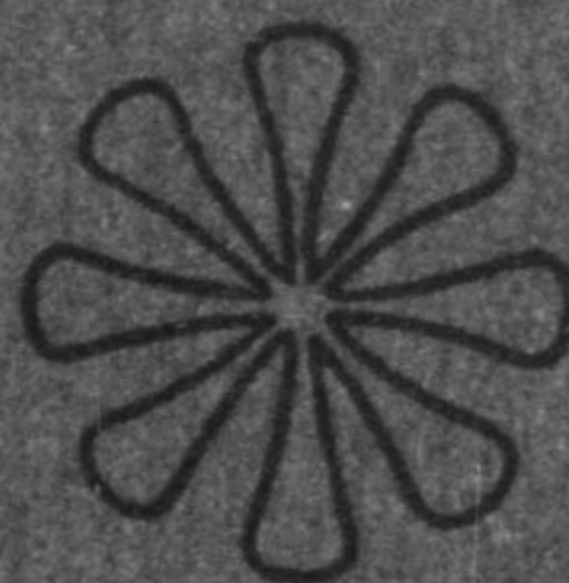


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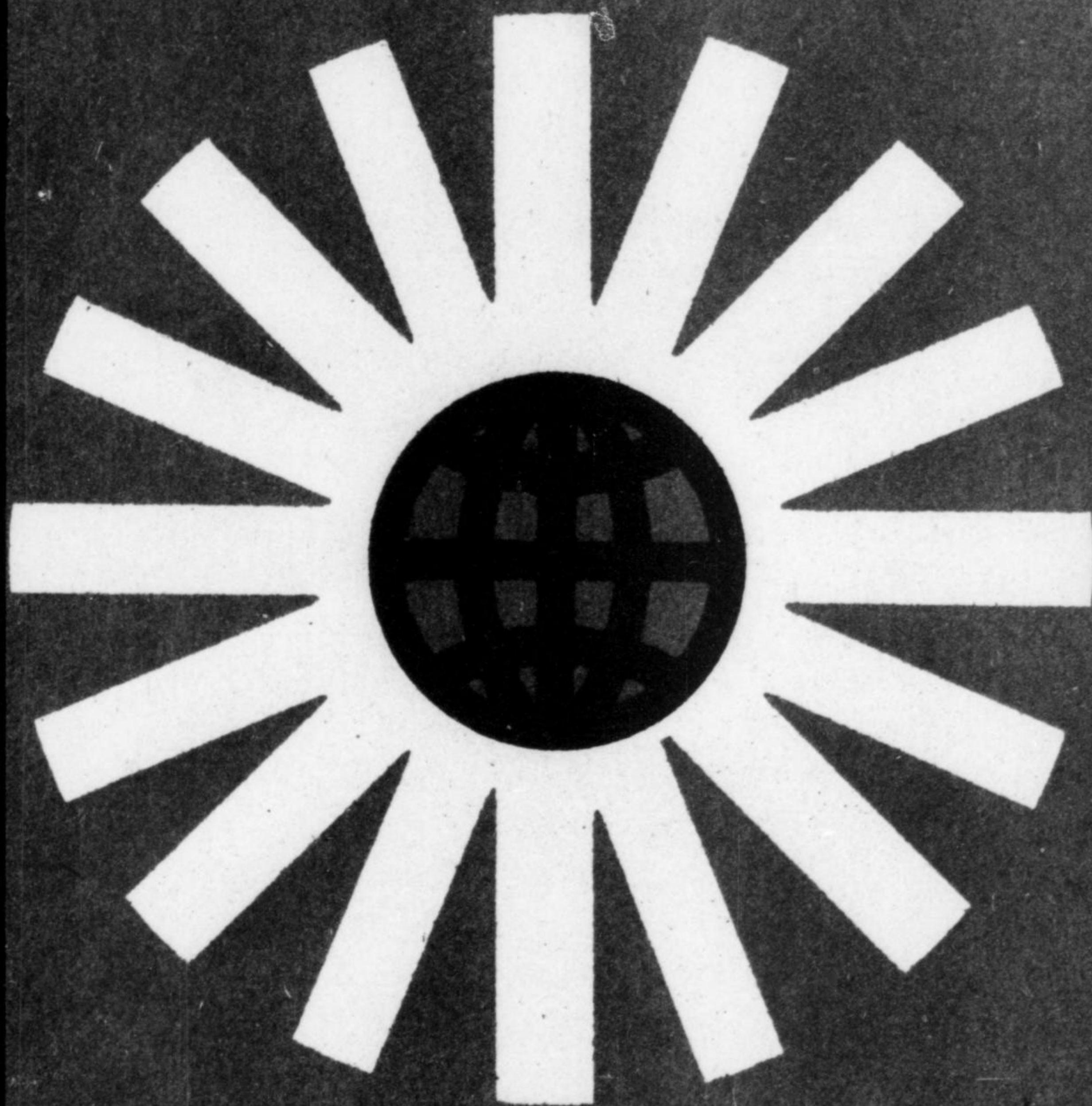


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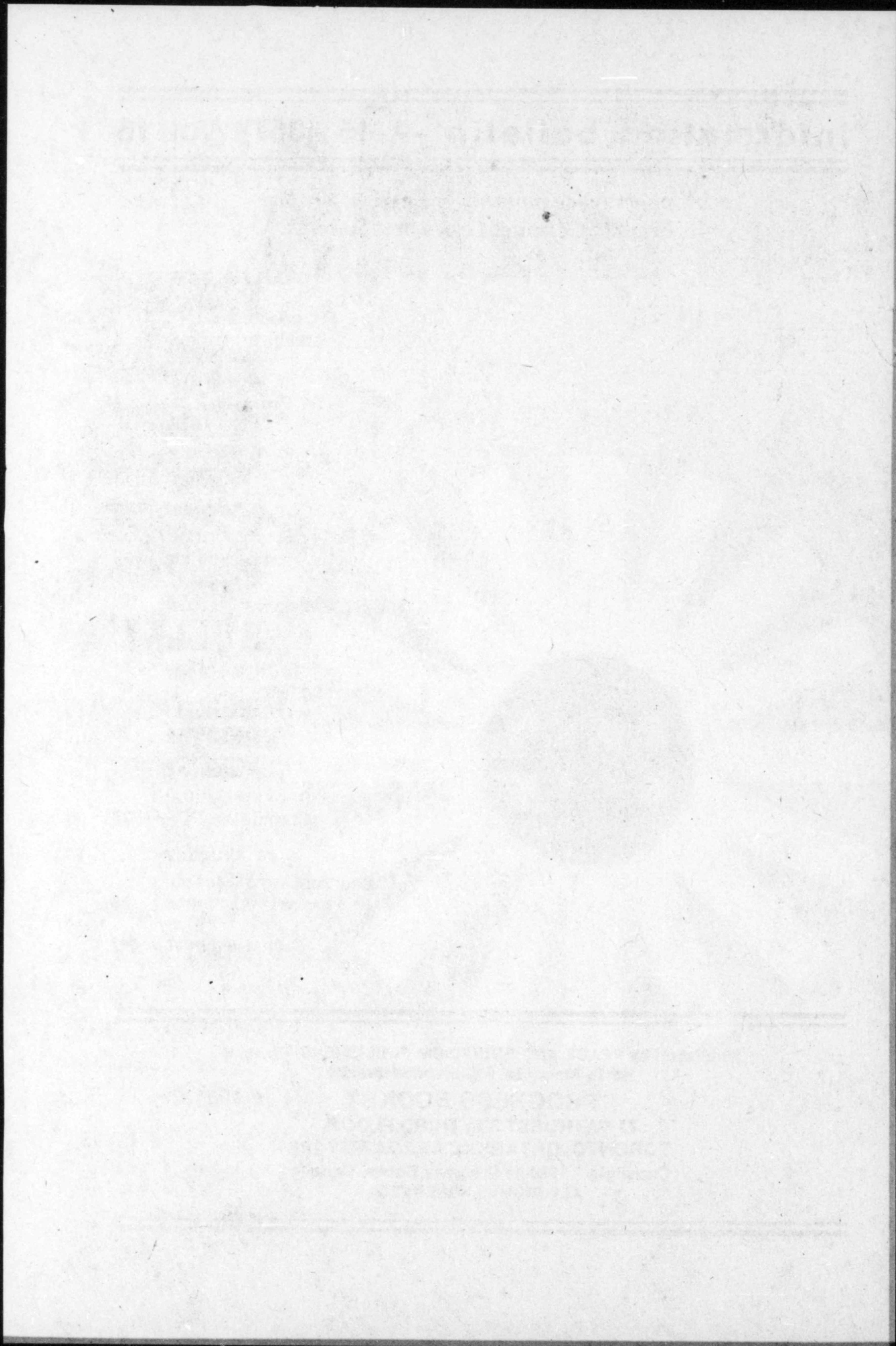
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FOR PEACE, SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT

In the last issues of our *Information Bulletin* we acquainted our readers with the Soviet Union's stand on the disarmament issue. The UN General Assembly special disarmament session, which opened on May 23, and the discussions held there drew special attention to the latest peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the concrete steps it has taken in that direction. Therefore we feel it would be useful to return once again to this question. Below we publish a review by our editorial staff of recent statements by leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet government.

The principle tendency characterizing the present situation on our planet is the tendency toward international détente. But obviously genuine détente in the *political* sphere is unthinkable without détente in the *military* sphere.

From Leonid Brezhnev's speech to officers and ratings of the USSR Pacific Fleet:

"The main problem now on the order of the day is to stop the arms race, to ensure progress toward reducing and eventually removing the threat of a thermonuclear disaster. It is here, in this direction, that the basic question is decided, the question of how the world situation will develop further, and it is here that the most bitter struggle is unfolding."

The Soviet Union has always been and remains an active champion of disarmament. The first decree of the young Soviet state was the Decree on Peace, adopted in 1917 on Lenin's initiative. Ever since and particularly in the recent period the Soviet Union has repeatedly put forward peaceful proposals.

Its efforts acquire increasing significance in our day, when, on the one hand, liquidation of the *material* base of war, a stop to the arms race and the transfer to disarmament have become *imperative*, and, on the other, when the political climate of the world has for a number of years already been characterized by the *prevalence of détente*, something hitherto unknown in relations between the two world social systems.

In the post-1945 period, the Soviet government submitted in the

United Nations and at disarmament negotiations more than 100 proposals aimed at strengthening peace and stopping the arms race. Out of the 230 disarmament proposals submitted by the UN member states after 1946, 80, or more than one-third (!) were made by the USSR. It is common knowledge also that the questions of disarmament occupy a central place in the foreign policy programs of the USSR, adopted at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses.

During the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet and Soviet government addressed the peoples, parliaments and governments of all countries with an appeal:

“to do everything to halt the arms race, ban the development of new means of mass annihilation and begin a reduction of armaments and armed forces, begin disarmament!”

In other words, the course toward disarmament is not a matter of exigency, but a *long-term foreign policy program* of the CPSU and the Soviet government, finalized in the Constitution of the USSR, which guarantees its immutability and stability.

The forces of peace and socialism have in the past decade brought about healthy changes in state-to-state relations. In international affairs the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social and state systems have been quite firmly established as the only realistic and rational approach. A number of documents have been adopted, which acknowledge and strengthen the code of honest, just relations between states, thereby setting up a legal and moral-political barrier against the proponents of military conflicts and ventures.

A definite *level of trust* has been built up in relations between states, which made it possible to hold the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation — and which in turn was greatly facilitated by that Conference.

From Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the 18th Komsomol Congress:

“Today, détente is neither theory, nor slogan, nor wishful thinking. It has to its credit quite a few good, perfectly concrete and tangible, deeds. In Europe it has laid the groundwork for relations between states and has extended to various fields of their life. The policy of détente has been recognized and is supported by the peoples as the only sensible policy in our troubled times.

“The most essential and urgent task today is to secure a further easing of the war danger and to check the arms buildup. All peoples are conscious of this, and most governments recognize it as well.”

Back in 1974 the Soviet Union proposed at the United Nations to

convene a world conference on disarmament. And though the Soviet proposal met with broad approval, a world disarmament conference has not as yet become a reality owing to the stand of two states possessing nuclear weapons — the USA and China.

At the same time these — and above all these — states are stoking up the fires of a universal arms race; it is they who, under the pretext of a mythical growing military threat emanating from the Soviet Union and its alleged aggressiveness, are endlessly expanding their military budgets; it is they who are intimidating the world with the bogey of "Soviet expansion."

From the speech by USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister G.M. Kornienko at a press conference in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 6:

"There is, indeed, much talk in the West that the Soviet Union has allegedly increased its military strength in Europe in recent years. But these claims are unfounded. For instance, the report issued before the opening of the NATO Council session in May contains no figures and no facts corroborating this unsubstantiated assertion which is repeated on practically every page of the report . . . Such facts simply do not exist, because, unlike the NATO countries, the Soviet Union has long since stopped increasing its armed forces in Europe. And as Leonid Brezhnev recently declared, we do not intend to increase our armed forces in this area by a single soldier, by a single tank.

"But here is information about American troops in Europe: their numbers, according to American sources, increased in 1977 by 18,000, and another increase of at least 8,000 is planned for 1978. All in all, over a two-year period, the numerical strength of American troops in Europe, compared with 1976, when it added up to nearly 300,000 men, will increase by 26,000 men, that is, by nearly 10 per cent.

"Such are the facts, from which an objective-minded person can draw proper conclusions as to where he is dealing with the myth about a 'Soviet military threat,' and where he is dealing with reality."

Yes, certain influential imperialist quarters in the West continue to stake on increasing tensions, fanning up distrust between states. There are forces which *need* the arms race, for it brings them billions of dollars in profit. These forces are intent on creating an atmosphere of fear and hostility in relations between peoples, call in doubt the possibility of *practical measures* for limiting armaments and for disarmament, obstructing them in every way. They invariably link their

interests with the arms drive, step up military preparations, which eventually leads to a growing military threat.

Against this background *the Soviet Union's steadfast line toward disarmament and stronger peace* stands out in sharp relief. Every sober-minded person can clearly see that a state which was the first in human history to put an end in its domestic policy to exploitation, social, national and other forms of oppression, is committed to building its foreign policy on the principles of cooperation, instead of aggression and predatory seizures.

From Leonid Brezhnev's speech at a meeting in Prague:

"The essence of our position on disarmament issues is, to put it briefly, as follows. There is no type of arms the USSR would not be prepared to see limited and banned reciprocally in agreement with other states. The important thing is for all this to be done without any damage to anybody's security and on terms of complete reciprocity of states in possession of the armaments in question. It is important for the desire to stop the arms race to be sincere, not ostentatious."

Proceeding from these positions and with account for the present-day world situation, the Soviet Union has, during careful and extensive preparations for the May 23 special session of the UN General Assembly in New York, submitted a series of *concrete proposals* and put forward *important political initiatives*.

From Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the 18th Komsomol Congress:

"Analyzing the world situation, we have arrived at the firm conviction that it is high time that thought should be given to putting a *complete stop to any further quantitative and qualitative growth of the armaments and armed forces of states with a large military potential*, and thereby create conditions for their subsequent reduction. Specifically, we are putting up for discussion a program of the following measures, to be put into effect within a definite time limit:

- to stop manufacturing all types of nuclear weapons;
- to stop manufacturing and to ban all other types of mass destruction weapons;
- to stop developing new types of highly destructive conventional arms;
- to renounce expanding the armies and increasing the conventional armaments of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and countries associated with them under military agreements."

An outstanding feature of these Soviet proposals, which have been broadly supported and positively assessed by the overwhelming

majority of states, is the fact that they are aimed at attaining a *genuine turning point* in resolving the problems of disarmament.

At the same time the Soviet Union is doing everything in its power to implement *separate* steps aimed at stopping the arms race and going over to *real* disarmament measures.

From the above-mentioned Kornienko interview:

"... We are not inclined to underestimate what has already been achieved over recent years, thanks above all to the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist and peace-loving countries to curb the arms race. Without this, and there is no doubt about it, the state of world affairs would be much worse today.

"... We do not claim that the program of disarmament measures we suggest has a magic power and will lead to a quick solution of the problems confronting the world in this field. But we are convinced that this program indicates the most practical ways of stopping the arms race."

It is also extremely important that the Soviet Union emphatically declared, as put by Leonid Brezhnev, that the USSR is *in general* against the use of nuclear weapons and that only extraordinary circumstances, aggression against the USSR or its allies on the part of another nuclear power could impel it to resort to this extreme measure of self-defense.

Urging all other nuclear powers to follow its example, the USSR has undertaken *never* to use nuclear weapons against states that refuse to produce and acquire such weapons and which have not deployed them on their territory.

During the work of the General Assembly session and particularly after the US Vice-President set forth the platform of the United States, the representatives of some states were more inclined to discuss *control over armaments* than *disarmament*.

From the speech by Andrei Gromyko, CC CPSU Political Bureau member and USSR Foreign Minister at the United Nations:

"... The representatives of some countries in general have difficulty in pronouncing the word 'disarmament' here. But they most willingly speak about control. Over what? Over armaments ... But it is quite possible to increase the level of world armaments five times over even under control. But is that the way to peace? It is appropriate to recall that the special session was convened not for the purpose of intensifying the arms race, but for disarmament."

At the UN General Assembly session the USSR demonstrated its

striving to resolve the problems of disarmament in the interests of *all* humanity.

From Andrei Gromyko's UN speech:

"We are not pursuing the aim of military superiority. There is not a single objective which our country seeks to resolve through military means. We see both the security of our own state and world peace as a whole in curbing the arms race, in agreements on disarmament which honestly and equally take account of the interests of all sides."

By its numerous initiatives in the field of disarmament and strengthening peace the Soviet Union has again and again shown that its disarmament policy is immutable. To lessen the danger of sparking off a new world war, mass extermination of people with the aid of nuclear and conventional weapons — that is the principal direction of the Soviet Union's struggle for peace in the present conditions.

From Leonid Brezhnev's speech at Prague meeting:

"However great the obstacles may yet be, we shall move on, together with all the supporters of the policy of peace and good-neighborly relations, in the search for a dependable and full solution of this burning problem."



A POLICY OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

The SUPG Central Committee met in plenary session in Berlin over May 24 to 25, at which SUPG General Secretary Erich Hon-ecker made the CC Political Bureau report, saying in part:

In the period since the last SUPG Central Committee plenum our party has carried out extensive work in implementing the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress in the domestic and foreign policy spheres . . . Substantial headway has been made in all fields of economic and public life of the GDR. A nationwide movement has been launched to meet the 30th anniversary of the republic with good results. Thirty years of the GDR attest to the triumph of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin on German soil. It is becoming increasingly clear with every passing day that the GDR is a genuine worker-peasant state that represents the interests of the entire people.

The earnest of our successes is the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and our state's firm place in the socialist community. The GDR thus belongs to the most powerful and influential force of our time — the socialist world system.

The CC SUPG Political Bureau has devoted a substantial part of its work to questions linked with the struggle for peace, security and promoting détente and disarmament. We have constantly sought to facilitate solution of these problems and progress in the sphere of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The speaker emphasized that a major political result of the Belgrade meeting was the fact that the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference — a fundamental document of détente — remained fully valid. Its significance as an indivisible whole was reaffirmed. Thus the attempts of certain NATO quarters to bypass the results achieved in Helsinki, to distort the face of real socialism in the eyes of the broad popular masses failed in Belgrade. Closely united with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist states, we will continue to follow the line of defusing the confrontation between states with different

social systems, of security and cooperation that was forged in Helsinki.

We now feel it imperative to note the enormous contribution being made to the cause of peace by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USSR, proceeding from the interests of all humanity. Acting in the spirit of Lenin, the CPSU and the USSR are the front-rank champions of a life for the peoples that will be totally free of the threat of war.

Speaking at the 18th Komsomol Congress, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium advanced an extremely important international political initiative. The program of concrete measures proposed by him in the sphere of limiting armaments provides for an early solution of vital questions related to the fate of peace. This program meets with our full approval. Only by putting an end to the arms race, and by paving the way to further détente through disarmament can a firm peace, security and cooperation be ensured.

We see Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the FRG as an important step toward promoting a coordinated policy of the socialist community aimed at ensuring peace. The visit, and above all Leonid Brezhnev's speeches stress once again the Soviet Union's leading role in the struggle for security and détente. At the center of attention were questions of peace and disarmament, the cooperation of governments, states and peoples in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The visit and its results met with a broad response in the GDR. They demonstrated that détente, despite all the obstacles, is the determining tendency of international development. They facilitate the stabilization of all factors that will help to save mankind from the horror of nuclear destruction. Despite the opposition to the policy of détente in evidence lately in the FRG, reflected above all in the FRG's armaments policy, it should be seen as a success that the documents signed during Leonid Brezhnev's visit reaffirm the continuation of the policy of détente. It is now clear that relaxation in the military sphere is imperative to achieve progress in political détente.

During the visit some spokesmen of the FRG sought to trot out the old revanchist concepts, directed primarily against the GDR. They fail to realize that recognition of a territorial status quo in Europe forms the basis of any rational European policy. It would be a dangerous error not to see this. During Brezhnev's visit a rebuff was given to the anti-communist campaign in the FRG and the slander

against the policy of the Soviet Union. The visit helped to strengthen the realistic-minded forces in the FRG.

In general we wish to note that the delegation led by Leonid Brezhnev carried out enormous work, which will greatly influence international political development. It is highly important for the peace policy of the socialist states, for the development of bilateral relations between the USSR and the FRG, and, given certain prerequisites, also for the normalization of relations between the GDR and the FRG.

Leonid Brezhnev rightly pointed out in his FRG television speech that the positive processes in international relations have been obstructed above all by the arms race and that nothing is more important than stopping that race. It is imperative to stop humanity's sliding toward war; an overall, just and stable peace — that is the key target. To this end the Soviet Union is exerting all its efforts; our efforts also are directed toward this end.

Special urgency attaches to the banning of the neutron weapon, whose production would inevitably enhance the danger of a nuclear war and would signify a new round of the arms race. The GDR together with the fraternal countries supports the consistent efforts of the Soviet Union aimed at reaching at the Soviet-U.S. negotiations a new agreement on limiting strategic armaments. Such an agreement, based on equality and equal security for all participants, would be extremely favorable for further steps to stop the arms race.

The GDR advocates reaching accords on mutually cutting back armed forces and armaments in Central Europe that would be acceptable to all sides. Despite the numerous compromise proposals of the socialist states in Vienna no results have yet been reached, since the NATO countries insist, as before, on arrangements that would give them a military advantage.

The present special UN General Assembly session on disarmament provides vast opportunities for invigorating the peoples' and governments' efforts in the sphere of disarmament.

International events show that implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence is a complex process. Its development does not always follow a straight line. This is evidenced by the rabid anti-Sovietism, with the aid of which the proponents of imperialism seek to oppose détente and disarmament, by the slander campaign against the GDR and other socialist countries. But they are incapable of frustrating our policy of peace and cooperation.

Whoever considers subversion and interference in our internal

affairs as a suitable attitude toward us, will, as before, suffer a fiasco.

The irreconcilability of social systems of the socialist German Democratic Republic and the capitalist FRG should not hamper development of normal international relations. Much can be settled reasonably, given the necessary climate, which is lacking at the present time. But we are ready to help remove the stones on this road, though not thrown there by us.

Progress is possible if the FRG will, as we do, proceed from the agreed principles on relations between the GDR and the FRG, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. Relations between the GDR and the FRG are relations between two independent, sovereign states.

The National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China held its fifth session in Peking. In accordance with the policy charted by the 11th CPC Congress, the domestic policy changes made at this session serve to stabilize the regime, to enable it to pursue more effectively the customary great-power chauvinistic goals. Struggle against the Soviet Union and the socialist community, the preparations for war, which the PRC says is inevitable, were finalized in the Constitution and declared a long-term state policy.

The Soviet Union has yet again advanced an initiative for the normalization of relations with the PRC. Before the NPC session the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet sent a relevant message to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China. This shows the consistency and sincerity of the Soviet Union's policy aimed at restoring good-neighbor relations with China, which we fully approve.

In a message to the Standing Committee of the PRC National People's Congress the State Council of the GDR welcomed the Soviet initiative and suggested that the Chinese side take steps in the direction proposed by the USSR. We expressed concern over the fact that the PRC government rejected the proposals of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. At the same time it was noted that normal relations with the Soviet Union, with all socialist states, which are dictated by the interests of peace and the peoples, would undoubtedly also have a positive impact on the shaping of relations between the GDR and the PRC. In its relations with the PRC, the GDR will consistently follow the line charted by the Ninth SUPG Congress.

Neues Deutschland, May 25, 1978

FOR A DEMOCRATIC AND PATRIOTIC POLICY

Document of the CC PCP Plenum

The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party held a plenum in Lisbon on May 14. The Central Committee adopted a document "For a Democratic and Patriotic Policy," which we print in abridged form.

The coalition Socialist Party and Social-Democratic Center government is continuing the policy of the one-party Socialist cabinet aimed at restoring the positions of the capitalists, landowners and imperialists, and is seeking to shift the burden of the crisis and the consequences of their policy on to the working people. Over the first three months of 1978 the foreign trade deficit increased by more than 29 per cent compared with the same period last year. From January to May currency reserves diminished by 6,500 million escudos and the gold reserves to 740 tons, of which 400 tons have been mortgaged for loans. The overall foreign trade grew by 15,000 million escudos from October 1977 to May 1978, amounting to 220,000 million escudos. Far from solving the financial-economic problems, the policy of restoring capitalism is aggravating them further, worsening the economic situation and increasing the country's dependence on imperialism.

The government prices policy lays a heavy burden on the working people, small and medium landowners, tradesmen and employers. Real wages dropped sharply in the past year owing to the soaring prices. The cost of basic foods increased by an average of 25 per cent and the charge for gas, water, electricity and transport went up by 50 per cent.

Simultaneously the government's financial-economic policy favors big capital. Factories are being returned to their former owners, they are paid compensation and are provided other privileges.

The tax rise is a factor contributing to an economic slump, the ruin of many enterprises and growing prices, which hits hard at family budgets. The Portuguese people experience daily the consequences of the policy of capitalist restoration. The working people and popular masses have no intention of submitting passively to such a policy.

The government's agreement with the International Monetary Fund conclusively proves the failure of its financial-economic policy.

It signifies capitulation in the face of foreign imperialist demands, thereby endangering the country's future independence.

In the foreign policy sphere, the plan to join the Common Market poses a serious threat. Portugal's economic development lags substantially compared with the EEC countries, which could endanger its industry and agriculture if the present custom barriers were to be lifted. The community's economic policy, which is determined by the big monopoly groups, would influence Portugal's domestic policy decisions. Moreover, Common Market membership would serve the forces of reaction and world imperialism and provide a pretext to impose on Portugal a policy of restoring monopoly capitalism, liquidation of revolutionary gains, the democratic regime and the Constitution.

The PCP holds that the government's policy toward the African states is detrimental to the national interests. While conditions favor promotion of cooperation with the young African states, whose governments express a desire to strengthen relations of mutual assistance with Portuguese democracy, the SP-SDC government is prejudicing the expansion of friendly ties with these countries. It is allowing the forces of reaction, colonialism and fascism to use Portuguese territory to campaign against the young African states in violation of all international norms of friendship and cooperation.

To avert being throttled by the IMF's demands and total dependence on foreign imperialism, Portugal must urgently diversify its foreign ties.

The policy of capitalist restoration is accompanied by administrative measures limiting civil rights and freedoms: trade union activity at enterprises is being obstructed; an increasing number of trade union activists are being laid off; employers are stepping up persecution. Moreover, the imminent failure of government policy poses a threat to democracy, inasmuch as the total discreditation of the Socialist Party might lead to the emergence of a frankly reactionary alternative.

Government policy in defense of the interests of big capital and against the interests of the working people is creating conditions for subversive activity by the forces of reaction and fascism, which seek to overthrow the democratic regime and to establish a new dictatorship.

In the economic sphere, the big industrialists and latifundists are stepping up their threats and ultimatums, and sabotaging economic activity. Reaction is demanding a pre-schedule amendment of the

Constitution, liquidation of revolutionary gains, resignation of the President of the Republic, dissolution of the Revolutionary Council, and restoration of the traditional reactionary hierarchy. What we are dealing with is a coordinated offensive, whose danger should not be underestimated.

Reaction is seeking to use the deep-going and justified discontent of the broad popular masses with government policy, to lay the blame on the April 25 revolution for the existing situation, to foster distrust of the democratic regime and passivity in the face of an authoritarian dictatorial alternative. The basic provisions of such an option are perfectly clear. On the economic plane, liquidation of the agrarian reform and nationalization, destruction of the public sector, handing over the Portuguese economy to the monopoly groups and foreign capital.

On the political plane, reaction is out to destroy democratic freedoms and, as Caluza di Arriaga* put it, "wipe out communism, socialism and centrism" in Portugal and to re-establish a terrorist repressive dictatorship.

The Assembly of the Republic and the government should, in accordance with the Constitution, prohibit the activity of fascist organizations. Fascism's main strength lies in the impunity of its actions.

The inevitable debacle of the CP-SDC coalition government poses the need to draft a democratic alternative. There is little likelihood of this government's staying in power till 1980.

Defense of the democratic regime, the interests of the Portuguese people and their national independence require, on the one hand, an urgent change in government policy to solve pressing national problems, and on the other, to work out the basis of a democratic alternative to the present government and its policy.

In the PCP's view, what is needed is a policy based on objectives capable of uniting all democrats and patriots around a national platform. The PCP Central Committee proposes to the democratic forces and people of Portugal a platform expressed in a ten-point program: defense of the stability of the democratic institutions and democratic regime, finalized in the Constitution; effective guarantee of citizens' rights and freedoms; firm defense of national unity, and territorial integrity; maintenance of existing boundaries between the various economic formations; mobilization of internal resources and facilities to surmount the crisis; thrift and economy of resources; defense and

*Leader of the so-called 'Independent movement of national renovation,' a fascist-type party. — Ed.

improvement of living standards of the working people and middle strata; reform of the educational system and a policy upholding the people's interests in the cultural sphere; unity of the armed forces and military stability; diversified ties of friendship and cooperation with all countries and peoples.

Introduction of changes in government policy and elaboration of a democratic alternative will be feasible only on the basis of unity and organization of the working-class and popular movements, the cohesion of all democratic and patriotic forces. The organization and unity of the working class is reflected in the strength of the trade union movement; this movement, which is united around the General Confederation of Portuguese working people, the National Intersyndical (GCPWP-NI) has an important role to play in mobilizing the working people for struggle in defense of their vital interests, revolutionary democratic gains and consolidation of the democratic regime. The May Day celebration reaffirmed the strength, influence and authority of the GCPWP-NI, demonstrated once again that it is not only necessary but possible to strengthen trade union unity.

The unity of democrats of all tendencies is the key goal of political life and the people's entire struggle. Mutual understanding between the Communists and Socialists and their joint actions are of crucial importance in attaining this goal.

Given the existence of common general concrete aims of joint struggle, the PCP Central Committee makes no exceptions in defending the unity of democrats and patriots. At the same time, the Central Committee alerts against the danger of following left-adventurist tendencies and their provocative aims, which could lead to ill-advised actions organized by irresponsible groups.

The PCP holds that the distinctions between political parties no longer coincide with the boundaries of class interests. The new balance of social and political forces stems from the growing aggressiveness of big capital and imperialism, the subversive maneuvers of the forces of fascism and reaction, which are out to liquidate the revolutionary gains of the democratic regime, to restore the economic and political power of the monopolies, closely linked with foreign imperialism. Reaction's aims infringe on the interests of the broad strata of the small and medium bourgeoisie, which, while wary of revolutionary changes, does not at the same time want the restoration of monopoly omnipotence; it would lead to the ruin of thousands of enterprises, to the centralization and concentration of capital, enrichment of a narrow group of multi-millionaires at the expense of the

entire population. There are forces at present even in the Social Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Center who come out against the subversive activity of fascism, against attempts to destabilize and destroy the democratic regime.

Considering the contradictions and conflicts in various political sectors, the PCP proposes conducting a dialogue, the drawing together and mutual understanding between all democrats with the prospect of creating a democratic and patriotic block that would include parties, organizations, strata and individuals who realize the need for a policy capable of surmounting the crisis, ensuring economic development, the material and cultural well-being of the people, defense of the democratic regime and national independence.

Avante!, May 18, 1978

Ethiopia's Revolution



By Raúl Valdés Vivó

The first three years of this little known, dramatic African revolution

The social and economic conditions produced by the rule of Haile Selassie

The unique role of the military of the peasants, workers and students in a surprisingly spontaneous upheaval

A foreword by James E. Jackson of the CPUSA, recently returned from Ethiopia, which situates Ethiopia in the African and world revolutionary struggle

Vividly written by a veteran Communist leader, the former Cuban ambassador to Vietnam.

Paper 128 pages

Available in the U.S.: International Publishers, New York

Available in Canada: Progress Books, Toronto

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

“FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT FOR AVERTING WAR AND ESTABLISHING PEACE”

*Resolution of the CC, Communist Party of Israel
on the 11th anniversary of the June aggression*

Eleven years of the colonial occupation of Arab lands have done nothing to strengthen Israel's security; on the contrary, they have weakened its foundations, led to wars, to Israel's international isolation and made it an appendage of American imperialism and American monopolies. The occupation has seriously infringed on the democratic rights of Arab citizens, have militarized the economy and state budget and have brought about an arms race that is destroying the country's economy and society. This leads to unprecedented inflation accompanied by a drop in real wages, worsening living standards, an increase in crime and economic, political and military corruption of the ruling class.

The continuing occupation has strengthened the rightist and reactionary forces and brought the Begin government to office.

A cardinal change in the country's policy to a policy of peace is in the best interests of the Israeli people, in the interests of peace and security.

Instead, the policy of the Begin government is geared to preparing for a new war to realize the “integration of Israeli lands” racist plan. This adventurist policy threatens Israel with a catastrophe. Israel's security must rest on a real and lasting peace and not on the force of arms and the oppression of the Arab people of Palestine.

The 11 years of occupation have shown convincingly that the Palestine problem is at the center of the Israeli-Arab conflict, for there can be no peace without the realization of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, first and foremost, their right to self-determination and national independence. There is no other way to peace

except by ending the occupation, by mutual recognition of the rights of both peoples inhabiting this country, the people of Israel and the Arab people of Palestine.

There can be no peace in the Middle East without the Arab people of Palestine and their representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The Begin government and other expansionist elements are not telling the Israeli people the truth about the existing situation, and particularly about the fact that peace is possible, that all of Israel's neighbor Arab states and the authoritative circles among the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization are prepared to reach a peace with Israel on the basis of peaceful co-existence.

To achieve peace Israel must withdraw its troops from occupied Arab territories to the boundaries prior to the 1967 war; recognize the right of the Arab people of Palestine to an independent state with respect for Israel's sovereignty and territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Palestinian state and of all neighboring Arab states.

The most suitable means of establishing a lasting peace, settling the main problems of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Palestine problem, of setting up a system of security and ensuring effective international guarantees for the future peace treaty, is the Geneva Peace Conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation, as its co-chairmen, of the USSR and the USA, and of all the parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only recognized and legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

Attempts to thwart the Geneva Peace Conference through the Carter-Begin-Sadat conspiracy have only worsened tensions in the Middle East, stepped up the arms race and increased the danger of a new war.

Approval by the U.S. Congress of the triple deal on arms deliveries to Israel, Saudi Arabia and Egypt is evidence that imperialism is intensifying the arms race in the Middle East and that in the interests of the arms manufacturers and the U.S. oil magnates it is ready to drench our lands with the blood of Jews and Arabs by plunging them into a new war.

With the aid of the Begin government and the Sadat regime, U.S. imperialism has for long been blocking the convening of the Geneva Peace Conference and thus preventing a settlement of the main problems of the Israeli-Arab conflict and an overall, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The many unsuccessful bids by Carter, Sadat and

Begin to reach a separate Israeli-Egyptian solution, which would leave the Palestinian problem out and preserve the danger of a new war, run against the true interests of the Israeli people, of Arab peoples and the Egyptians themselves.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel condemns the conspiracies being woven by the pro-imperialist rulers of Israel and Egypt under the aegis of the American administration against the movements for national and social emancipation in the Middle East and in Africa, against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against peace and the independence of peoples.

The Central Committee of the CPI warns against any further incursions against democratic freedoms.

The Begin government is tightening up political censorship and enforcing more rigid control over the mass media. It is pressing a chauvinistic and clerical culture on the schools, attempts to prohibit teachers' involvement in political and democratic activities; it is prosecuting journalists who expose arbitrary acts committed on occupied Arab territories and speak out for a just and lasting peace.

The Begin government has increased its discrimination and oppression of Arab citizens in Israel. The "Green Patrols" in Negev — fascist-type storm troopers under government command — demolish houses and tents belonging to Arabs, confiscate their land and destroy their livestock. The racist plan of Israelization is applied in Galilee, and in the process Arab towns and villages are destroyed.

The Begin government is stepping up the colonial settling of the West Bank by confiscating large tracts of land in occupied territory. The government plan to create six Israeli settlements on the occupied West Bank is further proof that the government is not working for peace, but to take over and annex occupied regions. The government's autonomy plans are meant to perpetuate Israeli occupation and preserve the status quo in occupied regions.

Besides the growing colonial settling in which the fascist "Gush Emunim" organization plays a leading role, brutal reprisals against Arabs in occupied regions are increasing and there is greater violence against the population. Jails are full of political prisoners and torture is a common practice.

The brutal attack on southern Lebanon, the air bombings, naval and army shelling of refugees' houses and tents together with the occupants — men, women, old people and children, looting and plunder of their property and robbing the new refugees — all this is the true face of the Begin government's aggressive policy.

The Central Committee of the CPI stresses that ever larger sections of the Israeli population are opposing the extremist policy of the Begin government, a policy aimed against peace, democracy and the rights of the working people.

The "Peace Now" movement is a vivid expression of the growing opposition and criticism of the Begin government. This mass movement embraces different strata of the people, uniting them in the common struggle against the policy of the Begin government, a policy that is an obstacle to peace and which is fraught with the danger of a new war. The strength of this movement lies in its universality and in that it extends beyond the party framework. Thanks to this it unites and organizes many sections of the population on the basis of condemnation of Begin's "Great Israel" policy.

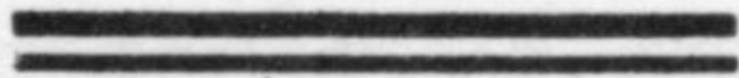
The Central Committee CPI states that attempts by certain persons from the leadership of the MAPAM and Dash parties to impose their party programs on the "Peace Now" movement, programs founded on territorial annexation and rejection of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the formation of their own independent state on a par with Israel, could lead to a split and dissolution of this movement.

The program of the former government not only did not help achieve peace, but, on the contrary, led to the October 1973 war.

In exactly the same way neither the program of the present government, nor the program of the Dash Party can serve as alternatives to the program of the former government. They are not only unjust, they are also unrealistic and will not bring about peace.

For this reason the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel calls on all political figures and on all political circles in the country to realize that the policy of the present government, a policy hostile to peace, democracy of the present government, a policy hostile to peace, democracy and the working people, is exceptionally dangerous to Israel's future. The CC CPI urges them to join forces and strengthen the mass political struggle against the Begin government, for its overthrow and the establishment of a government which would follow a policy of peace, democracy and the defense of the interests of the working people, of the popular masses.

Al-Ittihad, June 2, 1978



STATEMENTS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, PARAGUAYAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party, working in clandestinity, held a plenum in June 1978 to discuss the situation in the country and international issues.

The Central Committee adopted a number of documents, including a "Manifesto," and a resolution urging intensification of the struggle for the release of the Stroessner dictatorship's prisoners, a declaration of solidarity with all fighters against imperialism, for freedom and democracy, and other decisions.

The plenum elected Antonio Maidana as First Secretary of the PCP Central Committee. Obdulio Barte was elected Chairman of the party.

Below we print two resolutions adopted at the plenum.

ON THE DISAPPEARED POLITICAL PRISONERS, THOSE DETAINED FOR LONG PERIODS, ALL ARRESTED PATRIOTS

During the mass repressions launched by General Alfredo Stroessner's fascist dictatorship at the end of 1975, Miguel Angel Soler, secretary of our party's Central Committee, Derliz Villagra, leader of the Communist Youth, Ruben Gonzalez Acosta, a working-class leader, altogether about 1,800 patriots were arrested. Comrade Soler was subjected to brutal torture by the assassin Pastor Coronel, chief of the investigation department of the capital's police headquarters. Since then Soler, Villagra and Ruben Gonzalez Acosta have disappeared without a trace. To the insistent inquiries of relatives, representatives of various democratic strata of the country and international organizations the Stroessner government, responding in the Organization of American States (OAS), stated that Miguel Angel Soler had not been in Paraguay, and, consequently, had not been detained. This deliberate lie was refuted by Mrs. Ida Rodriguez in the USA and by Victor Flecha in Caracas in statements to the press, saying that they had met Miguel Angel Soler in Asuncion, respectively in October and November 1975.

According to information received from political prisoners detained in the investigation department on November 30, 1975, that is, the day Soler was arrested in Asuncion, as well as the reports of the

police officers and the press of the opposition parties, Miguel Angel Soler and Derliz Villagra were killed at police headquarters and buried in the yard of the security guard. In a statement to the UN Human Rights Commission, comrades Antonio Maidana, Alfredo Alcorta and Julio Rojas, who had been incarcerated in the dictatorship's dungeons for 19 years, cited the testimony of many political prisoners who had seen Soler at the investigation department of the capital's police headquarters at 20 hrs. 30 min. on November 30, 1975. Moreover, Ruben Gonzalez Acosta's brother confirmed that he had seen Dr. Miguel Angel Soler in November 1975, and also made a statement on the detention and consequent disappearance of his brother.

Finally, all this is confirmed by the PCP leadership's testimony that Miguel Angel Soler had been fulfilling a party assignment in Asuncion right up to his arrest.

It should be noted that under the pressure of democratic forces in the country and international solidarity, primarily on the part of the Soviet Union, comrades Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas and more than 80 other Paraguayan patriots have been released. But the fascist dictatorship continues to hold a shameful first place in South America as to the length of time political prisoners are held in jail. They include working-class leader Severo Acosta (held for 14 years), engineer Virgilio Bareiro (14 years), Idalina Gaona (14 years), Captain Napoleon Ortigoza (16 years), and all of them without trial.

About 200 political prisoners including women, and children who were born in jail, workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, are also being held in the Emboscada concentration camp, in the jails of the capital's police headquarters and the interior departments.

The Paraguayan Communist Party fervently appeals to the working class, democratic and patriotic forces, to political, trade union and cultural organizations, to all men and women across the world who nurture noble humane feelings to intercede with the Stroessner government for information on the whereabouts of Miguel Angel Soler, Derliz Villagra, Ruben Gonzales Acosta, Juan Jose Penayo, Vera Baez and many others who disappeared. We also call for intensified demands for the immediate release of all political prisoners in Paraguay. Through such unremitting and organized pressure the solidarity movement can and must save the lives and extricate from the dark dungeons all prisoners of the fascist Stroessner dictatorship and imperialism.

Central Committee
Communist Party of Paraguay

FOR STRONGER SOLIDARITY WITH THE FIGHTERS AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND REACTION

In the conviction that it is expressing the will of our people, of which the Paraguayan communists form an inseparable part, the Central Committee proclaims its militant solidarity with all communists, revolutionaries and democrats who are fighting for freedom, democracy and national independence, for social progress, peace and socialism.

We Paraguayan communists and all patriots and democrats who are experiencing the horrors of the fascist dictatorship, highly value the example of the fighters who are being subjected to persecution, torture and are dying for the ideals of liberation. History shows that the sacrifices made in this struggle are not in vain, for the peoples finally do triumph over the oppressors.

We express fervent solidarity with the communists and all revolutionaries and democrats in Chile, who are staunchly battling against the fascist Pinochet junta, a proxy of the CIA and international finance capital. We add our voice to the universal demand to save the lives and to release the disappeared and the thousands of political prisoners in the homeland of O'Higgins and Allende.

We protest against the barbarity of the Uruguayan fascists toward the working class and best sons and daughters of the land of Artigas. We actively support the demand of world opinion for an end of repressions and the release of thousands of Uruguayans, who have fallen victim to fascist violence.

We nourish fraternal, comradely feelings toward the communists and all patriots of Brazil who are rising up against the fascist dictatorship of Geisel and company, the Yankees' gendarme on our continent.

We side with the communists and the entire people of Argentina in their tenacious struggle against the reactionary forces and terrorists in their country, in their struggle for democracy, against the fascist threat, for information on the fate of thousands of "disappeared" citizens.

We share the cause of the communists and all patriots of Bolivia, Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador, Haiti, Puerto Rico and all other Latin American peoples, who despite enormous difficulties and repressions are fighting for democracy, national and social liberation, for a socialist perspective.

We enthusiastically hail Cuba, the first socialist republic on our continent, the glorious Island of Freedom that is successfully building

socialism. We demand an end to the criminal blockade of its heroic people and the withdrawal of U.S. troops illegally stationed at Guantanamo. We are in full solidarity with the consistent internationalist policy of the Cuban government, which together with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries extended decisive aid to the peoples of Angola and Ethiopia in countering imperialist aggression.

We support the struggle of the Palestinian people to set up their own sovereign state on the lands usurped by the Zionist aggressors, who are armed by the imperialists. Our sympathies are on the side of the peoples of Zimbabwe and South Africa, who are heroically battling against racism and apartheid.

We profoundly solidarize with the legendary Vietnamese people, whose revolutionary exploits can serve as an example for all peoples. We unconditionally support its just peaceful foreign policy, its constructive efforts to settle the border conflict with Kampuchea through negotiations and oppose all aggressive actions against it. We stand for respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam, and for the undisturbed tranquillity which the Vietnamese people deserve and need to continue the construction of a happy life.

We are in solidarity with the struggle of the people of the USA against racism and discrimination of the Blacks, Indians and Latin Americans living in that country, who are suffering from unemployment and violation of human rights. Our sympathies are on the side of the progressives who in the heartland of imperialism are waging a struggle against persecution for ideas, against the interventionist and aggressive foreign policy line of the USA, against the neutron bomb, the banning of which is demanded by all humanity.

We are convinced that the successive victories won by the peoples in the present epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, have been facilitated by the consistent peaceful and internationalist policy of the socialist countries, above all the sustained aid of the Soviet Union to the peoples fighting for their liberation, to the newly independent states that have opted for social progress and socialism.

The PCP Central Committee vigorously condemns anti-Sovietism and other forms of anti-communist propaganda, and declares its fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. That is why the PCP condemns the policy of betrayal of the interests of the revolutionary movement that is being pursued by the Maoist leaders, who in their virulent anti-Soviet campaign have

allied themselves with the most aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction.

The solidarity displayed by all progressive humanity toward our party and our people plays an enormous role in attaining the release of many communists and patriots who have been held in the Stroessner dungeons for many years. It strengthens our internationalist sentiments and inspires us to call for stronger unity and solidarity of the fighters of the world communist and working-class movement, the movement for national liberation.

For stronger solidarity of all progressive world forces to save the lives and obtain the release of all prisoners of imperialism and reaction!

Central Committee
Communist Party of Paraguay

THE SENTENCING OF SEREGNI IS A GRAVE FASCIST CRIME

Statement by the Communist Party of Uruguay

General Liber Seregni, Chairman of the Broad Front of Uruguay — an organization representing a democratic and anti-imperialist coalition* — was arrested on January 11, 1976. In 1971 the Broad Front put forward the candidature of this outstanding patriot to the post of president of the republic.

Earlier, on July 9, 1973, a few days after the coup which installed the present dictatorship, Seregni was unlawfully arrested and kept in prison till November 1974. Like thousands of Uruguayans, he was subjected to inhuman torture and indignities. Despite the brutality and insults of the jailors, the Chairman of the Broad Front displayed exemplary incorruptibility and dignity. A protest campaign was launched throughout the world calling for the release of Seregni and respect for his dignity. The desperate intensification of repressive measures, as General Seregni's case shows (he was sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment), point to the weakness of the fascist dictatorship in Uruguay. This brutal measure sparked a new campaign of solidarity with Seregni both at home and abroad. On receiving the report on the sentence, the Communist Party, a founder of and active

participant in the Broad Front, immediately issued the following statement of its Central Committee:

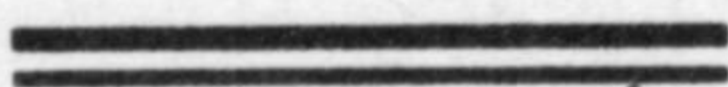
The Uruguayan dictatorship has sentenced the Chairman of the Broad Front, General Liber Seregni, to 14 years' imprisonment. The Communist Party of Uruguay denounced this new fascist crime against General Seregni and our people. The baseness of this action is evidenced by the fact that our party, which is affiliated to the Broad Front, is being accused of exerting ideological influence on General Seregni. In making these accusations, all the fascists can do is resort to mud-slinging, thereby exposing themselves and the nature of this juridical farce.

The dictatorship attempts to conceal the repressions and the practice of throwing patriots into prison behind a juridical facade in an attempt to avert universal denunciation of their illegal actions, as, for instance, violation of international agreements, flaunting of the Uruguayan Constitution and the very principles of justice.

During his long years of imprisonment Seregni has been subject to torture and other indignities. Those who in betrayal of their country are disgracing the uniform of the army of Artigas are out to humiliate Liber Seregni, who upholds the honor of this uniform. By announcing the sentence, they have once again demonstrated their internal isolation. It reflects the hate of the working class and the indignation of the overwhelming majority of the population, including the military who distance themselves from the betrayers of the homeland's colors.

Our party expresses its indignation in connection with this action of fascism and insistently calls on all progressives and democrats to display the warmest solidarity with General Seregni, to demand his release as well as the release of more than six thousand patriots now languishing in prison.

Central Committee
Communist Party of Uruguay
April 1978
Desde Uruguay, No. 10, 1978



FROM THE PRESS

ON THE PRESENT POLICY OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

Recent facts indicate that changes dangerous to the cause of peace are taking place in the policy of the USA. An acute struggle has been continuing for quite some time now in the ruling circles of that country over questions of détente, relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and as time goes on, there are more and more signs that the representatives of groups that would like to undermine détente and return the world to the "cold war," to new confrontations and unrestrained military rivalry, are beginning to get the upper hand. This is testified not only by speeches coming from the President and a number of other high-ranking U.S. officials, but also by Washington's concrete deeds.

Contrary to the aspirations of the peoples to put an end to the arms race, the U.S. is taking the course of whipping it up, is adopting vast new plans for building up its military power, even for decades ahead. At the same time negotiations with the Soviet Union on strategic arms limitation are being deliberately slowed down.

The U.S. government is also undertaking actions whose purpose is difficult to evaluate in any other way than as the deliberate worsening of bilateral relations with the USSR. There is no end to attempts at interfering in our country's internal affairs. The ties and contacts between the two countries are being restricted by U.S. unilateral actions. The opponents of good USA-USSR relations are seeking a common language with the aggressive anti-Sovietism of the Chinese rulers who loudly proclaim détente and peace to be a fraud, and war to be the only real prospect.

Finally, the USA has become the main inspirer of a new colonialism in Africa — of a policy of armed intervention and open interference in the affairs of African states, of suppressing the national liberation movements.

All these tendencies in the current policy of the USA were revealed with particular clarity at the recent Session of the NATO Council. Encouraging its accomplices, nudging on those who vacillate and

pressuring the dissenting members of the bloc, the USA did its best to lead it once again along the path of "cold war" and of whipping up the arms race.

Implementing a political turnabout on such a broad front is, of course, no simple matter. It has to be "justified" somehow. For these purposes attempts are again being made this time to blame the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for the worsening of the international situation. The makers of Washington's "new" policy are trying to put it on some "theoretical" base exaggerating in every way the elements of rivalry and belittling the importance of cooperation in USSR-USA relations. Some members of the Administration like presidential assistant Z. Brzezinski did this so grossly and clumsily that they evoked a lot of confusion in the minds of both the USA's allies and their own compatriots.

An attempt to clarify things, as was reported, was made in President Carter's recent speech at Annapolis. However the U.S. President obviously failed to introduce clarity in American policy, above all, in its policy in regard to the USSR. He failed for the simple reason that his speech was an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable: assurances of loyalty to the ideas of détente and to improving Soviet-American relations with unconcealed attacks against the Soviet Union; expressions of respect for the peaceableness and staunchness of the Soviet people, who lost 20 million of their sons and daughters in the war against Hitler's aggression, with so preconceived and distorted a description of Soviet realities as one has not encountered even in the most ill-wishing American papers since the times of the "cold war."

The U.S. President and his counsellors may rest assured — this speech was read in the Soviet Union with attention and was objectively assessed nor were the positive remarks it contained left unnoticed, which indicate that the U.S. leaders cannot but take into account that détente enjoys sufficient broad support in the country's political circles and among the American public.

But if this speech is to be taken for a "program" one, as it was preliminarily publicized, rather than dispel, it increased the doubts about the course taken by the USA. Suffice it to recall President Carter's statement in it to the effect that the Soviet Union "can choose either confrontation or cooperation" and that the USA is prepared to meet either choice.

To put the matter this way is to approach it wrongly — the Soviet Union has long ago and unequivocally made its choice in favor of

peace and cooperation, yet the way this question is posed by the U.S. President can only indicate that it is exactly the USA — to be more precise, the present American Administration — which has not yet made the final choice, or rather, is trying to depart from the principles of relations worked out earlier with the USSR, which include the recognition of the fact that in the nuclear age there is no acceptable alternative to peaceful coexistence. It is apparently not fortuitous that while enumerating in that same speech the United States' good initiatives in favor of détente, the President omitted two very important documents; the Principles of Relations Between the USSR and the USA, and the Agreement on Averting Nuclear War. Meanwhile, it is precisely in these documents that the fact that the two powers made their choice in favor of détente, and the mutual commitments stemming from it, are stressed with special force.

At present, clearly emerging in U.S. policy is a line toward whipping up the arms race, which has already assumed tremendous scope, and toward the steadfast buildup of military spending. Not content with the adoption of a record military budget, which has reached nearly 130 billion dollars a year, with the elaboration of ever new systems of mass annihilation weapons, the neutron bomb included, the United States has started a kind of mobilization of the West toward speeding up military preparations.

This is clearly testified by the results of the recent Washington Session of the NATO Council, held, moreover, with a cynical frankness that is an affront to world public opinion, during the sittings of the Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament. The Washington meeting ended with the adoption of an additional arms race program, its cost coming to the tremendous sum of 80 billion dollars.

In accordance with long-standing practice, attempts were made to justify these measures by false references, as if they were merely a "reply" to the policy of the Soviet Union which, as you see, is trying to attain "military superiority" over the West. The leaders of our party and state have repeatedly pointed out the utter unsoundness of such assertions. Quite recently, for example, in an interview for the West German paper *Vorwärts*, L.I. Brezhnev confirmed once again: "For its part, the Soviet Union believes that the approximate equality and parity is sufficient for defense needs. We have not set ourselves the task of achieving military superiority. We also realize that the concept itself loses meaning with the existence of today's huge arsenals of stockpiled nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them."

The USA cannot claim ignorance of these and other responsible statements of this kind made by the leadership of the Soviet Union.

In fact, when it comes to an overall assessment of the balance of forces — whether speaking of strategic arms or armed forces and armaments in Central Europe — assertions about a Soviet “military threat,” or “Soviet superiority” are absolutely groundless. This is testified not only by Soviet statements, but by official American documents and speeches by U.S. leaders themselves. Not a single one of them contains data indicating Soviet superiority. On the contrary, perhaps unwillingly, in a round-about way, they do admit equality and approximate parity. What, then, is the source of the American and NATO leaders’ concern? It is a matter, they say, not of today, but of tomorrow, that the Soviet Union might gain military superiority in the future (it was precisely in this manner, by the way, that the matter was posed in President Carter’s speech at the NATO Council Session in May).

But the USSR and its allies have no less grounds for anxiety about the future, particularly in face of the adopted long-term programs for modernizing and building up NATO’s military potential. And even more important — has not the entire course of events over the last decades proved the futility of attempts to eliminate invented threats by whipping up the arms race? Does not this experience indicate that a peaceful, safe future can only be secured along another road — the road of agreements on limiting and reducing arms? And the greater one’s concern for the future, the more consistently, the more persistently one must strive to achieve such agreements.

Here it is fitting to examine an extremely important question — that of the attitude to disarmament negotiations, a matter that may be regarded as an acid test in clarifying the true intentions of the sides.

Let us start with the Vienna negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. On April 19, of this year, the Western countries submitted new proposals which signified, however, a small, but a step forward. This is how they were assessed by the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, which stated that, striving to take the talks out of a blind alley, they would shortly submit counter-proposals. And on June 8 they submitted such proposals, constructive proposals, signifying a big stride toward the Western position in the name of ensuring the attainment, at long last, of a reciprocally acceptable agreement. But the West did not even bother to wait for these proposals, and even at the May Session of the NATO Council, to the accompaniment of a deafening campaign about a Warsaw

Treaty arms "buildup," adopted the aforementioned long-term program of military construction. How can such an approach facilitate the success of the talks? Another question is also in place. Why has the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries to freeze armed forces in Central Europe at the present level, at the time of concluding an agreement, not been adopted after four years? What could be more effective in removing fears about the future?

Let us now turn to the strategic arms limitation talks. These talks, aimed at working out a new agreement on limiting strategic arms, have been going on, as is known for many years, and agreement has already been reached on the overwhelming majority of questions. The Soviet Union is doing everything in its power for the successful finalization of the remaining question on a reciprocally acceptable basis and the earliest conclusion of the preparations for the agreement. For this purpose it is constantly submitting concrete and constructive proposals. Such proposals were submitted during the recent talks of A.A. Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the USSR, with President J. Carter and Secretary of State C. Vance.

However, verbally recognizing the importance of concluding an agreement, the American leadership actually did not display readiness to concretely discuss the still unresolved issues. In general, it did not submit any proposals of its own. Moreover, absurd statements were made, which the American press too could not assess otherwise than as unacceptable to the Soviet Union — the United States, you see, would wait until the USSR accepted the American proposals.

Also noteworthy is another point. Much is being said now in the United States, in official circles among others, about the difficulties which the ratification of a future agreement could meet in the Senate. But obviously the government itself is not hastening to assume a definite stand, to start upholding the agreement in Congress and in the eyes of public opinion by denying the various falsehoods, to which the arms limitation opponents resort in respect to the future agreement. On the contrary, in this complicated situation many government leaders are busy stirring up mistrust toward the Soviet Union, spreading lies about the "Soviet military threat." Is there anything surprising, therefore, in the fact that the atmosphere around the future agreement is not clearing but rather becoming even more complicated.

Artificial complications are also being created in the other negotiations on disarmament. Despite official denials, a policy is actually being pursued to link the disarmament negotiations with other abso-

lutely unrelated questions. As to other negotiations, it appears that an attempt is being made to use them merely to cover up the militarist policy. Thus, under cover of discussing the problem of restricting international armaments trade, and contrary to the U.S. President's election promises, 11,300 million dollars' worth of armaments were delivered abroad by the USA in 1977, according to official figures, and in 1978 it is planned to increase the value of their sales to 13,200 million dollars.

What grounds in the light of all these facts does the United States have to sound the alarm about the Soviet Union's desire to achieve "military superiority?" What grounds? No, it is not these concocted dangers that the USA fears in reality, but precisely equality, parity. It does not want it to be preserved, as it expects to establish its own military superiority by means of new spurts in the arms race and by putting a brake on the negotiations. It goes without saying that this runs counter to the initial principle of equality and equal security of the sides, agreed to by the USSR and the United States. The USSR does not intend to violate it, but it will not allow this principle to be violated by others. No, it will not allow this to happen.

Along with stepped-up military preparations, the changes in the U.S. course also find expression in transition to an openly interventionist, neo-colonial policy vis-à-vis the countries of Africa. This is borne out by the events in Zaire, armed interference in the internal affairs of this country by several Western states under the political and military leadership of Washington, plans to include these or other African states in the sphere of NATO activities, and attempts to knock together imperialist collective armed forces to suppress the liberation struggle on that continent. And here again, concoctions about the "Soviet threat" to Africa, about "Soviet-Cuban involvement" in its affairs, are resorted to as a diverting maneuver. Even the already refuted inventions on this score are being upheld as before without shame.

In the meantime, Moscow learned about the events in Zaire from the reports of Western news services. There are in general no Soviet men or Cubans in any capacity whatsoever in Shaba. Just as there are no copper, cobalt or uranium mines belonging to the USSR, in that land. They are all at the disposal of the Western nations, primarily the United States.

The facts are also being grossly distorted in other cases. The Soviet Union and Cuba gave military assistance to Angola, whose independence was opposed by troops of the Republic of South Africa and

white mercenaries from the NATO countries, and also necessary support to Ethiopia, which was subjected to Somali aggression. This assistance was rendered at the request of the legitimate governments, in full conformity with the norms of international Law and the United Nations Charter. The only ones who can come out against this assistance, are those who, instead of an independent Angola, would prefer the domination of the South African racists over that country, who would welcome Ethiopia's dismemberment or even her liquidation as an independent state. Both the one and the other would probably fully satisfy some people in Washington, but what do the interests of Africa and the interests of relaxation of tension have to do with it?

After all, there are, indeed, real problems in Africa, not like the far-fetched "Soviet-Cuban involvement" concoction. They include the liquidation of the consequences of colonial domination, strengthening of the statehood of young nations, and acceleration of their economic and social development. They also include such explosive problems as persisting racial oppression, white minority rule in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa. And if the U.S. government were to exert even a fraction of the zeal and effort with which it is combating the mythical "Soviet-Cuban threat" to promote the solution of the said problems, this could rid the much suffering African continent of disasters and bloodshed. However, people in Washington are now preoccupied with something else — struggle to lift the restrictions on U.S. armed interference in Africa, adopted by Congress in 1975, to create a mechanism within the framework of a group of states, which have a liking for colonialism and racism that would allow them to exercise the functions of a colonialist gendarme in that continent, and recruit henchmen from among representatives of reactionary, corrupt, aggressive regimes under the hypocritical slogans of "African solidarity."

But this policy is doomed in our epoch. It will not break the united will of the independent states and freedom-loving peoples of Africa, or their resolution to uphold the independence of their countries and their free internal development.

The changes occurring in the policy of the present U.S. Administration have also affected, as was noted, the sphere of bilateral Soviet-American relations. And along many lines for that matter. One cannot help realizing that this leads to the erosion of the yet very modest foundation of mutual confidence which was created through much work, effort and patience, and which is so necessary for

strengthening peace, stopping the arms race, and furthering détente.

Particularly disastrous for mutual confidence are the attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the other side. And such attempts have now been elevated in the United States to the level of state policy. Seemingly nice-sounding motives are being chosen for them: "human rights," "humanism," "defense of freedom." But actually we have here the same designs to undermine the socialist system that our people have been compelled to encounter in one form or another since 1917. After all, previously there were also people who liked to attempt this, but one should remember well that Soviet society is monolithic and united, and that this cohesion cannot be undermined either by malignant propaganda from abroad or subversive actions by Western special services. As a matter of fact, the advocates of interference in the internal affairs of the USSR know this perfectly well themselves. There is another side to the question: such actions engender ever new doubts concerning the true intentions of the leaders of the United States and certain nations allied to it, poison the political atmosphere, and complicate cooperation.

The latest intrigues, to be more exact "petty intrigues," of Washington around China in no way serve to strengthen confidence. The desire in itself to use the "Chinese card" in the global game is not at all new for American politicians. However, up till now, the U.S. leaders, it appeared, realized that this card could not be used without creating dangers to the cause of peace, and to themselves, or for that matter, to the national interests of the United States itself.

However, certain leaders who hold high posts in Washington are so overwhelmed by anti-Soviet emotions that judging by everything, they are now dismissing these dangers. Such leaders close their eyes to the fact that alignment with China on an anti-Soviet basis would rule out the possibility of cooperation with the Soviet Union in the matter of reducing the danger of a nuclear war and, of course, of limiting armaments. They also forget that here the Chinese leaders are playing a game of their own. If the United States and the NATO countries are not loath to exploit in their own interests the difficulties which have arisen in Soviet-Chinese relations, the Peking leaders, for their part, have something quite different on their mind, namely to aggravate to the limit the relations between the USSR and the United States, and to exploit this aggravation by no means in the American, but rather in their own interests. Soviet-American confrontation, and still better, war — this is the cherished dream of Peking. Maybe

Washington will give a thought to this matter without rashness, coolly.

Every political shift, every change of policy, the more so if it affects the most important questions of contemporary international relations, must have its own reasons. How are the emerging changes in U.S. policy explained in Washington?

The official version from Washington, claiming, you see, that everything hinges on the Soviet Union, on the socialist states, that it depends on their choice whether the development of relations will proceed along the road of relaxation or along the road of the "cold war" does not hold water; the authors of this version have nothing to back it up with. Instead of facts — emptiness. It appears that even super-naïve people capable of believing the inventions about "Soviet involvement" in Zaire will hardly agree that the United States should in reply torpedo, for instance, détente, should go back to the "cold war," or should complicate, if not more, the negotiations on strategic arms limitation.

It is clear that the reasons for the changes in American policy should be sought in the United States proper. And these reasons lie not in the sentiments of the American public, of the people of the United States, to which some Washington leaders like to refer regardless of whether it is pertinent or not. All the latest public opinion polls in the United States speak of the opposite: despite systematic anti-Soviet propaganda, the overwhelming majority of Americans favor an improvement of the relations with the USSR, an earliest agreement at the talks on the limitation of strategic armaments, and the development of commercial and economic relations with the Soviet Union. This is a manifestation of human common sense and an understanding of the need of cooperation with the Soviet Union in the interests of the United States itself.

There is quite another reason, to be sure. It lies in the influence exerted on U.S. policy by the ever more vigorous activity of the motley and noisy coalition of the détente opponents: the so-called military-industrial complex, the extreme right-wing circles, the organizations of counter-revolutionary emigrants from Eastern Europe and other forces interested in thwarting the positive tendencies which have taken place in Soviet-American relations over recent years. The activation of these forces does not testify to the strengthening of their positions. It rather serves as proof of their growing fear that the advances made in the development of détente during a short space of time, if furthered, would make it irreversible. At the outset these

forces did not take détente seriously. After all, there were quite a number of high and low tides in international tension. But the situation became different after the agreement in Vladivostok, after subsequent advances toward the goal which defined not only the contours of the next agreement on the limitation of strategic armaments but brought closer the prospect of their reduction, after radical shifts in the political situation in Europe, after the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki. Called into question was everything habitual to those who had risen, gained strength and fattened considerably on the "cold war" policy, and they launched a counter-attack in an attempt to take their revenge for the compelled retreat, for the suffered losses.

Also obvious are the reasons why these forces can now exert such a big influence on the official policy of the United States. One of them is the tenacity of the vestiges of the "cold war" that is due not only the fact that the "cold war" lasted for decades while détente is only several years old. It should be remembered that the "cold war" is firmly linked with imperialist traditions of long standing, is a classical reply to capitalism, though a hopelessly obsolete and dangerous one in our epoch, to the changes in the world that it considers undesirable, a militarist, violent reply that contradicts the aspirations of the peoples. Besides, the postulates of the "cold war" that blossomed especially lavishly in the United States during the ill-famed epoch of McCarthyism, are beguilingly simple: one does not have to think about complex problems and search for answers to them because the source of all evil is the "external enemy." communism, and it should be combated by all possible means. As to those who think differently, they are accomplices of the enemy. To this day many American politicians are probably drawn to this dangerously deceptive simplicity, in any case those who find it difficult or who do not want to grasp the complexities and diversity of the real world which surfaced the moment the fog of military hysteria and anti-communist psychosis began to subside.

It appears that the internal situation in the United States is also of considerable importance — the aggravation of the problems of inflation and unemployment, the poverty of millions of black and white citizens of the world's richest capitalist country, and widespread crime. The aggravation of these problems — and there is such a great desire to divert attention from them by means of artificially exaggerated external alarms — the government's inability to cope with them, and the resultant accusations of it being "weak" and "soft" create for some American leaders an irresistible temptation to prove their "firm-

ness." It is rather hard to display it, say, in the struggle against inflation or unemployment. But it seems to them that it is easier to transfer this "firmness," or at least to try to transfer it, to foreign policy.

It appears that "firmness" and a "tough line" have become very popular words in America, and they are the latest vogue. Especially on the eve of new elections to Congress and, in the more distant future, of presidential elections as well. A sort of competition has begun between some politicians: who will take a "firmer" stand in international affairs, who will be "tougher" in talking to the Soviet Union.

It seems that there are politicians in Washington who find this to be an acceptable tactic that can be replaced as time passes with other, more moderate and considered tactics. But by far not everything that one can get away with in American domestic politics is acceptable in foreign politics. Here, as we see already today, the "tough line" has every chance to develop from a tactic into a dangerous and uncontrollable political course, acquire a force of inertia that is difficult to overcome, and evoke a corresponding counteraction in the world. And payment for error in the event of such a turn in events will be measured not simply by the drop in somebody's popularity. It threatens to take the form of costly new spirals of the arms race, political crises, growth of the tax burden, and perhaps even worse consequences, including for the people of the United States.

Of course, firmness and courage are qualities that any politician will find useful. But only when they are directed at good aims, are combined with political wisdom, with the ability to guide oneself by the highest interests and to separate them from petty, transient advantages, an ability and desire to peer into the future, to assess in advance the consequences of one's present-day actions. Likewise, courage in politics is by no means an equivalent of bravado, readiness to resort to strong expressions and wielding a club. Political courage is different. It is the ability to outline and consistently implement a principled political course, the ability to control one's emotions, to display restraint without fearing the heckling of political opportunists, and not fall for the advice of adventurers.

The changes in Washington's policy are beginning to give rise to apprehensions in America itself and in countries allied with it. What will be the consequences of the policy now pursued by President Carter, where is he leading his country and the entire "Atlantic community" for that matter — these questions are appearing all the

time on the pages of the western press. Also expanding is criticism of Washington's foreign policy — the threats with which it is fraught and the danger of a return to the "cold war" and aggravation of international tension give rise to mounting concern and alarm.

The world public is also concerned by the following question: how will the Soviet Union respond to the toughening of the American policy? This question acquires greater topicality the more obvious the insufficiently considered and at times openly provocative nature of many actions undertaken by the United States becomes. This applies in particular to attempts to draw our country into new rounds of the arms race, to the political wrangling in the spirit of the "cold war," to the scaling down of economic and cultural ties, and so forth. The plan of those who inspire such actions is very transparent: they would like not only to undermine détente, but also to do this as far as possible through others. They will not however be able to absolve themselves of responsibility for this.

The Soviet Union does not intend to assist the authors of such plans. Our people have seen too much and experienced too much to give in to pressure, to retreat, before saber rattling. They chose the road of peace and will not allow anyone to push them off this road. We do not accept the invitation to the funeral of détente and of the hopes of millions of people for a peaceful future, for the possibility of a life worthy of man for themselves and their children.

Détente, the struggle for peace and disarmament have proved their great vital force and have the broadest support of the peoples. The Soviet Union and the other countries of socialism are fully resolved to conduct a consistent and stubborn struggle for them along all directions, first of all along such a direction as the limitation and reduction of armaments. Speaking recently in Czechoslovakia, L.I. Brezhnev said: "The socialist countries have done a good amount of work to get things going on the way to disarmament. And however great the obstacles may yet be, we shall move on, together with all the supporters of the policy of peace and good-neighborly relations, in the search for dependable and full solution of this burning problem."

In the situation complicated by the policy of the United States, the Soviet Union again confirms its course of international détente and development of good, mutually advantageous relations with the United States, given that the United States also wants it. Successful advances in this direction that accords not only with the vital interests of both countries but also with the interests of humankind and the interests of peace in the whole world requires reciprocity, and re-

quires a responsible attitude to world politics on the part of the leaders of the U.S. Administration as well.

It is impossible to press for aims proclaimed by the United States President such as strengthening peace, limiting armaments and normal relations with the Soviet Union, and at the same time whip up an anti-Soviet hysteria, to try by means of attacks on the USSR to solve one's problems — both external and domestic, and even personal ones. The present course of the United States is fraught with serious dangers. Dangers for the United States, for all countries interested in peace, and for the entire course of development of international relations. We hope for the speediest realization of this truth in Washington.

It is important for countries, statesmen and the public to understand the requirements stemming from the present international situation and act in accordance with them. No aims are more important in international relations than those of preserving and deepening détente, strengthening peace, and disarmament. Similarly, there are no aims more worthy of spending all of one's energy and capabilities on their attainment.

Pravda, June 17, 1978

GUS HALL OFFERS IMMEDIATE CURES FOR \$\$\$ ILLS

Addressing 300 workers and students at Ritter Hall, on the campus of Temple University, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, dissected the duplicity and demagoguery of the Carter Administration, and warned of the dangerous movement toward nuclear confrontation fueled by the profit-swollen military-industrial complex.

Recounting political developments since his last appearance here in November, 1976, when he ran for the Presidency on the Communist Party ticket, Hall pointed out the accuracy of his predictions and assessments of Carter as the monopolies' "cloned politician."

Hall outlined the "only three immediate cures" for the three serious economic ills confronting the nation — "galloping inflation, high unemployment, and . . . the first signs of a new economic crisis."

Excerpts from Hall's address follow.

"I'm sure you've all heard the talk among the scientists about cloning, about reproduction of exact copies, including human beings, from a single cell. Well, this is nothing new in big business politics. U.S. monopoly capital has been 'cloning' politicians that are exact copies of the Herbert Hoovers and Calvin Coolidges for 100 years. . . .

"As you will recall, when Gerald Ford was President he made a now-famous asinine speech on inflation. Now President Carter has delivered his inflation speech.

"Basically they both blamed the working people for inflation. They both asked labor to accept wage freezes and wage cuts. Neither one asked for, or even mentioned, any cuts in corporate profits, which is a root cause of inflation.

"Asking workers to accept wage cuts is like asking the victims of a robbery to pay the thieves for the guns, ammunition, the get-away car and gas, because the cost of robbing people has gone up. . . .

"During these very days we are seeing the operation of the corporate hard-line in Washington. The Washington airport and the hotels are overloaded. The holding pattern is backing up with private corporate airplanes.

"What is this invasion about? Congress is taking up a labor reform bill, and the corporate jets are bringing in thousands to lobby against it. What is in the bill that creates such corporate excitement? Simply the right of workers to organize into a union.

"The bill would mandate that if a majority of workers sign cards asking for an election, the election must be held in 21 or 35 days. What is so shocking about that? It is shocking for the companies that have avoided such elections for 40 years. Under the old law it has been cheaper to keep paying fines than to comply with the law.

"In foreign affairs, everything in Washington is now done in the name of peace. But the fact is that with each step we are moving toward a nuclear confrontation.

"In the name of preserving peace, the U.S. Senate this week agreed to send \$5 billion worth of the most sophisticated warplanes to three countries in the Mideast. This is the path to 'peace' — by way of total annihilation of peoples. Also this week, to preserve 'peace,' the Senate appropriated millions to get everything ready for the use of the neutron bomb — a bomb that President Carter postponed not because he is against it but because it is outdated. The Pentagon brass already has in the works an even more hideous bomb, the 3-R bomb. According to the military experts, this is a bomb that is more suitable for offensive military action.

"Carter is for a SALT II agreement, but he is not for reducing U.S. nuclear weapons. He is for cutting Soviet nuclear weapons while in fact increasing U.S. nuclear weapons.

"It is one of those ironic situations: the U.S. has over 1,000 overseas military bases on every continent, including the U.S. military force on Guantanamo on Cuban soil. The U.S. ships more arms overseas than the rest of the world together.

"But the warhawks — the Kissingers, Brzezinskis, Fords, Senators Jackson, Baker and Byrd — are beating the cold war drums, threatening Cuba with military action and slandering the Soviet Union because they support the forces of national liberation in Africa.

"The mass media have returned to the hysteria of the cold war years. U.S. imperialism does not want to give up its economic colonial domination . . .

"Domestically, we face three serious economic problems — galloping inflation, high unemployment, and now the first signs of a new economic crisis.

"Sorry to say, but the fact is that a new economic crisis is on the horizon. Don't be fooled by the gyrations of the stock market. In the 1930s such gyrations were followed by stockbrokers jumping from the highest Wall Street skyscrapers . . .

"There are three immediate cures for the three problems:

"(1) Transfer \$100 billion for corporate profits to useful projects.

"The transfer of \$100 billion from corporate profits is realistic because last year, for the first time, corporate profits, after taxes, broke through the \$100 billion record. And, according to the reports for the first and second quarters of this year, they will break the \$125 billion record.

"Instead of paying their executives salaries of \$200,000 to \$300,000 or more per year they could be cut to, say, \$50,000 or \$60,000. Frankly, a dollar a day would be enough, considering the amount of work they do.

"(2) Transfer \$100 billion out of the totally wasteful war budget to rebuild our cities.

"(3) Transfer the work day to a six-hour day, with no cut in pay.

"It is estimated that cutting the day from eight to six hours would create 10 million new jobs. This would make a serious dent in the rate of inflation and the unemployment figures. And it would minimize and postpone the new economic crisis.

"How long would it take Congress to enact these very important pieces of legislation? Generally, I would say three days: one day for

hearings, one day for passing the necessary laws, and the third day for listening to the applause of the people for doing what is right.

"In order to succeed in the struggle to win our common needs we must turn things around. And in order to achieve this we must fight together — in unity. Unity is the key ingredient in the struggles of the people. And unity means we must all fight against racism, which tends to divide us . . . To fight for affirmative action for minority workers is not only in the interest of the minorities, but in the interest of all the workers.

"What we need to do politically is build a big people's coalition, based on the common interests of all those who suffer from the coal, steel and other corporations and their militaristic priorities.

"What we need is unity of all who are suffering under the iron heel of the monopolies. Because it is a fact that until the steelworkers, coal miners and all workers, until the 40 million people who are the victims of racist discrimination, the intellectuals, women, youth and the people who work the land, decide that they've had enough of the Democratic and Republican politics of bull and organize new political formations — formations that will not bow to the corporate-military lobby — until there will be such formations there will not be a new list of priorities. Where to begin? Call and visit your neighbors. Talk to your shopmates. Each of you holds the key ingredient . . .

"Some people say that the program I've been talking about is strong medicine. Maybe so. But we have to remember that medicine has to fit the disease for which it is prescribed. There is no use taking medicine that won't cure the disease. Sugar pills don't cure cancer . . .

"In order to wage a successful struggle against the disease afflicting our country we have to understand an old axiom of struggle: how effective you are depends on how well you know the strengths and weaknesses of your opponent, and how well you understand the disease afflicting our society . . .

"Marxism-Leninism is a science that makes it possible for any worker to understand the inner workings of capitalism. The most effective trade union leaders are those who understand Marxism, because they know exactly how big business is going to react: they know the strengths and weaknesses of the monopolies at every stage, and, therefore, the best methods of struggle against them.

"The Communist Party, USA, is a working-class party that is based on Marxism-Leninism. It is a fact that the trade unions have always been the strongest when the Communist Party has been the strongest."

Daily World, May 23, 1978

FOR INTERNATIONALISM, FOR UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

*Statement by the Central Committee,
Peruvian Communist Party*

Our party has closely followed world press reports, information and commentaries of international agencies devoted to relations between the Soviet Union and the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

In the complex and tense international situation which is characterized, on the one hand, by the successes of the democratic forces, and on the other, the eroding positions of imperialism, the PRC's sustained and unjustified attacks against the Soviet Union constitute objectively not only a serious attack against world peace, but render an invaluable service to the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war and facilitate the onslaught against the people by the most reactionary quarters in every capitalist country.

Latterly when, in our view, opportunities have appeared for discussing in general outline the differences between the communist parties and socialist countries on the basis of mutual respect, we are concerned over the events which are at the center of attention of the democratic and peace-loving forces.

We are particularly concerned over the fact that despite the numerous peace initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet government, the Chinese side is adamant in its negative stance, which runs counter to the interests of the peoples, eroding thereby the unity of the socialist camp and favoring the implementation of imperialism's aggressive plans.

The statements made by the political leadership of China during a recent visit of a prominent FRG political leader, which pose the question of the "inevitability of war" between the USSR and China, have understandably caused anxiety in our party, which considers it its duty to publicly state its opinion on this issue and to call on the working people of our country and the world communist movement to exert fresh efforts to surmount the existing tension in relations between the two countries, for it certainly does not respond to the revolutionary aspirations of the peoples.

WE CONDEMN THE DISRUPTIVE POLICY OF THE MAOIST LEADERSHIP

Our party has never adopted a neutral stance on the question of defining its position in the world communist movement. It identifies itself with the declarations adopted at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings of representatives of communist and workers' parties. Consistently adhering to this position, it has taken an active part in the work of congresses of the fraternal parties, calling for the defense and strengthening of the unity of the world communist movement, condemned the provocative activity and stand of the Maoist leadership.

These actions respond to the genuine interests of our working people, the principles of Marxism-Leninism and our understanding of what proletarian internationalism really means. Our party, just as our people, has never identified itself with the nationalistic, bourgeois, anti-proletarian and anti-communist political line of the Chinese government, which relies on the support the most reactionary international quarters and meets with the approval of imperialism.

The principled stand of the Peruvian Communist Party has, naturally, come under the attack of the ultra-left organizations, which in our country represent an unprincipled mishmash of Trotskyites, neo-Trotskyites, Maoists, anarcho-syndicalists and other groups, which adhere to anti-proletarian positions.

Not only theoretical research but also the events now in train confirm the correctness of the stand of the PCP and the communist and workers' parties, the overwhelming majority of which adopted the same positions as we did, and vigorously come out in defense of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the world communist movement led by the great and powerful Soviet Union — an indestructible bulwark of world peace and social progress.

The Maoist leadership's activities in Latin America, its support of the criminal actions of the fascist junta in Chile, its contacts with assassins like Augusto Pinochet, its treacherous interference in the African events aimed against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, its support of Israel in the Middle East conflict and convergence with the Sadat government, which undermined the common front of the Arab countries, establishment of a new basis of relations with the revanchist quarters in West Germany, its attempts to improve its image in the eyes of the U.S. government and the most reactionary governments of the European capitalist states, aggressive and frankly hostile policy toward the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the communist parties of the whole world — all this yet

again confirms the correctness of those who assessed the disruptive course of the Maoist leadership of the PRC as one of betrayal.

When as a result of the acute struggle in the government and the CPC the so-called "Shanghai group" suffered a defeat, our party had hoped that the leadership of the Communist Party of China would essentially change its foreign policy line. Therefore our party warmly hailed the new Soviet initiatives for improving relations with China. In practice this was first reflected in refraining from any critical allusions on the pages of our weekly *Unidad* with reference to the situation in China.

Unfortunately, there was no change in the situation. The Chinese leadership rejected all the Soviet proposals and, counter to the peoples' aspirations, far from seeking to strengthen relations between the fraternal parties and countries, it persists in following a general line toward weakening them. The Chinese leadership refused even to sign an agreement with the Soviet government on a *modus vivendi*, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

**THE AGGRESSIVENESS OF THE CHINESE
LEADERSHIP IS NOW ACQUIRING AN
INCREASINGLY PROVOCATORY CHARACTER,
ENDANGERING PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS**

On February 24, 1978 the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet addressed a message to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China, in which it expressed concern over the present relations between the two states. The message emphasizes that the vital interests of both peoples require the adoption of practical measures for the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China. The Soviet document contains a proposals that the USSR and the PRC issue a joint statement regarding the principles of developing relations between the two states, agree to maintain contacts on the basis of peaceful coexistence, equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and the non-use of force in foreign policy actions.

A few weeks later, on March 9, the Chinese side rejected these reasonable proposals just as offhandedly as in 1971, when it refused to conclude an accord on the non-use of force in international relations, and in 1973, when it rejected the proposal to conclude a non-aggression agreement. Having launched on a very dangerous road, the CPC leadership demanded as a pre-condition of normalizing relations be-

tween the two countries a revision of frontiers, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the demarcation line and the transfer to China of territories which form an inalienable part of the Soviet Union.

In particular, after the conclusion of the recent session of the National People's Congress, Hua Kuo-feng advanced at the session of the State Council among others a "demand" for the transfer to China of 33,000 sq. kilometres of Soviet territory (i.e., more than the territory of the Netherlands and Belgium together). Moreover, he demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Chinese border and even from the territory of Mongolia. Fulfilment of such a "demand" would leave the Mongolian People's Republic defenseless in the face of the Chinese threat, especially in view of the Chinese leadership's repeated hostile actions toward that country.

THE USSR IS A LOYAL FRIEND OF THE PEOPLES

Perhaps there is no point in repeating that the Chinese leadership sees the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and their government and party as its main enemy. That is the main cause of the incendiary speeches of some Chinese officials proclaiming as a "major objective" "preparation for war against the USSR" and the creation in this connection of a "much broader front."

Obviously when speaking about a "much broader front" against the USSR, the Chinese leaders have in mind U.S. imperialism and the reactionary governments of Western Europe. This is clear not only from their statements, but also from their actions, which are aimed at convergence with the most reactionary revanchist and militarist quarters of the USA and Europe, from their concessions to Nixon, their relations with Strauss and in general their activities in the United Nations, where they persist in their aggressive, adventuristic course.

THE POLICY OF CHINA CONSTITUTES A THREAT TO PEACE

The communists of the whole world know that the policy aimed at sparking a war is absolutely alien to the Soviet Union. On the contrary, we know that it is the firmest bulwark of world peace and progress. All democratic forces on our planet see the Soviet Union as the most consistent fighter for the interests of the peoples, against imperialism and the monopolies.

Aggressive intentions are totally alien to the Soviet Union. This is evidenced by the decisions and the general line of the CPSU, approved by party congresses, a line that is fundamentally shared by the

world communist movement. At the same time the CPSU is doing everything possible for the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China, to extend internationalist support to the struggle of the peoples, as clearly demonstrated by the successes of the Cuban, Vietnamese, Angolan and Ethiopian peoples.

For that reason, Peking's reluctance to take steps toward normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations is a source of bitter disappointment for us. This reluctance clearly shows that the responsibility for the present relations lies completely with the Chinese side.

THE PERUVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY IS IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOCIALIST CAMP

Those who are aware of the real danger posed by China's general political line will fully understand the Peruvian communists' solidarity with the Soviet Union and the socialist camp.

In expressing this solidarity, our party confirms its steadfast adherence to Marxism-Leninism and the consistent implementation of proletarian internationalism. Bearing in mind that in this case it is not just a matter of bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and China, but that Peking's provocative policy represents a danger to all progressive and peace-loving forces, including the communist movement, we highly assess the efforts of the parties and governments of all countries in the name of safeguarding peace on earth.

That is why we hold that the stand of the CPC leadership does not really respond to the interests of the Chinese people. That is why we highly assess the initiatives of the CPSU, which are aimed, despite all the difficulties, at normalizing relations between the socialist countries.

As for our party, we, as before, stand firmly on internationalist positions and will do everything necessary in defense of the Soviet Union, the socialist world system, and the world communist movement.

Jorge del Prado
General Secretary

Gustavo Espinoza M.

Secretary of the International Department

Lima, March 26, 1978

Unidad, March 30, 1978

SABOTAGE OF THE PEACE POLICY AND DETENTE

The May issue of *Nowe Drogi*, theoretical organ of the PUWP Central Committee, printed an article by Zygmunt Slomkowski entitled "Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China," which says in part:

The theses put forward by Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the CC CPC and Prime Minister of the PRC at a recent session of the National People's Congress introduces virtually no new elements in Chinese foreign policy. They, however, provide a clear picture of the foreign policy line being pursued by the government formed after the death of Mao Tse-tung and the events of October 6, 1977.

It is for the first time that the PRC leaders' aims to set up "the broadest possible front" directed against the Soviet Union and other socialist community states, at sabotaging their policy of peace and international détente have been stated in such an undisguised form.

Since the policy of peaceful coexistence began to be implemented and to gain in strength, Chinese foreign policy strategy in the 60s focused on the developing countries fighting for their national liberation, a policy that was served by the Peking theory of the contradictions between the "city"-countries and the "rural"-countries, which allegedly play a crucial role in the present epoch. This theory was followed up by the concept of an "intermediate zone," embracing the developed capitalist countries, with the exception of the USA, which Peking refers to as a superpower, along with the Soviet Union. Whereas both superpowers were at first put on the same plane, with the passing of time attacks against the USSR were intensified.

Obviously the evolution of Maoist foreign policy in the direction of accentuated anti-Sovietism was linked with the growing role of the Soviet Union on the international arena, with the successes of its peaceful foreign policy and with the progress of détente. The CPC leadership's failure to impose its concepts on the world communist and working-class movement and the developing countries also had its effect.

What remained unchanged was China's drive to aggravate any international conflicts with the aim of using them in the interests of its hegemonistic strategy. Essentially, the policy of aggravating any dispute, of backing extremist tendencies, which hampered the alleviation and solution of these disputes, became the key principle of PRC

policy and diplomacy. To this end, Peking is prepared to collude with whoever opposes the Soviet Union. Anti-Sovietism in theory and practice is now at the center of the PRC's entire foreign policy. It stems from the Chinese leadership's growing discontent with the progress of détente, the successes of the USSR and the entire socialist community in surmounting the cold war. The Peking leaders sharply criticized the first international agreement on curbing the nuclear arms drive. They continually attacked the idea of convening a conference on security and cooperation in Europe, advanced by the socialist countries, and then its Final Act. The negotiations on limiting strategic armaments (SALT-1) were described by China as a "shameful deal" of the two superpowers, as "capitulation" by the USA.

The architects of the PRC's political strategy are well aware that the economic and defense potential of the USSR and its socialist allies had reached such a level that imperialism was impelled to relinquish the idea of a policy of "brinkmanship" and to acknowledge the need for peaceful coexistence with the socialist system. The fact that the prospect of a stable world peace had acquired a realistic character, and of the Soviet Union's leading role in this process, conclusively determined the PRC's political line. Shedding its mask, China's military-bureaucratic leadership has declared the first socialist state its main enemy.

Such are the chief motives of the anti-Soviet course of China's foreign policy, such is the basis of its present tactic, aimed at forging ties with all anti-Soviet forces of whatever hue. The allusions to border questions and similar arguments stem from this course and play a secondary role.

The states, political streams and figures who, in the PRC leadership's opinion can be used to reach its goals, to belittle the success of the peace policy of the USSR and to hamper the processes of détente and normalization of international relations are now at the center of interest of Peking's diplomacy.

Chinese diplomacy manifests the keenest interest in Soviet-U.S. relations. Seeking to aggravate the contradictions between these two countries, it is making big concessions to the United States, fully approves the warlike stance of the military-industrial complex of the USA and actively supports the "arguments" of the proponents of the arms race.

Peking is guided by analogous reasons in its attitude to European problems. Its reaction to the Final Act of the Conference on Security

and Cooperation in Europe was extremely negative, and after its adoption, Peking stepped up its support of the opponents of European détente. Chinese politicians are openly calling for intensification of a "military and organizational" preparation for war in the capitalist part of Europe, come out for the arms race, increasing military expenditure, strengthening the NATO bloc and expansion of its influence.

In view of the fact that in the policy of West European countries a substantial role is played by realistically-minded forces, which support the policy of détente, the Peking leaders lean to the ultra-rightist groupings, the avowed enemies of the platform of the European Conference. Following this line, Peking is supporting the slogans and activity of the West German rightist forces, which comes out against peace and security in Europe.

Having gravitated toward an anti-Soviet course, China is openly coming out against the national-liberation movements and peoples of the developing countries which expand ties with the socialist community countries. Peking's "Black list" includes the revolutionary movements of Mozambique, Angola and Ethiopia. Things have come to such a pass that the PRC leadership is virtually siding with the splitter groupings, which together with the South African Republic are fighting against the revolutionary government of Angola. Peking is extending aid to forces that are ready to cooperate with the Smith regime in Rhodesia, and is encouraging in every way the internal and foreign enemies of Ethiopia.

Guided by the interests of peace and the will to establish good-neighbor relations, the Soviet Union has repeatedly advanced proposals for the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations on the principle of peaceful coexistence. This was noted by CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in his reports at the 24th and 25th Congresses, and in other important speeches. But in each case they were rejected by China.

The Soviet side reaffirmed its constructive stand on this issue in the February 24 message of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. But China once again rejected the Soviet proposal. All this shows that the CPC leadership and the Chinese government want neither normalization nor improved relations with the USSR. Such policy runs counter to the aspirations to build a future based on détente, disarmament and cooperation, on the full implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

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LETTER OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Australia has decided to convene the third Congress of our party on September 29th, 30th and October 1st and 2nd, 1978 in Sydney.

The Congress will hear a report on the work of the Central Committee and elect a new Central Committee and will have three main resolutions before it:

- (a) A Political Resolution;
- (b) The National Question in Australia;
- (c) Migrants and working-class unity in Australia.

Congress meets at a time of increasing class struggles in Australia on a wide range of economic and political issues and when the task of preserving world peace and achieving universal disarmament is increasingly urgent.

The capitalist crisis has brought high inflation and increasing unemployment and insecurity to the working people of Australia.

The ruling class and the extreme right-wing government of Prime Minister Fraser, is attempting to foist the burdens of the capitalist crisis on to the backs of the working people by a policy of restricting wages, by cutting social services and reducing allocations for health, education and housing.

The government has introduced new harsh measures to control and restrict trade unions and is attacking the rights of democratic and progressive organizations generally. It is strengthening the so-called security forces which are actually political police.

The conservative government is increasing military expenditure and pursues a foreign policy fully in accord with the interests of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, which has a number of important military bases on Australian soil.

The Socialist Party of Australia is working to unite the broadest sections of Australia's democratic, peaceful and progressive opinion in the struggle for peace, democracy and security. Our party calls for a people's movement directed against the big monopolies and multi-nationals and for the defeat of the conservative government.

In particular our party is increasing its work to uphold peace and détente and to fight actively for international disarmament.

Our Congress will give attention to the struggle for the rights of Australia's national minority, the Aboriginal people, as well as to the decisive task of unifying the whole working class of which many migrant communities are now a part.

As a contingent of the international communist movement the SPA acts in solidarity with the socialist states, the national-liberation movements and with the working class of the capitalist countries. We regard the unity of the international communist movement on the principles of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism as vital for success in the historic struggle between capitalism and socialism and in the task of preserving the peace and freedom of the people.

P.D. Symon,
General Secretary,
Socialist Party of Australia
Sydney April 7, 1978

IN BRIEF

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Talks were held in Prague between a Czechoslovak party and government delegation led by Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPCz and President of the CSSR and a Mongolian party and government delegation led by Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC MPRP and Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Khural.

During the talks, which proceeded in an atmosphere of full unanimity on all issues discussed, the sides examined the main directions of promoting Czechoslovak-Mongolian ties, as well as topical international issues.

The Czechoslovak and Mongolian leaders highly assessed the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, the vigorous activity of Leonid

Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, aimed at promoting the process of international détente and peaceful cooperation between all countries.

At the conclusion of the talks Gustav Husak and Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal signed a joint Czechoslovak-Mongolian statement.

FRANCE

The French Communist Party met in plenary session in Paris, at which Political Bureau member Claude Poperen reported on the communists' attitude to the government's domestic and foreign policy.

Touching on the international situation, the speaker noted that the French government's foreign policy is being increasingly subordinated to the interests of the imperialist strategy inspired and directed by the USA. In this connection he sharply denounced France's military intervention in some regions of Africa, and the neo-colonialist plot of the imperialist powers headed by the USA against the peoples of that continent. This policy, Claude Poperen said, runs counter to the requirements of French security and endangers its international ties.

The speaker then went on to say that the French Communist Party will in future too consistently advocate the creation of a broad and firm alliance of the left forces.

FRG

The Board of the German Communist Party held a plenum in Dusseldorf. GCP Vice-Chairman Hermann Gautier made the report which highly assessed the results of the visit of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the Federal Republic of Germany.

"The GCP," he said, "guided by the interests of the working people, vigorously advocates the policy inscribed in the documents signed during the visit. It supports the Soviet proposals on disarmament, because for our country, which is at the crossroads of two counterposed systems, nothing can be more urgent than the further lessening of the threat of war."
