity of the Andreotti government.

In any case, it should be clear that in saying this today we are not putting forward proposals, we are only posing a hypothetical question. Our proposal remains the same, and as illustrated in this report, it envisages the creation of an emergency government, a government of unity and solidarity of all popular forces.

Abridged from *Unità*, January 27, 1978



“EGYPT: LOST ILLUSIONS”

I. SADAT'S DREAM

The illusions of an easy Middle East settlement based on a “man-to-man” goodwill agreement have obviously dispersed as quickly as they were born. An end to embraces, and end to smiles, an end to the euphoric propaganda. Now reality has to be faced. “The strategic and political characteristics of the situation that has existed for 30 years already cannot be changed by just one spectacular visit,” said Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmi on resigning in protest the day Sadat flew to Jerusalem. This reflection, which then went unnoticed in the general atmosphere of euphoria, must today seem almost prophetic to many Egyptians.

Indeed, Sadat's initiative has not budged the Israeli hawks an inch from their positions. On the contrary, on the two essential points without the settlement of which there can be no serious agreement — Israel's withdrawal from all occupied territories and recognition of the Palestinian's right to a homeland — the Tel Aviv participants in the negotiations took an even tougher stance and demonstrated the spirit in which they intended to discuss them: from positions of strength and intransigence. To make it clear that they will not concede anything they stepped up the construction of new centers of colonization.

Anwar Sadat is still waiting for the “gesture” which he has repeatedly asked of Menachem Begin in exchange for his multiple concessions. Full of hope, he counted on benefiting from the support of the American protector. But in this respect he was also disappointed. The links between Israel and the USA are too close, too solid, too badly needed for Washington to disturb the equilibrium in favor of Egypt.

Sadat hoped that, by the logic of the process which he believed he had initiated, Syrian President Assad and the leaders of the “moderate” Arab countries, that is, King Hussein of Jordan and King Khaled of Saudi Arabia, would shortly come to his support. But none of them joined him. Moreover, despite the imprecations against those who in

Tripoli would not accept "peace at any price," it was not the Palestine Liberation Organization — attacked and vilified — that was isolated, but the Egyptian government itself. The rupture of diplomatic relations with a number of Arab countries and particularly the deterioration of relations with the USSR is yet another cause of Cairo's weakened positions.

Whether well or badly played (the latter, rather) Sada's game fits in perfectly with the long-term plans of the American strategists. What is in question? The point is to create political, economic and military structures which would "stabilize" the Middle East situation and firmly link it to the Atlantic world. Twenty-five per cent of American oil imports come from Saudi Arabia, and this figure is on the upgrade. Over the past four years 40,000 million Saudi oil dollars have been reinvested in the United States. This is testimony of the extent to which the interests of the American monopolies and the oil magnates are linked and intertwined.

Now, naturally, it is a matter of receiving direct profits from capital in the entire region, where Egypt is the binding link. American technology, relayed through Israel, Saudi dollars and the cheap Arab labor force are designed to create there, in the framework of a Middle East version of the common market, a new extensive zone for reaping profit. It is hoped at the same time to muzzle the popular movement, hamper the growing aspirations toward socialism, and to set up a new strategic base near the Soviet borders.

This "made in the USA" plan follows the old blueprint of the "Nixon doctrine," but its aims could meet with the support of certain local elements. The kings and emirs, concerned for their future, the local oil magnates and their loyal subjects who have battered on the fabulous rain of oil dollars, the middlemen and representatives of the multinationals, the various parasitical elements encrusted in the state apparatus, which of them would not like to get or to add to his piece of pie? With such prospects, would not some of them consider as a hindrance the ill-starred Palestinians who insist on having a homeland, would they not consider as subversive and dangerous those who dream of complete independence, freedom and social progress for their country?

Sadat has demonstrated his readiness to sacrifice these "chimeras." On the condition, however, that he is aided in his task. He has already made too many concessions, but there are limits beyond which he cannot risk going. He was convinced that the Israeli leaders (prodged by the U.S.) would realize that "common interests"

require that they moderate their demands. But this did not happen. And Begin is convinced that without making any concessions, he can force the Egyptian leaders to continue along the narrow road they have chosen, because at the end of this road there shines the golden calf.

II. WHY IS SADAT IN SUCH A HURRY

Why is Sadat in such a hurry to conclude a separate peace with Israel? What makes him burn all his bridges, break off alliances and entrust his fate solely to the good will of Israel and the United States which, in his words, hold 90 per cent of trump cards in the Middle East game?

The answer to this question should be sought not only in the drafting of the above-mentioned strategic plan in which Egypt would have a role, but in the more direct causes linked with the country's catastrophic economic situation.

The per capita income in Egypt is lower than in the other Arab countries (approximately 700 francs annually), and the minimum wage is 12 pounds a month (84 francs), while the cost of living according to official calculations is 18 pounds (126 francs). In view of this situation, the government has already over a number of years provided subsidies in order to artificially maintain the level of prices on basic foods. In 1975 the sum total of subsidies amounted to 642 million pounds, that is, it was in excess of the total exports (549 million pounds). Last year the budget deficit amounted to almost 8,000 million francs, and Egypt once again had to resort to foreign loans (U.S. and Saudi Arabian) primarily in order to feed its population, or more precisely, not to let it starve to death.

Egypt's situation was aggravated by the fact that it was obliged (despite massive Soviet aid) to allocate an enormous part of its resources for defense needs. But this is not the whole story.

After Nasser's death the country's course was deliberately changed. The state sector, which was created under Nasser's leadership and constituted the motive force of modernizing Egypt, is increasingly being reduced to the role of a springboard for developing the private sector. The social laws adopted under Nasser are more and more being ignored to the detriment of the working people. Now there is no more talk of "socialism," but of a "liberal economy." The "open-door policy" is being lauded. Since 1974 it is becoming the "official" doctrine.

This policy did not bring the expected "miracle à la Japan," how-

ever, but had quite another effect. The open-door policy for foreign — Western and Arab — capital turned out to be a policy of even more widely open doors for all kinds of traffickers who were out for a quick pound, and for embezzlement and corruption everywhere, even at the highest levels.

The activity of this “parasitic bourgeoisie,” as it is called by the Egyptian left, actually creates no wealth, not a single job. These *nouveaux riches* are not building factories, but luxury apartments, which they rent at fabulous prices to the oil magnates who come to Egypt to relax and have a good time. Even in Sadat’s immediate circle some have succumbed to the temptation. Mustapha Khelil, a leader of the Arab Socialist Union who accompanied Sadat on his Jerusalem trip, owns a number of these sumptuous apartments (“they are more profitable than a factory” — an Egyptian journalist commented during our talk). Boutros Ghali, interim Minister for Foreign Affairs after Ismail Fahmi’s resignation, owns several houses with luxuriously furnished flats. But pride of place goes to Osman Ahmed Osman, who has amassed the biggest fortune in Egypt (reportedly amounting to 400 million dollars). In a previous government he held the post of Minister of Reconstruction and was a contractor himself — a combination most favorable for amassing wealth. He also plays an important role on the political scene and was a member of the Egyptian delegation on its first trip to Jerusalem.

It is not hard to see that in these business circles, which dream of expanding the sphere of reaping profits, the prevailing concern is other than defense of the right of the Palestinians to a homeland and safeguarding the country’s independence.

III. TIME FOR REFLECTION?

Egypt’s economic degradation is such that all strata of society now realize that this cannot continue for long. Even those who in the conditions of general poverty might feel satisfaction at seeing their bank accounts growing, must sometimes ask themselves whether they are not living on a volcano.

The extraordinary measures adopted in the capital after the interruption of negotiations in the political committee in Jerusalem and the recall by Egypt of its delegation shows that the ruling circles are seriously concerned. The Egyptian people, ordinarily so reticent and calm, are capable of formidable outbursts of anger when they sense that they are being duped and when their cup of patience has overflowed.

We witnessed this in January 1977, when in seeking to "reduce the budget deficit" the government adopted an ill-advised decision to abolish the subsidies destined to maintain stable prices on basic foods. This actually placed an even heavier burden on the poorest strata of the population. As soon as this became known, massive protest demonstrations took place in Cairo and other cities, and strikes paralyzed most of the big enterprises. Despite the bloody reprisals in which dozens of people died and hundreds were arrested, the government was forced quickly to declare that the announced measures would be postponed. Was this a spontaneous outburst or was it rather an expression of the deep and protracted discontent of the working people, primarily the blue- and white-collar workers of the big nationalized enterprises? They number some 700,000 and they cannot accept as a "natural and positive evolution" the continual deterioration of their living standards and loss of all social gains won in the past resulting from the "open-door policy." Moreover, systematic "wildcat" strikes are taking place since in the existing system the official trade unions are designed to restrict the demands and impede every action of the working people. This is not mentioned except in cases when it is impossible to remain silent.

So what will happen if Sadat loses his "bet," since Israel may want to make him pay a price which not a single head of a Middle East government can agree to without discrediting himself in the eyes of his people and all Arab patriots?

And what will happen if Sadat is obliged to retreat along the tightrope on which he is balancing?

Is it true, as is being asserted both in Tel Aviv and Cairo, that there is only one choice: either an Israeli-Egyptian accord signed under the auspices of the USA — which, whatever its form, would signify a separate peace — or a new war? The Egyptian Left rejects such a dilemma. "Peace, yes, peace" — a high official of the National Progressive Party told me — "but a genuine peace, which can only be global. This is not simply an Israeli-Egyptian conflict. It concerns other sides of the region, particularly the Palestinians. To sign an accord without them, to say nothing of one against them, means to sow the seeds of a new conflict."

This is not being pessimistic. Are not certain Israeli "hawks" dreaming already now of "settling accounts" with the Palestinians in South Lebanon as soon as peace with Egypt is reached and security ensured on that side? "That is why," my interlocutor said, "it is essential to resume the work of the Geneva conference with the

representation of all interested sides. That is a wise and genuine road to peace.”

Will there come after the period of illusions a time of reflection?

Henri Alleg

Abridged from *L'Humanité*, January 20, 21, 23, 1978

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IN DEFENSE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE'S INTERESTS

Communist participation in elections

DENMARK

The quadrennial elections to the Danish regional and municipal bodies are scheduled for early March. The communists are taking an active part in the election campaign, spelling out to the population the CPD's policy which is aimed at defending the interests of the working people. The tasks of the communists in the period of preparation for and conduct of the elections were discussed at a recent plenum of the CPD Central Committee, at party conferences, and at meeting of primary party organizations.

This year the communists have put forward 1,111 candidates in 119 municipalities and 14 regions of the country, which is 50 per cent more than at the previous elections.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The election campaign is now officially under way in the Dominican Republic. At the May 16 general elections the Dominicans will be electing a president and vice-president, members of the National Congress (Parliament) and of local bodies.

The Dominican Communist Party, which won legality in November 1977, will take part in the elections for the first time. General Secretary Narciso Isa Conde is its candidate to the post of president and P. Franco Ornes, to the post of vice-president.

FRANCE

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party held a plenum to discuss preparations for the March parliamentary elections.

Tens of thousands of people living in the capital and its environs took part in a meeting organized by the French Communist Party on

February 17 in connection with the forthcoming elections to the National Assembly.

FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais addressed the meeting. "The communists' position," he said, "is clear: we want changes, implementation of the common government program, we want an alliance of the left forces."

Georges Marchais reaffirmed the FCP's readiness to resume at any time negotiations with the Socialist Party on such a program, which responds to the vital interests of the great majority of French men and women.

The FCP General Secretary noted the key importance of profound economic transformations, above all nationalization of the banks and nine big industrial monopoly groups. There will be no social progress if the reins of power remain in the hands of big capital, he said.

Marchais declared the communists' intention to achieve higher living standards for the population. For this, they consider it essential to increase taxes on big profits and capital, to substantially raise minimum wages and exempt the most needy families from the income tax.

An imperative condition for the implementation of genuine democratic changes and restriction of capitalist domination by a government of the left forces, he emphasized, is communist participation in this government.

MEXICO

The Mexican communists call for stronger unity of the country's progressive democratic forces in the struggle to carry out profound political and socio-economic changes. This is stated in a resolution of a recently concluded MCP Central Committee meeting.

The plenum adopted a decision on the party's participation in the 1979 congressional elections.

The participants emphasized the crucial importance of united actions of the left forces, of all democratic streams on the basis of a common program responding to the interests of the Mexican people.

The Central Committee stressed the need to bring wages in line with the growing prices, to introduce unemployment insurance and to defend Mexico's natural resources against the onslaught of foreign monopolies.

NETHERLANDS

A campaign is under way in the country in preparation for elections

to the provincial states, or, as they are often called, provincial councils. The elections are scheduled for March 29.

The Communist Party of the Netherlands will advance its candidates in all 72 electoral districts. The daily *De Waarheid* printed a list of CPN candidates, stressing that the communists' basic election slogans are: job security, higher wages, and the struggle for peace.

PERU

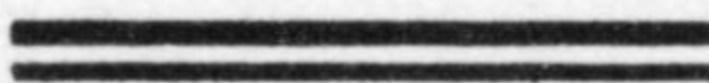
The Peruvian Communist Party appealed to the country's progressives to join ranks for the conduct of the forthcoming Constituent Assembly elections on a genuinely democratic basis. The Assembly will adopt the new Constitution of the country.

VENEZUELA

A plenum of the CP Central Committee held in Caracas unanimously approved the report on the situation in the country made by General Secretary Jesus Faria, and adopted a decision to invigorate the party's work in preparation for the general elections which are to be held on December 10 of this year.

The plenum stressed in this connection the enormous significance of left unity. The CPV, the decision says, has always come out for unity of the working masses and other progressive strata of the population. The plenum instructed the Political Bureau to continue working for such unity on the basis of a common program serving the cause of the entire Venezuelan people.

The Central Committee appealed to the Venezuelan people to step up their struggle against U.S. plans to launch production of the neutron bomb.



ANGOLA

A meeting of the party and state activists of the People's Republic of Angola concluded its work in the town of Cuito, Bie Province.

Addressing the meeting, Antonio Agostinho Neto, Chairman of the MPLA — Party of Labor and President of the PRA, noted the crucial importance of resolving economic problems. Attention should be focused, he stressed, on developing agriculture and on providing food for the population. That is why they party has declared this year a year of agriculture.

We are not alone in our struggle for a socialist Angola, against its enemies, Neto emphasized in a speech at a mass meeting Cuito. We have loyal friends in the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries which worthily contribute to the progressive development of our country.

The head of the Angolan state reaffirmed the PRA's resolve to follow its chosen course, a course of genuine independence and socialism. We are always ready to defend the gains of the Angolan revolution, Neto declared. Should our enemies force us to do so, we will once again take up arms and emerge victorious.

BRITAIN

British communists intend in the coming weeks and months to expand the struggle against racism, which is acquiring a perilous scale in Britain, and against the provocations of the ultra-right "National Front" party, said Gordon McLennan, General Secretary of the CPGB. Addressing a meeting in Sheffield, he sharply denounced the racist demagoguery of the Conservative Party leader Margaret Thatcher, who in a recent statement called for a stop to the immigration from Britain's former colonies. Gordon McLennan appealed to all people of good will in the British Isles, to all progressive organizations to rebuff the racism preached by the Conservative leadership. We call for the unity of communists and Labourites in the struggle against the "National Front," he emphasized.

GDR

The people of the German Democratic Republic are translating into life the program of developing their republic adopted by the Ninth SUPG Congress, General Secretary Erich Honecker said at a meeting of the CC SUPG Secretariat with the first secretaries of regional party organizations.

We come out for détente, and our foreign policy, which corresponds to our class duty, will always be a peaceful policy.

The GDR is fulfilling its historic mission in alliance with the USSR and other socialist community states, Honecker went on to say. Our fraternal alliance is firm and unbreakable and is the earnest of a sound perspective for the GDR.

In connection with the enormous successes of the socialist camp countries, aggressive imperialist circles in the West have recently stepped up their slander campaign against the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist states, Honecker noted. These circles seek to aggravate the situation, to poison the atmosphere in relations between states, disrupt bilateral and multilateral agreements and undermine the security and cooperation of European states. Certain forces in the FRG are most actively working in that direction.

In our efforts to strengthen worker-peasant power we must continually bear in mind that the FRG, owing to its anti-communist stance, will in future too hardly be reconciled with the existence of the first worker-peasant state on German soil. Relations between the GDR and FRG, Honecker pointed out, can develop soundly only on the basis of existing agreements and the Final Act signed in Helsinki.

FRG

At a conference in Saarbrücken activists of the German Communist Party and the Communist Party of Luxembourg noted the need for united actions of the steel workers of the Common Market countries in their struggles against the onslaught of the multinationals.

SRI LANKA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka approved the draft documents for the Tenth Party Congress which will be held in Colombo over March 22 to 26.

The Congress will discuss the CPSL's tasks in the new political situation, international issues and changes in the Program and Constitution of the party proposed by the Central Committee.

YUGOSLAVIA

The Central Committee of the League of Communists held a plenary session in Belgrade. It adopted a decision to convene the 11th LCY Congress this June.

The plenum discussed and endorsed the "Main Theses for the Preparation of Documents for the 11th LCY Congress."

The theses, which have been submitted for discussion to the communists and public of the SFRY, sum up the development of the party and country after the Tenth Party Congress, analyze the problems facing the communists and the entire Yugoslav people and draft guidelines for the years ahead.

The theses cite concrete data characterizing the growth of industrial and agricultural production, employment and living standards. They note the substantial achievements in stabilizing the economy and lowering the inflation rate. All this had a positive effect on the socio-political development and stability of society as a whole.

At the same time the document points to a number of problems and shortcomings in developing the economy, such as the mounting production costs, prices and cost of living, foreign trade and balance of payments deficit, and the slow growth of labor productivity.

Among the important political and socio-economic tasks confronting the LCY and SFRY, the theses cite further work to stabilize the economy, to resolve the problem of providing jobs, especially for the young graduates, and a number of other social problems.

The LCY together with other political organizations bears full responsibility for the socialist character of the solutions in the system of socialist democracy based on self-management, the theses note. The LCY must persistently improve its class social composition, develop forms and methods of activity that will ensure successful implementation of its vanguard role in society.

Substantial successes have been made in ideological work, particularly in Marxist education. The LCY, the documents says, vigorously opposes abuse of creative freedom in the sphere of culture and science, and any attempts to turn it into a political weapon against socialism, for the spread of reactionary ideas. It is particularly important, the theses emphasize, for the LCY to conduct a persistent ideological and political struggle against all forms of nationalism and chauvinism, which often use the cultural sphere for anti-socialist activity.

The foreign-policy section of the document notes that profound revolutionary changes, a part of the process of transition from capitalist to socialism, are a characteristic feature of the present-day world. The achievements of socialism, the progressive processes in individual countries and regions increasingly influence developments in other parts of the world.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was one of the most notable achievements of détente. The LCY and SFRY, the theses say, want to see détente become a comprehensive process, extending to all regions of the world and embracing the solution of all major problems of the present time. The LCY and SFRY come out vigorously for an immediate stop to the arms race and for disarmament.

The LCY will in future too develop international solidarity and support actions aimed at strengthening peace, independence, equitable cooperation, social progress and socialism in the world, at struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and domination in any form, the theses say in conclusion.

BULGARIA

The Bulgarian Communist Party is preparing for the exchange of party cards which will be effected in 1978-1980 in line with the decision of the December (1977) plenum of the BCP Central Committee. Since the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, BCP Party cards have been exchanged twice: in 1953-1955 and in 1967-1968.

There now are 812,000 full and probationary members in the BCP, 41.8 per cent of whom are industrial workers, 22.4 rural workers, and 30.3 come from the intelligentsia.

FINLAND

The Communist Party and progressive public celebrated the 60th anniversary of the workers' revolution in Finland with meetings, rallies and gatherings throughout the country.

The CPF Central Committee issued a statement on the occasion of the jubilee which stresses the importance of the workers' revolution in the history of the revolutionary movement of the Finnish proletariat.

The workers' revolution and class struggle, the statement notes, prepared the ground for the founding of the Communist Party of Finland. Lenin's teaching, the experience of the revolution in Russia showed that the working-class movement needs a party of a new type that is guided by a revolutionary theory and program.

INDIA

The political situation in the country favors the creation of a united front of the left and democratic forces, said Bhupesh Gupta, secretary

of the National Council of the Communist Party and leader of the CPI faction in the Upper House of Parliament. In an interview to the weekly *Link*, he said that at present there is in evidence an unprecedented growth of political awareness of the masses, as reflected in the invigoration of their struggle for their rights. However, this movement's weakness lies in the lack of unity in the camp of the left and democratic forces. The country's working-class and communist movement would gain enormously if these parties and forces created a united front capable of leading the common struggle of the working people for their interests. That is what the Communist Party is coming out for.

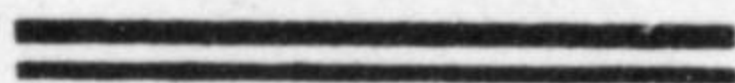
ITALY

The traditional annual exchange of ICP party cards is being successfully conducted in Italy. More than 1,415,000 people have been issued the 1978 party cards, *Unita* reports.

PDRY

"The creation of a vanguard party of a new type is the central and most urgent objective on the road of further struggle to achieve the targets of the Yemeni revolution," UPONF General Secretary Abdel Fattah Ismail declared.

He dwelt at length on the results of the work of the eighth plenum of the UPONF Central Committee, which discussed the tasks of the country's development in 1978. Abdel Fattah Ismail recalled that the 15th anniversary of the revolution will be marked this year. This jubilee, he said, further increases the people's responsibility for reaching our targets.



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A CANADIAN INTRODUCTION

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