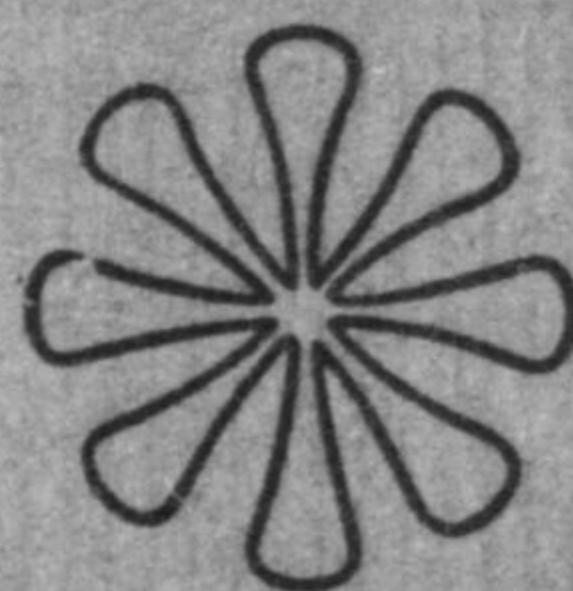


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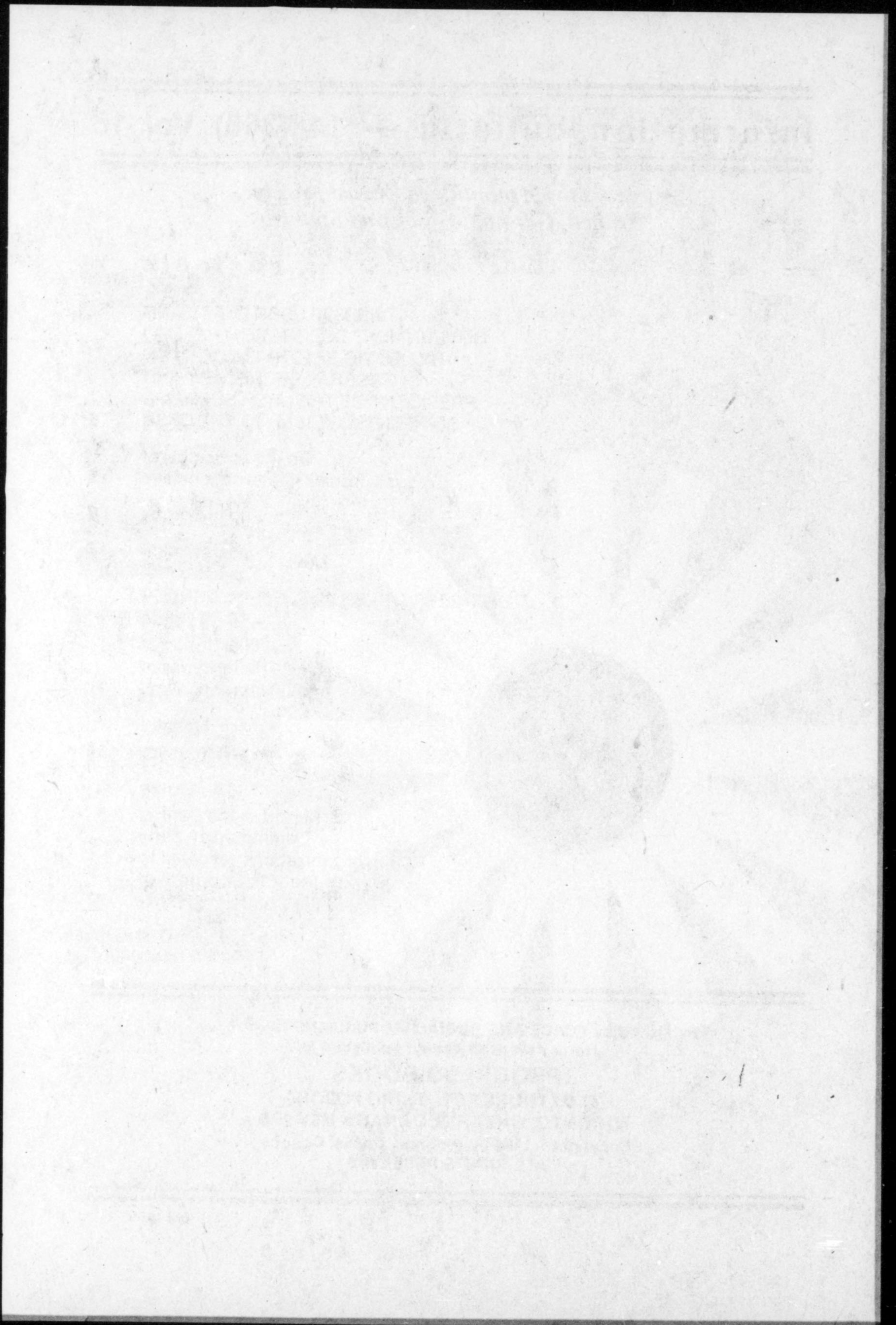
**BREZHNEV
VISIT TO
CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

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VISIT OF THE USSR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION HEADED BY LEONID BREZHNEV, CC CPSU GENERAL SECRETARY AND PRESIDENT OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM, TO THE CSSR

A Soviet party and government delegation led by Leonid Brezhnev, CC CPSU General Secretary and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was on an official friendly visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic from May 30 to June 1978.

During the visit talks were held in the Prague Castle between a Soviet party and government delegation led by Leonid Brezhnev and a Czechoslovak party and government delegation led by Gustav Husak. The delegations exchanged information on the experience of developing socialist society in both countries at the present stage, on party building and educational and ideological work of the CPSU and the CPCz, on economic development and elaborating more effective methods of running the economy, on social policy. Satisfaction was expressed with the active participation of both states in the fraternal cooperation of the socialist community countries, in the common struggle for the cause of peace and promoting détente.

During the talks there was a detailed exchange of views on topical international issues.

Both delegations reaffirmed the resolve of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to steadfastly follow a policy of strengthening and deepening détente, consolidating international security and universal peace, and to support in every way the struggle to halt the arms drive and for disarmament.

The representatives of party, state and government bodies and organizations of the CSSR National Front held a meeting in Prague on May 30, addressed by comrades Gustav Husak and Leonid Brezhnev (speeches printed below).

The Soviet party and government delegation also visited Bratisla-

va, the capital of Slovakia. At the Bratislava Castle the USSR party and government delegation held a talk with the representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, the government and state bodies of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

At the conclusion of the Soviet party and government delegation's visit to Czechoslovakia a Joint Declaration on the further development of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCz, the USSR and the CSSR was signed in Prague in a festive atmosphere (the text of the Joint Declaration is printed below in slightly abridged form).

The Soviet party and government delegation's visit to Czechoslovakia was a new step on the road of promoting fraternal relations and friendship between the Marxist-Leninist parties and peoples of the two countries, an important contribution to the cause of enriching mutual relations that are built on the principles of socialist internationalism.

ON THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM

Interview by Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee and President of the CSSR to the Moscow *Pravda*, Soviet television and radio.

Q. In connection with the forthcoming official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia of a Soviet party and government delegation led by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the readers of *Pravda* and Soviet TV viewers would like to know how you assess the present level of relations between our parties and states.

A. Our working people are joyfully looking forward to the visit of the Soviet party and government delegation led by Leonid Brezhnev. It will be a festive occasion for all of us. Relations between our communist parties, between our socialist states and peoples have grown in depth and become more diverse. It is fair to say that close cooperation, fruitful exchange of experience, and all-round ties are developing in virtually every sphere of activity. Good, intensive, friendly, comradely relations on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian and socialist internationalism have traditionally existed

between our communist parties, the CPSU and the CPCz. Latterly they have reached a particularly high level. Stable state to state relations have also been established.

Close cooperation is developing also in culture, science and other fields. For instance, the fact can be cited that together with the splendid Soviet cosmonauts a Czechoslovak citizen has had the opportunity to take part in space research.

The trade unions, youth, women's and other public organizations of our countries are cooperating intensively. Broad friendly relations have been formed between regions, districts, cities and enterprises. Through these contacts the citizens of both states exchange experience, mutually enriching their knowledge and raising the effectiveness of their work.

Mention should also be made of coordination in the foreign policy sphere, and the common approach of the socialist countries to the solution of major international problems linked with the struggle for peace and social progress.

Briefly, it should be stressed that cooperation between our parties and states is developing along an ascending line and is continually being deepened and improved. It is no exaggeration to say that Czechoslovak-Soviet relations are now more effective than ever before. The announcement of the Soviet party and government delegation's visit and of the stay of Leonid Brezhnev — a great friend of the Czechoslovak people, our country and our party — was joyfully met by our people. That is why we are making festive preparations for the visit.

Q. What will be the contribution of the forthcoming visit of the Soviet party and government delegation to the CSSR, of the high level Czechoslovak-Soviet negotiations in promoting cooperation between the CPCz and the CPSU, between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, in strengthening the socialist community?

A. There are many aspects to such meetings. Above all they provide an opportunity for exchanging information and experience, which is especially valuable for both parties. They involve a summing up of the results of promoting mutual ties, of what has been achieved, and of cases where, I would say, some "prodding" is indicated to achieve better results. Such meetings provide new impulses, new initiatives aimed at improving cooperation in various spheres.

I would like to cite an example: here in Czechoslovakia, in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries work is under way to plan economic and social development for the period after 1980. Work is

also in train on goal-oriented programs designed to coordinate the efforts of the CMEA member countries in solving key economic problems. Thus, during our meetings proposals and initiatives are made on resolving both immediate and long-term problems of cooperation, which will later be developed further.

I am deeply convinced that our talks with Leonid Brezhnev, with the Soviet delegation will result in many important ideas and initiatives for promoting and deepening cooperation between our parties and states. I am equally convinced that our meetings will demonstrate once again the traditional Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship, and the cordial feelings of the Czechoslovak people toward the Soviet Union and the CPSU.

Our people are well aware of the importance of cooperation with the Soviet Union in ensuring the independence of the Czechoslovak state, the peaceful life and creative labor of its citizenry, for our present and our future.

I am convinced that the forthcoming visit of the Soviet party and government delegation will epitomize the sincere friendship of the Czechoslovak communists, the Czechoslovak people to the Soviet Union and will manifest our firm will to safeguard, strengthen and develop our fraternal relations, tirelessly raising them to new heights.

Permit me to use the occasion to cordially hail the Soviet people's achievements in implementing in all spheres the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. We are happy that the Soviet Union — the chief earnest of our freedom and world peace — is enhancing its political and economic might and steadfastly developing science and culture. I wish to warmly congratulate the Soviet communists and the entire Soviet people on these great successes. I cordially wish them new gains in their labor endeavor, good health and happiness.

Pravda, May 25, 1978

MEETING IN PRAGUE

A meeting of representatives of party, state and government bodies and organizations of the Czechoslovak National Front was held in Prague on May 31, on the occasion of the visit of the Soviet party and government delegation led by Leonid Brezhnev.

Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPCz and President of the CSSR, addressed the meeting, saying in part:

SPEECH BY GUSTAV HUSAK

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

We deeply respect you as a direct participant in the liberation of our homeland, as a loyal son of the Leninist party, the Soviet people, as a principled Marxist-Leninist and staunch internationalist, as a wise and experienced leader of the communist and working-class movement and unremitting fighter for a stable world peace. Our people nurture feelings of sincere friendship for you, cherish you as a courageous, wise and warm-hearted person, as a close and loyal friend who always responds with full understanding.

The visit of the party and government delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is yet another expression of the ever-strengthening relations of indestructible friendship and all-round cooperation between our parties and the peoples of both countries.

We shall never forget that the Soviet Union has always faithfully stood on our side and, whenever necessary, unhesitatingly proffered a helping hand. This was so also ten years ago, at a moment when the existence of socialism in Czechoslovakia was at stake. With the passing of the years we again highly assess the internationalist aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The historic decision to respond to the numerous requests of the Czechoslovak communists and non-party people in the name of safeguarding the revolutionary gains of our people was a manifestation of fidelity to socialist internationalism, the resolve to defend together the inviolability of the socialist cause. This helped to save our homeland from a counter-revolutionary coup, with its tragic consequences for the life of the working people.

This circumstance was also highly important for the stability of the situation and the preservation of peace in Europe.

After the defeat of the counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist and right-opportunist forces new creative capacities of our people were released. The dynamic development of the economy and growth of living standards was restored, strengthening the working people's confidence in the assurance of their vital needs. Our country once again became a firm part of the socialist world community.

The unity and cooperation of the socialist countries is based on the firm fighting alliance of their Marxist-Leninist parties. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union, true to the principles of socialist internationalism, display constant concern for the promotion of mutual relations and cooperation between the peoples of the two countries. These efforts of ours are the natural manifestation of socialist internationalism, which engenders a new, higher type of mutual relations between the socialist countries. This serves as the basis of the enrichment of the life of each socialist country and the growing might of the entire socialist community.

We attach great importance to economic and scientific-technological cooperation. The expansion and promotion of socialist economic integration with the Soviet Union and other CMEA member countries is the guideline of our further economic development. This dynamic cooperation facilitates fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the working people of the socialist countries, higher productivity of labor and efficiency, and a more effective solution to major common tasks.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union is a major factor in the implementation of our economic policy. A series of important questions related to cooperation and specialization, particularly in the sphere of engineering, power, chemicals and in many other fields, are being successfully resolved.

It is a source of pride for us that our country is taking part in implementing the complex and important Intercosmos program. In this connection I wish, on behalf of the Czechoslovak people, to express gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government and to you personally, dear Comrade Brezhnev, for enabling a Czechoslovak citizen to go up into outer space together with Soviet comrades, thus opening up a new stage of cooperation of the socialist countries in this sphere.

Esteemed comrades,

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is ideologically strong and united, it is the recognized leading force of our society. The decisions of the 11th CC CPCz plenum orientate party members and all our working people on a Leninist, critical and responsible attitude to affairs, to seek more effective forms and methods of work to reach the goals and objectives charted by the 15th Congress. This was confirmed by the election meetings of the primary party organizations, as well as the regional party conferences which ended two weeks ago.

The initiative and creative enthusiasm of the Czechoslovak working people in implementing the line charted by the 15th CPCz Con-

gress is evidence of their unshakeable faith in our party, of the fact that the party policy responds to the interests of the people, that it is close and understandable to them. All this is reflected in the successes won by our people under the guidance of the CPCz. By its production potential, living standards, educational level and cultural development, Czechoslovakia today ranks among the developed states of the world.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the heroism and selflessness of the Soviet people in implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress have served as an example to us in everything we have achieved.

It is most gratifying for us Czechoslovak communists and the people of our country that in building a mature socialist society we are advancing together with the communists and people of the Soviet Union.

The best features of the Soviet people — an unparalleled resolve in waging the struggle for the building of socialism, ability to surmount the most formidable obstacles, unshakeable resolve to safeguard the independence and freedom of the Soviet homeland even at the cost of enormous sacrifices — all these are admirable qualities which we highly value.

We realized all this once again on reading Comrade Brezhnev's memoirs on the heroic defense of the Soviet Land in the years of the Great Patriotic War and in the postwar reconstruction of the badly disrupted economy. The fundamental changes effected in all spheres of the life of the Soviet state attest to the boundless strength of the socialist system, of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the conscientious work of the Soviet people.

New revolutionary, innovatory methods and forms of work, which stem from the broad initiative and extensive activity of the Soviet working people are a rich source of experience for us, helping us to cope with formidable tasks.

We follow with admiration the successful realization of the 25th CPSU Congress decisions and sincerely rejoice at each new victory of the Soviet people. The successes of the Soviet Union enhance the overall strength and influence of socialism and increase the hope of preserving world peace.

The slander campaigns systematically being organized by the reactionary imperialist quarters against the countries of real socialism, particularly the Soviet Union, cannot conceal the fact that concern for man, his well-being and the exercise of his rights are the main aim and

purpose of our social system, that socialism opens up ever broader prospects for him and ensures opportunities for his full development.

This is also confirmed by the new Soviet Constitution, which represents a modern manifesto of a society which was the first in history to advance to the threshold of communism.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union has won the recognition and admiration of all peace-loving people. Peace is the most valuable asset of humanity, and the maintenance of peace creates the most favorable conditions for the creative endeavor of our peoples. Our party and the entire Czechoslovak people highly appraise the principled peace policy of the Soviet Union, fully support it and are doing everything to facilitate its implementation.

Every sober-minded politician must admit that the most urgent and important task of the present is to halt the arms race, both nuclear and conventional, to limit armaments and to adopt concrete disarmament measures. Therefore we fully support all the Soviet proposals aimed at achieving relaxation of tension in the military sphere. The recent Soviet initiatives advanced by you, esteemed Comrade Brezhnev, during the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and at the 18th Congress of the Leninist Komsomol, have met with broad support and response throughout the world.

We are fighting jointly against the reactionary imperialist forces and all opponents of détente who are seeking to return humanity to the cold-war times. We are taking an active part in the common struggle of the socialist countries for the all-round promotion of the process of détente. There is no sensible alternative to the policy of easing international tension.

We vigorously reject the dangerous and adventurous policy of the present Chinese leadership which is teaming up with the most reactionary forces of world imperialism in the interest of its great-power chauvinism and which, by its orientation on war, constitutes a threat to all nations of the world.

We will continue to help strengthen all-round cooperation in the Warsaw Treaty Organization, defend socialism, consolidate the socialist community and coordinate our foreign policy. The joint actions of the socialist countries are an earnest of new victories in the struggle for peace, progress and socialism.

We are aware of the importance in the present historic circumstances of a broad united anti-imperialist front. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is working consistently to strengthen the

unity and cohesion of the world communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, it advocates active comradely alliance and internationalist solidarity of the communist parties. It supports the ideas and results of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, and is waging a persistent struggle against all manifestations of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, against various attempts to undermine or weaken the positions of socialism, the world working class and other revolutionary forces.

We side with the peoples of the liberated countries who are fighting against the vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism. We are extending all-round support above all to those countries which have firmly opted for the socialist road of development.

Then Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, make a speech, in which he said in part:

SPEECH BY L.I. BREZHNEV

Dear friends,

As I was preparing to speak here before you, I could not have failed to recall two momentous dates which are to be celebrated later this year. Just about 60 years have passed since the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic. For half of this period your country has lived under the star of socialism. Is this not an occasion for some reflections on the destinies of your country, on its past, present and future?

When a sweeping uprising of the proletariat and peasants brought the people's genuine representatives into Hradcany Castle three decades ago, the communists had to face some tasks of outstanding complexity. They had to overcome the aftermath of the war and the fascist occupation, restructure their society along new, socialist lines, secure an uplift of their economy and culture, and improve the living conditions of the working people in every way. That gigantic constructive effort had to be undertaken in the contest of a bitter fight against their class enemies, whose doings made themselves felt for a long time afterwards, and in 1968 the enemies of socialism launched yet another, broadly conceived attack on the revolutionary gains of the working class.

Today, looking back on the past, our Czechoslovak comrades can say with satisfaction that they have come through their uneasy trials with flying colors.

The Czechoslovakia of today is a country with a strong and systematically advancing economy; it is one with advanced science and culture; it is one with a high standard of the people's well-being; it is a country offering the widest possible opportunities for individual development and for the active involvement of millions of its citizens in the administration of government and social affairs. Behind all this there is the revolutionizing and guiding effort of your Communist Party, a great and painstaking endeavor of the working class, your peasantry, and the intellectuals your people produced.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a respected member of the fraternal family of socialist states, is playing a great part in international affairs and is actively and effectively participating in the solution of topical international problems and in the consolidation of European and world peace.

The gains now in evidence are, at the same time, a bridgehead for further advance. We know that the communists and the working people of the CSSR are enthusiastically working to carry out the big economic and social program outlined by the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the program for building an advanced socialist society in your country. We wish you full success in this work and in making your socialist homeland still finer.

A steady onward movement on the way to higher summits is, one may say, a law of socialism. This is, of course, not an easy upgrade to climb, and it calls for the whole of the community and every one of its conscientious members to throw every ounce of their energies and abilities into it. What is no less important — and this is something I should like to dwell on in particular — is to work constantly toward deepening and developing the cooperation of the fellow socialist countries.

So, comrades, there is literally no major avenue in social life without the cooperation of the sister nations of socialism producing its favorable effects.

There has been a peaceful sky over Europe for more than three decades. This is very important. This is the longest peace, it seems to me, history has ever given to the peoples of our continent. And the peoples must clearly realize that this has been largely, and even decisively, due to the fact that half of Europe lives under socialism today. Peace in Europe is, in many ways, a product of our common effort and the concerted foreign policy of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Marxist-Leninist ideology is in the vanguard of world social think-

ing today. It has passions running high around it and various social movements drawing towards it. And this, too, is, in tremendous degree, an upshot of the joint creative activities of our parties and of the influence of their wealth of practical experience in building the new type of world.

Great prestige has been won by socialist culture, profoundly humanistic in spirit, and indissolubly linked with the best of national traditions, and, at the same time, innovatory and internationalist, reflecting as it does the creative genius of many nations and ethnic groups.

In the last decade alone, the countries united in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance have doubled their industrial potential. Our multilateral cooperation has played a great role in this, along with national efforts.

We are in the habit of soberly appraising the state of things and we never close our eyes to outstanding problems. In a number of aspects, our countries are not yet in a position to offer a standard of reference, so to speak. This applies, notably, to some areas of electronics, engineering and chemical industries. Can we move up in front in these fields, too? Of course we can. And we can do this the sooner, the better we improve the international socialist division of labor and develop even closer economic cooperation.

The main thing, in our judgment, is to make our contacts as effective as possible, and to take into account not only the needs of the moment, but longer-term requirements as well. We have exchanged views on these major issues at the current talks with the Czechoslovak leaders. It is a pleasure to note that we see eye to eye on this subject as well.

Comrades,

Some of my dearest recollections have always been and will be associated with Czechoslovakia and Prague. It is here that we saw the welcome peace set in after four years of immeasurably hard fighting. It is here that we vowed to prevent any further tragedy of war from happening. We have every right to say that the communists stand by this oath.

Much has been done in recent years toward improving the international situation, particularly in Europe. The tenants of one European house, so to speak, now do not only greet each other, but speak to each other in peaceful terms, and have learned to cooperate quite well in many matters. This has been well in evidence during my recent visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. We have, in our

opinion, worked out a solid program to improve the quality and standards of our mutual relations. This program, responding, naturally, to the interests of both countries, is no less concerned with consolidating détente on this continent.

A safe peace in Europe is, beyond all doubt, one of the major preconditions for the prevention of another world war. The Helsinki Conference three years ago created all opportunities for the development of good relations on the European continent. That seemed to have laid some solid political groundwork for détente. Yet some political quarters have come to the fore in an obvious bid to wreck the process of détente, both in Europe and elsewhere, and to return to a "cool" war, if not a "cold" one.

The same purpose is, of course, behind such acts as the murderous intervention by NATO countries in Zaire, a cynical operation which the men behind it have tried to cover up by a propaganda ballyhoo about an alleged "Soviet" or "Cuban" involvement as a red herring.

Another fact is that many useful initiatives by the socialist countries, undoubtedly meeting the interests of the European peoples and, indeed, those outside Europe, have failed to be duly reciprocated, although everybody would quite obviously stand to gain from them.

It is beyond dispute that the foundation for peaceful cooperation among states has been badly damaged by the continuing arms race. To put an end to it and take practical steps toward disarmament is a great task today not only before the governments and not only before the individuals with power in their hands. This is a task before all parties and political currents, before trade unions and other social organizations, before the mass media. Nobody has the right to stand aloof from it. One cannot expect the present course of events to be reversed from arms build-up to disarmament without the active effort of the international community and of the broadest possible spectrum of political forces.

Our best wish is to bury the axe of war so deep that no sinister forces could ever dig it out. This is the purpose behind our proposals for merging political détente with military détente and for conducting all-embracing negotiations on disarmament, including nuclear disarmament.

Our attitude to the talks about curbing the arms race is one of all seriousness and good faith. We are against fruitless verbal exchanges and against such talks looking like that "disarmament conference," pardon the word, which was once held up to ridicule by Jaroslav Hasek. You may recall that his characters, dizzy after endless night-

long sittings and banquets, began to urge whomsoever to arm himself, as if out of good intentions.

The Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament has been meeting in New York for the past few days. Its participants are discussing the disarmament problem in its entirety for the first time in UN history.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have brought before the session their proposals and initiatives, thoroughly considered and designed to promote a constructive effort and gain some practical results.

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.

Unfortunately, the position of our major partners in the negotiations is full of contradictions. Here is the latest case in point.

A top-level NATO Council session is on in Washington right now. Some of its participants have been stopping over in New York, on their way to or from the NATO meeting, to utter some high-sounding words about disarmament at the Special Session of the UN. But at the NATO ministerial meeting, in the same breath, as it were, they are discussing further plans for military preparations for years ahead. So, where are the Western powers talking business and where are they talking through their hats?

It is high time it is understood that the arms race can do no good to anybody. It has to be stopped and replaced by an honest effort to achieve disarmament.

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 a dependable and full solution of this burning problem.

JOINT STATEMENT

On the further development of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and

the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

A party and government delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics led by L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, paid an official friendly visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the President and Government of the CSSR, on May 30-June 2, 1978.

In the course of the visit the Soviet party and government delegation had talks with the party and government delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, led by G. Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Republic.

The delegations informed each other of the achievements and problems of their countries and the fulfillment of the social and economic tasks set by the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. They discussed key aspects of the further development of comprehensive contacts between the two fraternal parties, states and peoples, and exchanged opinions on the vital issues of the international situation and the world communist and working-class movement.

I

The leaders of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia reviewed the course of implementing the agreements reached during the visit of the party and government delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the Soviet Union in 1975. They state with profound satisfaction that Soviet-Czechoslovak relations have become a major integral part of the lives of the two countries and are developing dynamically and fruitfully in full accord with the 1970 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are firmly united by the community of the social system, Marxist-Leninist ideology, the objectives of social development and loyalty to the principles of socialist internationalism. Multi-faceted cooperation between the two countries has reached a high level and become an inseparable factor of their intensive development and an integral part of the process of the

fraternal socialist countries' drawing closer together. Practice has demonstrated the firmness of the Soviet-Czechoslovak alliance, which reliably serves the cause of defending the national interests of the two countries, the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and the strengthening of European and universal peace.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the two countries are the motive force of the comprehensive development of cooperation and friendship between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples. The Sides confirm that they will continue to indefatigably strengthen ties of fraternal friendship and cohesion between the Soviet and Czechoslovak Communist Parties. The two Sides attach exceeding importance to regular meetings and continuous comradely contacts between Soviet and Czechoslovak leaders at the summit level. They will act in the spirit of relations of profound respect, sincerity and absolute trust, existing between the Central Committees of the two parties, to vigorously promote the further extension of contacts between the party organizations and collaboration between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, between the governments of the two countries and individual ministries and departments.

The Sides expressed their firm intention to continue extending and improving Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation in the sphere of ideology for the purpose of facilitating the accomplishment of the tasks of communists, internationalist education of the working people and the mutual spiritual enrichment of the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples. They appreciate the regular exchange of experience of ideological educational work between the Soviet Communist Party and the Czechoslovak Communist Party, close contacts between the mass media, and mutual assistance in training party and scientific personnel. Scientific and cultural contacts and cooperation in education, public health and sports are becoming increasingly important in relations between the two countries.

In order to deepen Soviet-Czechoslovak relations, the Sides will continue to provide favorable conditions for the development of contacts between twinned regions and cities, varied ties between trade union, women's, youth and other mass organizations, between industrial and agricultural enterprises, research establishments and educational institutions, and between individual citizens. They point out that the Society of Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship and the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship have a great role to play in

this process, directed by the Soviet and Czechoslovak Communist Parties.

The delegations reviewed in detail the key issues of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. They stressed the growing importance of joint planning activities and comprehensive forms of industrial, scientific and technological cooperation enabling the efficient pooling of resources in the sphere of material production.

The main thing at the present stage is a move toward the development of economic relations on a long-term basis and the mapping out of guidelines for cooperation in production for many years to come. In this context agreement has been reached to accelerate the elaboration by joint effort of a long-term program for specialization and cooperation of production until 1990. Particular attention will be paid to raising the scientific and technological standards of the industries that are fundamental to the economies of both countries.

The USSR and Czechoslovakia will continue to increase their contribution to the joint development by the socialist countries of atomic power engineering, including production of equipment for nuclear power plants. As regards the problem of fuel and raw materials, the Sides expressed their satisfaction with the fact that the joint building by the CMEA member-countries of the Soyuz main gas pipeline was going ahead successfully and would be completed later this year. The pipeline will be of great importance for the economies of the participating states.

The Czechoslovak Side praised the Soviet Union's technical assistance in building nuclear power plants in Czechoslovakia and also the Prague Metro, which has justly been called a project of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. The

The Czechoslovak Side praised the Soviet Union's technical assistance in building nuclear power plants in Czechoslovakia and also the Prague Metro, which has justly been called a project of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. The Soviet delegation pointed out that Czechoslovak supplies of machinery and equipment, including metallurgical, chemical, petrochemical and oil-refining technology and transportation facilities, were important for the Soviet economy.

Wide-ranging and effective cooperation between the two countries resulted in the joint Soviet-Czechoslovak space mission carried out as part of the Intercosmos program in March 1978.

The Sides believe that the multilateral cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, whose

30th anniversary will be marked in 1979, is an important factor contributing to the strengthening of the economic potential of the USSR and Czechoslovakia and of other socialist countries. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are determined to continue promoting its work, to exert efforts to carry out the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration and to participate in the working out and implementation of CMEA's long-term and goal-oriented programs in key sectors of the economy.

II.

The Soviet and Czechoslovak delegations held an extensive exchange of views on a wide range of international issues.

They were unanimous in their opinion that in spite of the designs harbored by imperialism and other reactionary forces, international détente remains a leading trend. There are realistic opportunities for averting the threat of a world thermonuclear war, maintaining and ensuring peace, and strengthening conditions for further social progress. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia will continue to work with determination for the achievement of these noble objectives.

The Czechoslovak delegation emphasized the outstanding importance of the Soviet Union's constructive policy in the international arena, the activities of the CPSU, its Central Committee, the Politbureau of the Central Committee and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, L.I. Brezhnev, in carrying out the Program of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples, adopted by the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

The Soviet delegation spoke highly of the active role played by socialist Czechoslovakia in international affairs and the contribution made by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, its Central Committee, the Presidium of the Central Committee, and General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee and President of Czechoslovakia, G. Husak, toward consolidating peace and promoting cooperation in Europe and the pursuit of a common policy in international affairs by the countries of the socialist community.

The Sides noted with profound satisfaction the growing role of the socialist community in world development. The USSR and Czechoslovakia will continue to do everything to foster its cohesion, further enhance the authority of the socialist countries in the international

arena and ensure reliable defense for the peaceful, creative work of their peoples.

The Sides attach great importance to the strengthening of coordination in the foreign policies of the socialist countries and the consistent implementation of the joint measures worked out by the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee. They said they appreciated the useful work done in this field by the Warsaw Treaty's Committee of Foreign Ministers.

Long-standing experience convincingly shows that the unity of the socialist community countries and their cooperation in the international arena determine, in great measure, the success of the policy of détente and have a great role to play in strengthening peace and the security of nations.

The leaders of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are convinced that the reduction of military danger, the stopping of the arms race which has swept the world, the reduction of the stockpiles of weapons, the starting of real measures in the field of disarmament and, in the final count, advance toward general and complete disarmament are the most urgent problems for the ensurance of peace, which should be solved without delay.

In this connection the Sides attach major significance to the work of the UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament which is to facilitate the elaboration of a concerted principled approach of the states to the task of terminating the arms race and starting disarmament, and map out specific steps toward resolving this problem, thus making its contribution to raising the effectiveness of the talks conducted in this field. The USSR and Czechoslovakia believe that constructive work by the session can create favorable conditions for the convocation and successful holding of a World Conference on Disarmament.

Confirming the viability of the proposals put forward by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization member-states in November 1976 to reduce the threat of war, end the arms race and implement disarmament, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia believe that examination of the question of halting the further quantitative and qualitative growth of the armaments and armed forces of the states possessing large military potentials is of prime importance for the creation of conditions conducive to their subsequent reduction.

The Sides urge all the states concerned to discuss the program of implementing, within a specified period of time, measures such as the

termination of the production of all types of nuclear weapons, the termination of the production and the prohibition of all the other types of mass-destruction weapons, the stopping of the development of new, destructive types of conventional weapons and the renunciation of the expansion of the armies and of the buildup of the conventional weapons arsenals by the permanent members of the UN Security Council and by the countries bound with them by military agreements.

The Czechoslovak Side highly assesses the Soviet Union's efforts toward reaching at the Soviet-American talks a new agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, and other arms control agreements.

The Sides express the hope that the USA and other Western countries will examine in the full measure of responsibility the proposal on banning the production, stockpiling, deployment and use of nuclear neutron weapons and on concluding a corresponding international convention whose draft has been submitted to the UN Committee on Disarmament by socialist countries.

The USSR and Czechoslovakia will continue making active efforts toward the achievement of agreement at the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Subjecting to a careful scrutiny the constructive proposals put forward by their partners, the socialist countries are seeking an effective agreement which would lead to reducing the level of military confrontation in that region and would be based on the principle of undiminished security.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia view as a crucial foreign policy task the need to contribute to the further development of the process started by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Belgrade Meeting reaffirmed the need to continue this process and to intensify the efforts to fully put into practice the principles and agreements adopted at summit political level in Helsinki.

The Sides expressed their concern over the persisting dangerous seat of military tension in the Middle East and strongly condemned the aggressive moves of Israel, including its actions against Lebanon. The USSR and Czechoslovakia, together with their allies and friends, have been consistently supporting the Arab people's struggle for a political settlement of the Mideast conflict on the basis of the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the meeting of the legitimate demands of the Arab people of Palestine,

including their inalienable right to self-determination and the creation of a national state of their own, and the realization of the right of all the states in that region to independent existence and security. They are convinced that the Middle East problem can be solved only through joint efforts with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization as an indispensable condition, and this implies renunciation of the policy of separate talks and a return to the efforts to achieve a settlement in the Middle East in the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference.

The delegations stated the solidarity of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, for national independence and social progress. They noted with satisfaction the role the non-aligned states played in this struggle and reaffirmed the willingness of the USSR and Czechoslovakia to further cooperate with them.

The delegations expect the Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries which will be held in Havana in 1979 to make a contribution to the consolidation of peace and security of the peoples, to the establishment of equal economic relations between all states.

Welcoming the achievements of Ethiopia in the defence of its revolutionary gains and sovereignty, the Sides expressed confidence that the establishment of peaceful and good-neighborly inter-state relations in the Horn of Africa region in conformity with the principles of the UN Charter and the aims and decisions of the OAU would benefit all African states and facilitate the solution of the problems facing them.

The USSR and Czechoslovakia condemn the maneuvers of international reaction directed at preserving the colonial and racist system in southern Africa through setting up puppet regimes there and declare their willingness to continue giving support to the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa who are fighting for freedom, independence and equality.

They take special note of the danger of the continuing armed provocations staged by the racist regimes and their imperialist patrons on the borders of Angola and Mozambique and demand an end to them.

The USSR and the CSSR strongly condemn the NATO powers' intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Zaire and any other imperialist attempts to suppress the national-liberation move-

ment in Africa and to impede the progressive development of the African states.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia stand for an early settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, for withdrawing all foreign troops from the territory of the island and for dismantling foreign military bases. The population of Cyprus should be given the possibility to decide their own domestic affairs with due account taken of the interests of both the Greek and Turkish communities.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia support the position of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam striving for the development of relations of good-neighbor and cooperation among the Southeast Asian states, including the SRV's constructive proposals aimed at adjusting Vietnamese-Kampuchean relations.

Both Sides express their support for the course of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the country's peaceful democratic reunification without any outside interference, and for the demand for withdrawing all foreign troops from South Korea.

The Soviet and Czechoslovak delegations stated that Chinese foreign policy ran counter to the efforts of all progressives in the world to extend détente and to end the arms race and that it was deeply inimical to the countries of the socialist community. The conviction was expressed that it was necessary to continue to vigorously counter that instigatory, militarist policy. At the same time, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia reaffirmed their readiness to normalize interstate relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

During the talks, opinions were exchanged on questions of the world communist and working-class movement. The view was expressed that in present-day conditions the importance of international solidarity among the fraternal parties, of their greater activity and of strengthening their unity in the struggle for promoting common aims was growing. In this connection, the vitality of the conclusions of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe was emphasized.

The CPSU and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regard as useful the establishment of contacts and the promotion of cooperation between communist and social-democratic parties, in the first place, in the interests of the struggle for peace, for furthering the relaxation of international tension and for disarmament.

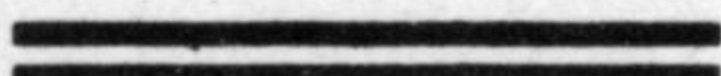
Soviet and Czechoslovak communists will continue to carry aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and to make their contribution to the further creative development of working-class revolutionary theory and consistently come out against anti-communism and opportunism.

The Soviet and Czechoslovak Sides expressed deep satisfaction with the results of the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of cordiality, mutual understanding and fraternal friendship, and confirmed the complete identity of the principled positions of the CPSU and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the USSR and the CSSR, and their unshakable ideological and political unity. The confidence was expressed that the official friendly visit of the party and government delegation of the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia would help to further strengthen fraternal friendship and to expand all-round cooperation between the USSR and the CSSR and would be a new contribution to the strengthening of the socialist community.

Prague, June 2, 1978

For the Union
of Soviet Socialist
Republics,
L. Brezhnev

For the
Czechoslovak
Socialist Republic,
G. Husak



CONGRESSES, PLENUMS, CONFERENCES

POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE 11TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Printed below is the abridged text of the Political Resolution adopted by the 11th Congress of the CPI, which was held over March 31-April 7, 1978 in Bhatinda.

The 11th Party Congress met in a situation vastly different from that obtaining at the time of the last party congress. In the period since the last congress, the crisis of the capitalist path of development pursued by the ruling class since Indian independence has sharpened and developed into a crisis of bourgeois class politics, a crisis of bourgeois class rule. The economic crisis is entering the phase of political instability and political crisis. Both the Congress and the Janata Party are in the grip of such a crisis. The country can no longer be saved either by continuation of Janata Party rule or by restoration of Congress rule. It can be salvaged only by bringing about basic structural changes in the economy and national democratic shifts in state power at the center, that is, by a left and democratic national alternative power structure at the center, for which our party and the mass organizations have to play a significant initiating and leading role.

The economic and political crisis in our country cannot be understood in all its implications and ramifications unless it is viewed in the context of the continuing crisis of world capitalist economy and the new tactics of neo-colonial offensive being evolved by imperialism under the impact of this crisis and the changed world balance of forces brought about by the victories of the anti-imperialist struggle in the recent years.

Sharpening of interimperialist rivalries and contradictions, growing trends toward protectionism and cutthroat trade competition and competition for markets, repeated currency manipulations and currency crisis, growing political instability of bourgeois regimes and sharply rising wave of strike struggles of the working class — these are characteristic of the present phase of the crisis of world capitalism.

Faced with such a crisis and with growing successes of the anti-imperialist forces, imperialist strategists are working out new neo-colonialist tactics adapted to the realities of the present situation. Particular concentration is directed toward the economic sphere where imperialism still holds strong positions and the newly independent countries are most vulnerable. A system of measures has been worked out to promote the development of "dependent" capitalism in the newly-free countries through a greater, more intensive, involvement of these nations in the international capitalist division of labor. In effecting this policy, the imperialists sometimes make concessions to ruling bourgeois groups in these countries.

Such tactics are specially worked out and sought to be implemented in an increasing manner in leading developing countries like India with the help of big monopoly houses which besides cooperating with multinationals in joint ventures in India have already started the process of even investing their capital jointly with foreign monopolies in third countries.

The technique of using states in certain regions as agents for the establishment of reliable imperialist strongholds in different areas of the third world is also being increasingly resorted to. Iran and Saudi Arabia are playing this role in our region.

Weakening and subversion of cooperation between the developing countries and the socialist community nations led by the Soviet Union is also one of the main aims of the new neo-colonialist tactics. The present Maoist rulers of China are fully cooperating in this.

The recent period has been characterized by the tremendous all-round advance of the Soviet Union and other countries of the world socialist community.

The political and material help to the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial forces in Africa and elsewhere by the Soviet Union, Cuba and other friendly socialist states has shown the value of the alliance of the world socialist system and the national-liberation struggles. The anti-imperialist and progressive potentials of the growing political, economic and cultural ties between the socialist world and the anti-imperialist Third World has increased. All this has enhanced the attractive forces of socialism on a world scale. It has great significance for the struggle for a new path of development with a socialist perspective that has intensified in India and many other Third World countries.

In the Third World itself many of the revolutionary-democratic states of a socialist orientation have made significant progress.

India has suffered from neo-colonialist exploitation and this has aggravated the crisis of the capitalist path of development.

After the coming into power of the Janata Party, U.S. imperialism has shown increasing interest in India and in Asia as a whole. Political changes have taken place in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan, which are more to the advantage of the imperialists.

Corresponding to the new neo-colonialist strategy of imperialism, its main political aim in our region at present is to weaken and undermine our country's traditional foreign policy of peace and non-alignment, particularly its anti-imperialist content and our friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community. This is a grave danger to the future of our country's independence, sovereignty and social advance.

The main features of India's foreign policy have not basically changed. This is because this policy conforms to the interests of the national bourgeoisie itself and to the patriotic and anti-imperialist traditions of our people and to their love for the Soviet Union.

Many national bourgeois regimes in the Third World countries follow a similar policy because of their conflict and contradictions with imperialism and because of their national interests.

But, despite this, new disquieting trends have emerged recently in India's foreign policy which can be ignored only at our peril.

In the name of correcting the alleged earlier "tilt" in our policy of non-alignment and making it "genuine non-alignment," a tilt toward the imperialist powers is being skillfully and insidiously introduced. Anti-imperialism is being more and more ignored in Janata Party policy statements and declarations on international issues and "ideological affinities" with the Western powers are being more and more stressed.

Our party congress is meeting at a time when politics in our country is still in a state of flux and it would be erroneous to make any rigid and dogmatic forecasts about the exact shape and position the different bourgeois parties and groups will take in the future.

But one point is already quite clear. The crisis of the capitalist path of development and of bourgeois class politics have deepened to such an extent that no bourgeois party can take the country out of the crisis or save our people from the danger of authoritarianism and destruction of democratic rights.

The way out lies in a break with the capitalist path and the neo-

colonialist strategy of economic development and launch the country on a firmly anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and anti-feudal path of development which is gradually becoming a part of the consciousness of democratic masses.

The party has to forge the mass sanctions necessary for realization of this perspective by building up the widest unity of the left and democratic forces and raising it to such a political level as to change the correlation of class forces in the country in favor of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance. Such a change in the correlation of class forces and the mounting offensive of the national-democratic forces against the forces of reaction alone can enable the working class to put an end to bourgeois monopoly of power and replace it by a government of left and democratic unity at the center. In such a government, which will represent the changed correlation of class forces as stated above, power will be shared by parties and forces representing the working class, peasantry, radical middle class and patriotic non-monopolist sections of the national bourgeoisie which may be against imperialism, feudalism and monopoly. Such a government will be a potent instrument for carrying forward the struggle against imperialism, monopoly capital and feudalism to a new decisive stage, and for radical socio-economic transformations.

In its broad perspective, the fight for a left and democratic alternative should encompass — (a) uncompromising struggle against the anti-democratic, anti-people, anti-national policies of the Janata Party government as also of Congress and other bourgeois governments; (b) struggle to expose and defeat bourgeois policies in whatever variant they come and to win over the masses to a left and democratic, as opposed to Janata Party or Congress, alternative; (c) struggle for unifying the left forces and building up of wider unity of left and democratic forces; (d) solidarity with the world socialist community headed by the Soviet Union and with the international revolutionary, working class and democratic movements in common struggles for freedom and peace and against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The task of building the left and democratic national alternative demands the highest priority and unceasing practical initiatives on the part of our party and mass organizations.

The path of united mass struggles and political struggles is the only path that can effect a breakthrough in the task of building up a left and democratic national alternative. No parliamentary combinations or top negotiations with different parties can by themselves bring about such an alternative.

Never before in the history of our party has its independent political role and the role of the mass organizations in initiating united mass struggles and political struggles assumed such decisive and key importance as in the context of the present situation. Through this path alone can we build up more and more extensive unity in action of the left forces. Through this path alone can we secure wider and wider democratic allies and accelerate the process of political realignment needed to build the left and democratic alternative.

Priority attention has to be given to the working class which is the most consistent class that can unite and lead all other anti-imperialist and democratic forces in common struggles.

Democratic functioning of trade unions, strengthening of live links between them and the masses of workers and regular reporting to worker masses, etc., acquire special importance at the present time.

It is imperative to fight back opportunist tendencies and economism within the working-class movement, to familiarize the working class with the program and policies of our party and the scientific ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

It must not be forgotten that working-class unity and worker-peasant alliance are the key toward realization of a left and democratic national alternative.

The people in our country are moving in the direction of an alternative path of development. It is the duty of the CPI not only to systematically popularize among them the fundamental tasks of the national democratic revolution with the perspective of transition to socialism but also to organize and lead the masses to determined action to win such pressing and immediate demands.

The CPI puts forward before the country the following programmatic platform which can serve as the basis for a left and democratic national alternative:

1. Full democratic rights for the people and their mass organizations, including the right to strike. An end to internal emergency provisions and all repressive laws and measures directed against the working people. Democratization of the administrative machinery and the state apparatus, including setting up of popular committees with statutory powers.

2. Restructuring of center-state relations to expand the powers of the states and provide adequate resources for their development.

3. For a firm stand against World Bank — IMF pressures, against neo-colonialism and penetration by the multinational corporations. Review of foreign collaboration agreements with Western countries

and curb on remittances of profits by multinational concerns. For a new world economic order based on equality, for immediate moratorium on foreign debt payments to imperialist countries.

4. For nationalization of the monopoly houses. As a first step, nationalization of foreign drug companies, sugar, textiles, jute and foreign trade.

5. State takeover of wholesale trading in foodgrains and essential raw materials. Building of a public distribution system of foodgrains and essential commodities that will guarantee remunerative price for the peasant and reasonable price for the consumer. Against inflation, deficit-financing, heavy taxation of the common people and high prices.

6. For planned and independent development of the national economy, based on a dominant position for the public sector and on increasing integration with the socialist world market as well as with the markets of the countries of the nonaligned world. Mobilization of resources for planning by taxing the rich.

7. Full protection to small-scale industry, including guaranteed supply of credit and raw materials, as well as marketing facilities all avenues for control of small-scale and cottage industry by the monopoly houses to be closed. Protection to handloom industry through a national textile policy.

8. For need-based minimum wage for the working class; against wage-freeze, lockouts, layoffs and closure of mills and for immediate takeover of all closed mills and concerns; for treating railway workers and all those employed in government departmentally-managed undertakings as industrial workers with all their rights; for full trade union rights; for full democratic rights to central and state government employees and abolition of the police verification system; effective worker participation in management of the public sector at all levels, including in the decision-making field.

9. For abolition of landlordism and effective implementation of radical land reforms ensuring land to agricultural labor and the poor peasant; for anti-eviction measures; for fair wages to the agricultural worker; for allotment of free house sites to the rural poor and cancellation of their debt burdens; for guaranteed fair-price and marketing facilities for the peasants' produce; for supply of cheap credit and inputs to the mass of the peasantry; for promotion of both service and production cooperatives in the agricultural sector. For reduction of tax burdens on the working peasantry and for a progressive land revenue system with exemption for uneconomic holdings.

10. For inclusion of the right to work in the Constitution and employment to all or unemployment relief to the unemployed.

11. For implementation of compulsory primary education and introduction of free education up to secondary stage in all states. Stipends to all students belonging to lower income groups. For eradication of illiteracy. Adequate participation and representation of students and teachers in all the academic and administrative bodies of the universities, through overhaul and reform of educational system and its democratization; for use of mother tongue as medium of instruction, administration and judiciary in all the states.

12. For drastic steps to put an end to atrocities against scheduled castes and tribes; for ending economic and social oppression of these sections by landlords, contractors, traders, moneylenders, etc., and for restoration of lands alienated from them.

13. For ending discrimination against and for safeguarding the rights of Muslim and other minorities and for according official recognition to Urdu as provided for in the Constitution. For fighting against the communal poison being spread by the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak.

14. Equal wage, status and opportunity for women.

15. Lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18. For proportional representation and radical reform of the electoral system.

16. Against forcible imposition of Hindi and for the three-language formula, respect for the rights of all regional languages and special assistance for the promotion of tribal languages. Inclusion of Nepali and Manipuri languages in the Eighth Schedule.

17. For full regional autonomy within the existing states or separate statehood if the tribal people so desire for all tribal majority areas which are contiguous in territory and specific in composition; liberal state assistance for their rapid economic, social and cultural development.

18. Effective steps for elimination of corruption, including permanent judicial machinery both at the center and in the states for enquiring into allegations of corruption against ministers, other public men holding high executive positions and Class I officers.

19. For a firm and consistent foreign policy of peace, anti-imperialism, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; for strengthening the anti-imperialist content of the policy of non-alignment; for strengthening India's unity and solidarity with the non-aligned world on the basis of anti-imperialism.

MANIFESTO OF THE 11TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY

The Communist Party of Norway held its 16th Congress in Oslo from April 14 to 16. The congress was attended by approximately 150 delegates and by guests from fraternal parties. It discussed the political report of the Central Committee submitted by CPN Chairman Martin Gunnar Knutsen, tasks of the party for the period ahead and the domestic political situation. It elected the CPN National Executive and re-elected Martin Gunnar Knutsen to be its Chairman.

The delegates discussed and adopted two important documents — a political and economic manifesto and the manifesto "For an Active Peace Policy" — as well as a resolution calling for an active campaign against the neutron weapon. Following is the full text of the second manifesto.

FOR AN ACTIVE PEACE POLICY

The struggle to preserve and strengthen peace is the most important task of mankind. It is only in the atmosphere of a peaceful future that the prerequisites for more extensive human rights and the development of all nations and peoples can be created. Staving off a new world war is a matter of vital importance to all men on earth.

The Final Act of the CSCE (1975) was a big step toward promoting political détente in our part of the globe.

The countries participating in the Helsinki Conference pledged to seek general and complete disarmament, which, in turn, would serve to strengthen world peace and security. We stress that to complement political with military détente is absolutely indispensable, in particular for the good of the Norwegian people.

The countries which took part in the Helsinki Conference account for 80 to 85 per cent of the world's military spending. Two military blocs confront each other in Europe. They have enormous stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction, including atomic weapons.

To reduce military spending would mean increasing opportunities for peaceful work, for social and cultural progress.

The enemies of peaceful coexistence, military détente and disarmament have lately become more active. These reactionary forces

are trying to obscure the goals and tasks worked out at Helsinki: further measures for political détente and new specific steps toward disarmament and cooperation. Spokesmen of the war industry and big capital try together with their military and political flunkies to spread distrust of the socialist countries by organizing anti-socialist campaigns. They want to prevent the implementation of the Helsinki decisions and have succeeded in this to a degree.

What the world is passing through today is not disarmament but an arms race on an unprecedented scale. This applies above all to the atomic arms race. U.S. and NATO plans for the manufacture and deployment of the neutron bomb in Europe are a most alarming indication of the danger threatening the world. Another serious danger is NATO's rejection of the specific disarmament proposals constantly put forward by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In line with the Helsinki decisions, the Belgrade Conference continued discussion of such important issues as increasing security, furthering peaceful coexistence and cooperation among states and carrying détente deeper.

The peoples of all countries must campaign to prevent the Belgrade Conference from sliding away from these objectives. The peoples of Europe must fight together in defense of a most important human right, the right of every people and every person to live in peace and security.

In this situation, a special responsibility falls in the Norwegian people. Norway's geographical position and NATO membership make it vulnerable. The policy of blocs has always posed a threat and is now an obstacle to an independent Norwegian foreign and defense policy in every sphere. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the United States and NATO, and more particularly West Germany, exert pressure on Norway to step up its militarization. There is also pressure on these lines from the Norwegian military leadership and Høyre party politicians, who play the game of the munitions monopolies and the United States in every respect.

The government has shown vacillation under these pressures. There are many facts points to this:

- plans for the stationing of heavy NATO military equipment on Norwegian soil in peacetime;
- the participation of West German troops in NATO maneuvers held by NATO in Norway;
- the construction of permanent camps for foreign troops;

- guidance stations for U.S. atomic submarines;
- a provocative visit to areas bordering on the Soviet Union by the West German Defense Minister during his stay in Norway;
- a substantial increase in the war budget.

The Norwegian government's passive stance on the issue of manufacturing and deploying the neutron bomb in Western Europe speaks for itself. A further cause for concern is the small number of Norwegian initiatives in the UN on the issue of disarmament and the dissolution of military blocs.

In view of the foregoing, the 16th Congress of the CPN calls on the trade union movement and political parties, on fishermen and peasants, on women and young people, on peace and Christian organizations and on individuals irrespective of their political or religious convictions to form together a powerful Norwegian popular movement for peace and security on the basis of the following clear-cut goals:

1. *No* to the stationing of heavy NATO military equipment in Norway.

No to West German troops and provocative NATO war games on our soil.

Dismantle the guidance stations for U.S. submarines.

2. The Norwegian representatives in NATO must take a stand against President Carter's plan to go ahead with the manufacture of the neutron bomb and its deployment in Europe.

In negotiations with the Soviet Union on the Barents Sea, continue the line evolved earlier: protect the interests of the coastal region population and the interests of the country, and seek solutions strengthening the thousand-year-old friendship, cooperation and peace between the peoples of our two countries. Reject the anti-Soviet war hysteria fomented by reactionary forces.

4. The Norwegian delegates to the UN must show independence and initiative on peace policy by advocating détente, the adoption of disarmament measures, and the parallel reduction and dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Pursuit of these political aims would be Norway's contribution to the special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament due in the summer of 1978.

5. Norway must substantially reduce its military budget and use the funds released as a result to combat the economic crisis. The country holds second place among the European NATO countries after the FRG in per capita military spending.

6. Norway must fully support national and social liberation move-

ments fighting against fascist regimes, racism and colonial oppression. This is part of the struggle for lasting peace.

7. Renounce every form of war propaganda and anti-communist campaign aimed at sowing distrust in regard to the socialist countries. Expand economic, social and cultural cooperation with these countries to foster mutual understanding, confidence and détente.

Such a policy would fully meet the vital interests of the Norwegian people and their desire for peace and justice.

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON PARTY ORGANIZATION PRESENTED TO THE 10TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SRI LANKA

The 10th Congress of the party* is held at a time when the left and democratic forces face a difficult and complicated situation brought about by the victory of the reactionary UNP at the recent general elections.

Exploiting the huge majority that it commands in the National State Assembly the United National Party is in a great haste to enact a variety of laws intended to wrest from the people the democratic rights they had been hitherto enjoying within the framework of the bourgeois parliamentary democracy and to restrict the activities of the party and the other progressive political organizations. As pointed out in the Political Report the Constitution of Sri Lanka has been amended, limiting the powers of the National State Assembly and bestowing executive power on the President. Now, the government is contemplating on the introduction of legislation to effect such changes in the electoral system that would help them to perpetuate the domination of the UNP in the National State Assembly, prevent the formation of any electoral alliances against the UNP and avert the emergence of the left with a big electoral representation endangering

*Held in Colombo over March 22 to 26, 1978.

the capitalist system. They seek to ensure the perpetuation of the two-party system under which the Sri Lanka Freedom Party — the second capitalist party, would return to power in the event of failure by the UNP.

The tactic of the UNP is to create the necessary basis for the adoption of direct and overt repressive measures in order to establish an autocratic rule. It seeks to use the overwhelming majority it wields in the National State Assembly for this purpose.

Hence it is essential and urgent to build the United Left Front as a force capable of rallying all progressive and democratic forces and leading them successfully in a steadfast fight against the onslaughts of the UNP government and as a force capable of effecting radical socio-economic changes in the country.

In the present state of crisis the burning problems could be solved and the country could advance toward progress only by creating such socio-economic transformations as would lead the country along the path of socialist-oriented development. It has to be underlined however that the advance toward this goal would rest mainly on the degree of the development of the working class and its leading role in the United Front.

It is now necessary to draw our attention to the disparity that exists between the tasks that we are called upon to fulfill in the new political situation and the present strength of the party.

If the party fails to meet with determination and swift action the demands of a fast changing political situation, arising objectively in consequence of the deepening crisis of world capitalism and the aggravation of the socio-economic problems in the country, this disparity may further widen instead of closing up.

It is necessary to struggle against ultra-leftist and sectarian trends which ignore the necessity of realistic evaluation of developments and the level of consciousness of the masses at any given time, against trends which completely reject parliamentary forms of struggle that leads to isolation from the people. On the other hand it is also necessary to guard against right deviationist trends which incorrectly interpret the proposition of the peaceful transition to socialism and the possibility of using the bourgeois parliament for this purpose, against underestimation of the role of the working class and the party.

It will be our immediate and vital revolutionary duty to develop the party qualitatively, and in such a manner that it would be capable of leading the other left and progressive forces under all conditions, so

that it will be able to effectively carry out the task and responsibilities it is called upon to shoulder.

Despite the fact that the party continues to suffer from some grave defects, there has been a marked improvement in the work of certain fronts of the party organization. Although the party has failed to overcome all its defects and some unhealthy influences still prevail in the party it must be conceded that the party has made certain achievements in different fields of its activity.

The party succeeded in enrolling 3,855 new members in pursuance of the target set by the membership drive of 1976. The number of party branches increased by about 60. In the matter of elevating the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of the membership it can be observed that there has been a marked improvement over the preceding period.

Strengthening the practice of democratic centralism and the Leninist norms of collective leadership and eliminating to some extent certain practices of an individualist nature and sectarianism based on different fronts of the party are some achievements lying to the credit of the party.

Considering the new developments in the class struggles in the country as well as the changes that would occur in the party line in consequence, it is imperative that the membership should have a high ideological level and unity for the proper discharge of responsibilities confronting the party. While we should purge the party of certain negative concepts which had entrenched in the party in the past we should acquire sufficient knowledge to meet the challenge of the present phase. The qualities of self-sacrifice and revolutionary vigilance could be enhanced only by arming the membership with a correct ideological orientation.

A persistent struggle must be launched against rightist and leftist deviations and the liberalist trends that exist in the party. It is by this means that we could forge ahead toward a correct ideological understanding and unity.

It becomes necessary therefore to further strengthen the work of the ideological department of the party and focus more attention thereto.

It is recommended that the following steps should be taken by the party in this sphere:

1. Increase the publication of Marxist-Leninist literature.
2. Publication of booklets and pamphlets explaining the position of the party on current political and theoretical questions.

3. Development of the party press for ideological struggle particularly by making effective use of the daily newspaper *Aththa*.

4. The strengthening of units of party education under the District Committees and extension of required assistance to them by the Ideological Department.

5. Strengthening the struggle to combat anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and such anti-communist doctrines as Maoism and Trotskyism.

The party has acquired valuable experience in its work within the United Fronts. These experiences should be beneficially utilized in carrying out the work of building the United Left Front.

The party enters a united front not because it suffers from an inferiority complex or that it underestimates the potentiality or the strength of its class. The party pursues this policy because of its conviction that all classes who have a role to play in the given stage of the revolution and their political parties must participate in the common struggle for it to succeed. If the party fails to follow such a policy grave damage will be caused not only to the immediate struggles but also to its struggle toward the ultimate goal of the party of establishing socialism and communism. It will result in the isolation and weakening of the party.

The building and strengthening of the party cannot be achieved divorced from the struggle at a given stage. In fact the building and strengthening of the party is facilitated by participation in such broad alliances in the fight against the common enemy.

In the ensuing period the party will wage its mass struggle mainly in the extra-parliamentary field. The reason for this is that the party is not represented in the National State Assembly. In any event the decisive battles in the struggle for socialist oriented socio-economic transformations and the victory of the socialist revolution lay along the path of extra-parliamentary mass struggle.

Despite the fact that struggle inside parliament does not arise in the present situation the question still arises whether we should give priority to election struggles or extra-parliamentary struggles. The struggle waged in the parliamentary sphere is an integral part of the mass struggle. Yet the struggle outside parliament gains priority.

The working class is the class that would steadfastly fight in the mass movement in the future struggle against reaction and in the struggle for progress and socialism. With the expansion of the public sector during the past period large numbers of educated youth have joined the ranks of the working class. Yet the numerical strength of

the working class is not proportionately reflected in the political arena. This is because of the still low level of consciousness among many sections of the working class and the absence of a real unity in their ranks. However with the deepening of the economic crisis and the aggravation of the social problems in the country they would be compelled to come to the fore in the political struggle. The party must focus its special attention in this respect.

It is true that the 200,000 members organized under the trade unions under our leadership can influence other trade unions in the fields of trade union struggles. The majority of them are yet under the influence of economism and unionism. The voting at the last general election provides evidence in this regard. Therefore the trade unions led by the party should make a special effort to draw the working class into the political struggle.

In our efforts to successfully build and strengthen the party at this historic stage we should work with sufficient understanding and caution about the designs of reaction and various other forces which strive to defeat those efforts. Our enemies are well aware that our party occupies a key position in the fight for the realization of the tasks before the left and progressive forces and that it rallies together all forces against reaction and is a force capable of giving them resolute guidance. This is evident from the numerous campaigns already initiated against our party. We must defeat these designs of our enemies to weaken the party and aim at building the party as a strong revolutionary weapon for struggle with a high degree of unity and discipline.

Abridged

PEACE, SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT

The Swiss Party of Labor (SPL) held its 11th Congress in Geneva May 13-15. It was attended by 150 delegates representing all the cantonal party organizations, and by delegations of fraternal parties from 14 countries.

The main report for the Central Committee was made by Armand Magnin, member of the SPL Political Bureau and Central Committee Secretary. In the discussions delegates and guests spoke of

strengthening the unity of the international communist movement, defending the interests of the working class and all working people, consolidating the SPL and the firmness of party members in the ideological struggle.

The Congress approved the political line and activities of the SPL and adopted several resolutions, among them the resolution "Peace, Security and Disarmament" and a general political resolution. A new Central Committee and Central Control Commission were elected. A Central Committee Plenum elected the SPL Political Bureau. Armand Magnin was elected General Secretary and Hansjorg Hofer and Karl Odermatt — Central Committee Secretaries. Jean Vincent was elected Honorary Chairman.

The text of the resolution "Peace, Security and Disarmament," follows.

PEACE, SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT

The 11th Congress of the Swiss Party of Labor, held in Geneva May 13-15, confirmed its resolve to do its utmost for the growing détente and the development of new international relations to lead to the fulfillment of the ten principles of peace and security set forth in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The SPL will continue actively to further the struggle of the masses to:

- stop the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race;
- ban the neutron bomb, a weapon of mass destruction;
- speed up the disarmament talks and the systematic reduction of military budgets;
- liquidate foreign bases and dissolve military blocs.

Our aims likewise presuppose:

- refusal to employ, or threat to employ nuclear weapons;
- a ban on all nuclear testing;
- removal of all nuclear weaponry from the territories of foreign states, stopping their dissemination and creating nuclear-free zones.

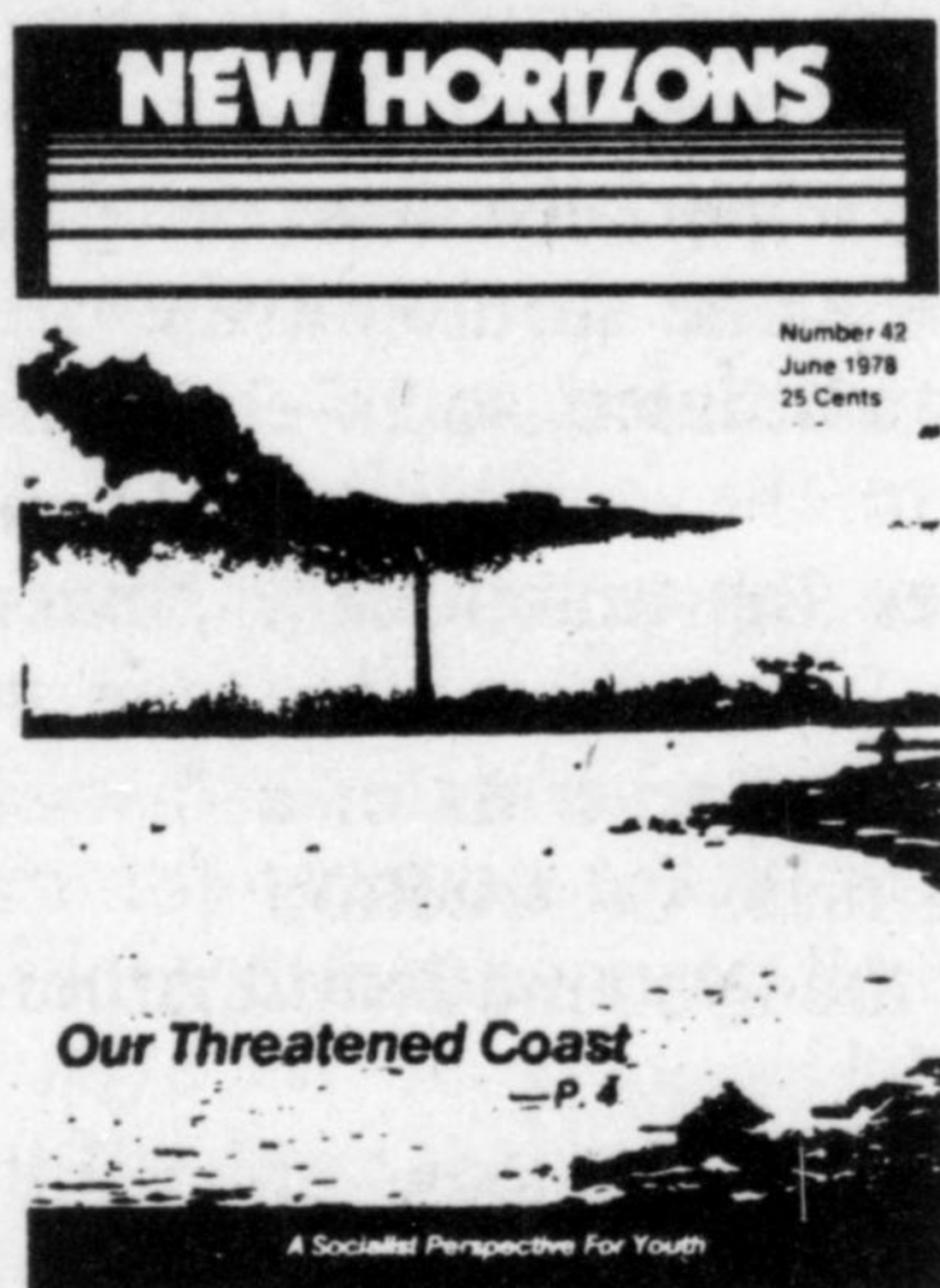
We are also working to:

- ban and destroy bacteriological and chemical weapons of mass annihilation and all means of using the climate for military purposes;
- mobilize all forces in Europe and the United Nations to fulfill these goals in Europe and on other continents.

The Congress expresses its active support for the efforts of the Swiss peace movement and all organizations working for peace, in

defense of the vital interests of all states and of all peoples of the world, particularly the struggle to prevent the manufacture of the neutron bomb and for its complete ban.

The energetic defense of peaceful coexistence, détente and world peace, a policy that corresponds to our national interests and which is the obligation of the people and government of Switzerland, a country that has not known wars for almost 200 years, is the only policy that is in the interests of all nations and all of mankind. The Swiss Party of Labor solemnly proclaims at its Congress that it shall continue supporting such a policy of peace and all efforts to further its development and final assertion.



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DOCUMENTS

NO TO THE ELECTION FARCE!

Statement by the Political Commission, Central Committee of the Guatemalan Party of Labor in connection with the March 5, 1978 "elections"

Elections of the President, Vice-President, deputies to the Congress and alcaldes, and members of municipal councils were held in Guatemala on March 5, 1978. Below we print in abridged form the statement made by the GPL Political Commission on the eve of the elections.

The ruling reactionary classes and their imperialist masters from the United States were unable to avert, let alone surmount the contradictions, difficulties and crises of their outdated socio-economic system. The fraudulent elections imposed on the country in 1974 and their consequences did nothing to stabilize the reactionary power. Given the existing bourgeois legislation, they were intended to strengthen the centralized, authoritarian repressive state, a fascist-type regime designed to ensure tranquillity in the country for the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy, high-ranking military and North American investors by suppressing the people.

In preparing the new election farce, those who now unlawfully retain power were guided by the same reactionary aim. Characteristically, this farce is being staged in conditions of a total absence of civil guarantees and liberties. Every day, human rights are flagrantly violated in the country. Moreover, on the eve of the "elections" the persecution and repression of the popular strata fighting for civil rights were stepped up. Workers and office employees are being persecuted simply because they want to organize in defense of their social and economic interests. Now the rights of political organizations are being further curtailed: for instance, even some reactionary political parties are barred from registering, to say nothing of parties with reformist leanings.

This new election farce is taking place with the participation of four

reactionary political parties and certain election alliances which, by imposing the candidature of three military men, are seeking to create the impression of an election struggle, putting forward each of these candidates as an "alternative" for "electing" those who will exploit and oppress the people in the next four years.

The Guatemalan communists are not dogmatically opposing elections in general, but they reject the content and aims of the present elections. From the theoretical and practical points of view elections are a form of political struggle whose content changes depending on the ruling system. Only a substantive change in the balance of forces will provide the material conditions for democratization of the electoral process.

By their character, elections in our conditions are an oppressive, relatively violent constitutional form of perpetuating the domination of the exploiters.

The only way for the people to establish their power is through a prolonged revolutionary war. We revolutionaries hold that these elections are an anti-popular, anti-democratic farce in which only the parties representing the various bourgeois strata and imperialism are taking part.

The strategic goal of the revolution is the conquest of power, and the proletariat is capable of winning it through various forms of struggle. However, even under bourgeois domination the proletariat can successfully wage a struggle for better living and working conditions. Faith in the historic power of the proletariat distinguishes us communists from the "leftists" of various hues ...

We are firmly convinced that the struggle for socialism includes struggle for democracy, but our goal is not to strengthen in one or another form the various manifestations of bourgeois democracy. We are waging an effective struggle for democracy, seeing each progressive move on this road not as a gratuitous concession on the part of the bourgeoisie, but as a hard-won gain. The possible changes in favor of the proletariat in the course of the struggle even in conditions of bourgeois domination always bear a democratic character. They pave the way for an agrarian, anti-imperialist and popular revolution, toward socialism.

Democracy is not determined by elections, and it cannot be won through isolated and partial battles. The democracy we are fighting for will have as its material basis the organized people with a strong, militant and steeled working class. It will be won by the people under the leadership of the working class, headed by our party.

The Guatemalan people should come out against the electoral farce and wage an organized struggle for the satisfaction of the immediate demands contained in the minimum platform. This platform is capable of uniting the actions of the broadest popular sections, facilitate their joining in a common front of struggle to deal telling blows at the forces of reaction and imperialism.

A concrete way for the broad unitary national forces to forge ahead is to prevent the ruling reactionary circles of the rightist fascist-type para-military organizations from escalating repression and terror.

"No to the electoral farce! For popular unity against the existing regime and fascistization! Respect for the right to live and the rights of the people! Citizens, refuse to vote!"

We Guatemalan communists consider that at present such a stand is just and correct and should be followed in the elections imposed on us by the reactionary ruling classes and imperialism. This is an opportunity to express one's protest against the electoral farce and to come out against the repressive terroristic and fascist policy of the ruling reactionary groups and foreign monopolies.

For Guatemala, revolution and socialism!

Political Commission of the Central Committee,
Guatemalan Party of Labor
Guatemala, February 14, 1978

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY

Late in 1977 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, working in clandestinity, issued a manifesto in Montevideo, which we publish below in abridged form.

Four and a half years after the coup, in conditions of fascist terror aimed at liquidating the democratic traditions of our people, and above all at destroying our party, the pivot of the anti-dictatorial resistance of the popular masses, the CPU Central Committee made a profound analysis of the balance of political and social forces in the country, ways of elaborating a democratic alternative to the dictatorship and of beginning the stage of national conciliation and reconstruction.

We note with a legitimate feeling of revolutionary pride that the end of the year is marked by vigorous activity, firmness and a high level of ideological and political unity of all party organizations.

In 1977 progressive humanity marked the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the principal historical event of the 20th century. This revolution opened up a new historical stage, at the center of which several decades have been the successes of triumphant socialism, together with the national-liberation movements and the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

Regardless of the arms race which imperialism is implementing together with the reactionary and fascist regimes and which is now symbolized by the creation of the so-called neutron bomb, the successes of the policy of peaceful coexistence and détente, the achievements of the socialist-oriented democratic struggle of the European peoples, the progress of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America clearly show that humanity is making headway in safeguarding world peace and in the related process of national and social liberation of the oppressed peoples.

Though it succeeded in implanting fascist regimes in the "southern cone" of America, imperialism has proved incapable of putting them on a sound socio-political basis. Regardless of substantive changes in the balance of forces after 1973, the process of liberation is continuing in Latin America.

The problems engendered by the crisis of the Latin American structures are posed much more incisively on the agenda now. At the same time, though fascism provided a temporary solution to some of imperialism's problems, it could not avert a crisis of its policy of domination. The use of fascist methods proves the existence of such a crisis.

The successes of the popular struggle and the setbacks of the fascist dictatorships are evidence of an imminent new stage of the anti-fascist struggle in Latin America.

It is in this context that we should see the goals of our democratic and anti-fascist struggle, which in the fifth year of the decaying tyranny is opening up the prospect of creating an anti-dictatorial unity, the intrinsic basis of a democratic alternative.

In 1977 the dictatorship faced serious setbacks in implementing its economic, political, repressive and diplomatic goals, which are reflected in internal crisis. The brutality and sadism did not yield the anticipated results, failing to break the people's resistance. The actions of the working class for the satisfaction of their demands,

against arbitrary practices, homage to those who have fallen in the struggle, the massive May Day celebrations, the June 27 unitary actions, the student struggles, the exposure of the dictatorship's tortures and crimes, the selfless propaganda work — all this sustains the flame of struggle for national dignity, against fascism. The people cannot be intimidated.

Certainly the regime's setbacks are not simply the result of its anti-popular plunderous policy and intensified internal strife. All this is dialectically linked with a retaliatory reaction of the masses, with protests in the country and on the international arena, with the struggle of the working class, popular and democratic forces. The dialectical relation between the oppression, diehard attitudes, political impotence and the dictatorship's isolation, on the one hand, and the growing mass activity which determines and intensifies this impotence, on the other, create the prerequisites for the success of the democratic anti-dictatorial camp.

The tyranny's decline is also reflected in the loss of initiative and despondency in official quarters, both civilian and military. The mask has fallen, revealing the content of the fascist dictatorship which is essentially a *terrorist dictatorship of finance capital and certain big latifundists in the service of U.S. imperialism, supported solely by the most retrogressive sectors of the armed forces.*

The people's awakening from their political somnolence was a characteristic feature of 1977. Government decrees on banning political activity till 1981 are ignored even by the bourgeois political parties, which moreover declare that "the time has come to talk."

The heroic resistance of the working class and left forces over the past four years has borne substantial fruit, and now broad quarters — virtually all national political forces — are taking part in some form in the process of restoring the country's political life.

The regime faces a dilemma: whether to permit a measure of dialogue under government control or to throttle all criticism, block every possibility of an alternative and to legalize the escalation of repressions.

Proceeding from the balance of forces in the regime, it opted for the second road, leading to renewed persecution of trade union activists and democrats.

Within a few months the dictatorship imprisoned almost a thousand patriots, but failed to achieve its goal of braking the organized opposition of the democratic forces.

The entire Uruguayan society is in turmoil. Hatred is mounting

against the dictatorship and those profiting by it. Society is split into two opposing camps — the extravagance of the minority who wallow in luxury contrasts sharply with the plight of hundreds of thousands of working people who earn a mere pittance, to say nothing of the 101,000 jobless. The tide of discontent and demand for social change is expanding and gaining in strength. The pauperization of the middle strata, who succumbed to the demagoguery of the ruling hierarchy, is impelling them to protest along with the workers.

The protestors include:

- *the working people*, against hunger and joblessness, against suppression of trade union rights and jailing of trade union activists;

- *the intelligentsia belonging to the middle strata*, against unbri-
dled McCarthyism in the sphere of education, against oppression of culture and lowering of teachers' salaries;

- *small traders*, in connection with the curtailed demand owing to the diminishing purchasing power of the population, and the scandalously high rents;

- *agricultural producers*, against high interest rates and lack of credits to surmount the consequences of the worst harvest in 20 years;

- *livestock growers* who do not belong to the top oligarchy and who are exploited by the meat-packing companies. A concrete example of the attitude of the agrarian sector is provided by the decisions of the Agricultural Federation Congress, which was transformed into a national rostrum denouncing the dictatorship's policy.

The point is to bring it home to these social forces that *the culprit of the social drama is fascism, its economic policy of serving the oligarchy and imperialism, and that only a social program aimed at raising the people's living standards, strengthening the domestic market, defending the national economy against foreign capital will safeguard the national industry, the agricultural producers, and small and medium tradesmen.*

1977 was a year of considerable upsurge in international solidarity. It showed that the Uruguayan dictatorship had joined ranks with the most odious regimes. The diplomatic initiatives of the ruling quarters were frustrated, with the resultant universal ridicule.

It should be noted that in promoting international solidarity and setting up national solidarity committees, the key role is played by our exiled comrades, who, whatever the difficulties, have always borne in mind the interests of the homeland and continually upheld our struggle.

Demolishing the fascist regime is a complex and difficult process, demanding energy and wisdom on the part of the popular masses to overcome the fierce opposition of those who seek to stop the wheel of history, or to frustrate the ambitions of those who nurture their own plans in this connection while denying the leading role of the people.

But if the dictatorship grows weaker with every passing day, if the great majority of the population expresses its hatred, if the popular masses have not for a moment stopped their struggle over all these years, how does one explain the dictatorship's still remaining in power?

The answer to this question is contained in the document of the meeting of representatives of the Broad Front* held abroad. Its formulation is absolutely clear: "The preservation of the dictatorship is due primarily to lack of concerted actions by the opposition forces which, though they comprise the overwhelming majority, have failed to unite their forces into a single stream on the basis of common views reflecting the sentiments and aspirations of the Uruguayan people."

Therein lies the key to the understanding of the political moment, and it is a major shortcoming that must be eliminated. The central objective, the basic element of our tactic is to forge a unity or to reach agreement in the name of joint actions of the anti-dictatorial democratic forces, beginning with the Broad Front.

We must patiently and perseveringly seek convergence on the following points:

1. *A minimum program*, envisaging such basic targets as:
 - (a) full restoration of freedoms, an end to the tortures and release of thousands of political prisoners;
 - (b) higher living standards;
 - (c) consultations with the people;
 - (d) defense of national sovereignty.
2. The prospect of national reconstruction and a pacification plan on a sound democratic basis.

The honest patriotic military who want to restore the honor of their uniform that has been sullied by the present military clique should make their contribution to the solution of this historic task.

*The most powerful popular organization in Uruguayan history, led by General Liber Seregni and including prominent military and civilian leaders. The Front was supported by the Communists, Socialist and Christian Democratic parties, as well as by those who had broken with the traditional ruling parties (Colorado and National) and by other left-wing forces.

The present anti-fascist stage of our people's liberation struggle coincides with the historic goals of our party.

The struggle to overthrow the ruling regime representing the interests exclusively of the top oligarchy and imperialism and relying on the rightist generals is a preliminary condition for any advance in the future.

Our anti-imperialist stand, exposure of imperialist interference in our internal affairs will serve to aggravate the contradictions between imperialism and the dictatorship it supports.

The battle against fascism is also going on in the sphere of ideology. To expose anti-communism and anti-Sovietism is to expose the ideological stance of the dictatorship, its flagrant lies. Its intentions of wiping out communist ideas, which smack of Hitler's views, are foiled on coming in contact with reality, with the attitude of our people, who support and solidarize with us.

Seeking to stop the spread of socialist and anti-imperialist ideas among the people and the youth, the big bourgeoisie allied with imperialism is propagating anti-communism on a different plane.

Anti-communism is the banner of the dictatorship, and whoever helps to carry it earns only the contempt of the people.

As before the top priority task is to strengthen our ties with the working class and people by improving the work of the primary organizations, our propaganda and financial activity.

Convinced of our victory, we calmly and optimistically enter the new year. We will do everything to make 1978 a year of release of the political trade union prisoners, of putting a stop to the odious criminal tortures, a year of stronger unity of democrats for the overthrow of the dictatorship.

Montevideo, December 30, 1977



BACK TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN?

Elleinstein discards the marks

A little over a year ago our magazine carried an article devoted to the views of Jean Elleinstein, deputy director of the Marxist Study and Research Center of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. We commented on a number of his writings containing sallies against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and against our country, as well as open attacks on his own party, the FCP.

The bourgeois press in France, Britain and the United States rallied to the defense of the "offended" author, which was only natural: attacks against the FCP and the CPSU suited them very well. Less understandable were the complaints in some fraternal newspapers that the *New Times* article was "harsh" and that its tone was "excessively sharp" — as if Elleinstein himself had not trampled upon all the norms of comradely discussion among communists by both the content and tone of his attacks on our party and our country. Elleinstein's writings of the kind referred to in our magazine not only make a comradely exchange of opinions difficult, but give our class adversary ammunition for undermining the very foundations of the communist movement.

It should be stated outright that the evolution of Elleinstein's views in the past year not only fully confirms that the assessments of his "works" in the article in question were correct, but makes it necessary to dot the i's.

In the first place, we should say plainly, without beating around the bush, that while in his previous writings Elleinstein maligned individual pages in Soviet history, levelling outrageous, trumped-up, slanderous accusations against our people, today he has to all intents and purposes adopted a totally hostile attitude to the Soviet Union and socialism in general.

Indeed, in the past Elleinstein argued, with misplaced zeal, that the "Soviet model" of transition to socialism was inapplicable to France. Of course, on this point he was forcing an open door; no one has ever

intended, or intends now, to foist any models on the French people or anyone else. Soviet communists have maintained ever since Lenin's time that the transition to socialism in every country is bound to give rise to a diversity of forms and methods, and that each people will build socialism as they wish — of course, on the basis of the general principles and laws that distinguish socialism from non-socialism.

Today, Elleinstein regards rhetorical statements about the inapplicability of the "Soviet model" to France as a thing of the past. Deciding to go further, he declared without embarrassment in an April 13 article in *Le Monde* that the society that has been built in the USSR is not socialism at all; moreover, that it is well-nigh an "anti-model" of socialism.

Turning immediately to problems in his own party's policy, Elleinstein says — following his own logic — that the FCP will resolve these problems only if it "dissociates itself in principle" from the historical experience and present reality of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. He further demands condemnation of the "consequences" of the period when his party, proceeding from the interests of the French people, declared its solidarity with the USSR. He cracks down on *L'Humanité* for "continuing to embellish Soviet reality" and "only occasionally" calling in question "Soviet foreign policy." Echoing the opponents of peaceful coexistence, he repeats the slanderous contention that "the Soviet Union fears détente" — this at a time when the whole world acknowledges the Soviet Union's tireless and fruitful activity on behalf of détente, its efforts to consolidate détente and extend it to the military sphere.

All this is highly surprising to hear from a man who calls himself a communist, the reader may say. It certainly is. But even this is not the limit. In an interview to the magazine *Faire* Elleinstein goes so far to draw an analogy between the roles of the state under socialism and under fascism, thereby bracketing together Hitler's state, which enslaved the whole of Western Europe, including France, and the Soviet state, which saved the world from the fascist armies.

Some of our friends may again rebuke us for "sharp language." But malicious sallies of this type against our country not only entitle us to call things by their proper names — they make it our duty to do so. It is not only the right, but the bounden duty of Soviet communists to defend socialism, to defend the achievements of the people building a new society.

By reason of the above, we cannot but state plainly that Elleinstein's stand is anti-Soviet, anti-communist, and anti-socialist. To

identify the Soviet socialist state with Hitler's nazi state is more than cynicism — it is a sacrilege.

Anti-communist and anti-Soviet attitudes play a pivotal role in bourgeois propaganda today. Worried by their weakening positions, the capitalists vilify Soviet policy and Soviet reality in order to sow distrust in socialist ideas and their bearers, the communist parties. This accords with the logic of class struggle. But how can such vehement attacks on socialism be made by a deputy director of the Marxist Study and Research Center of the FCP Central Committee? This is impossible to understand, let alone justify.

Elleinstein has to some extent explained the motives for his actions in his writings, and we see from these explanations that what we are up against is merely a vulgar repetition of the inglorious history of international opportunism dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Judge for yourself.

Addressing the FCP national conference in January 1978, Elleinstein declared that France's road to socialism could not be found in Lenin's works or on their basis. And in his book "Lettre ouverte aux Français sur la république du programme commun" ("Open Letter to the French on the Republic of the Common Program"), published on the eve of the parliamentary elections, he divulged, at last, the name of the prophet who can show the way. It is none other than Eduard Bernstein, the ill-famed initiator of the reformist revision of Marxism!

It will be recalled that Bernstein expressed the essence of his views in this maxim: "I say openly that I see very little sense in what is usually meant by the 'ultimate goal of socialism.' This goal, no matter what it may be, is nothing to me . . ." Thus socialism is nothing to Bernstein. Having stated this view, he proceeded to dismiss the materialist conception of history as "untenable," reject Marx's analysis of the essence of capitalist exploitation, and embark upon a negation of the need for revolution and working-class power. There is certainly a logic in this — the logic of apostasy, the logic of betrayal of the proletarian cause. No wonder that all prominent exponents of revolutionary Marxism at the time summarily rejected Bernstein's views.

Rosa Luxemburg declared, for instance: "The person who advocates the legal road of reforms *instead of and in opposition to* the conquest of political power and a social revolution chooses, in reality, not a more tranquil, more reliable and longer road to the same *end*, but an entirely *different* end . . . he does not want to achieve a *socialist* system, but merely to reform the *capitalist* one . . . he strives

to destroy only capitalism's excrescences, not capitalism itself."

Bernstein and his followers, Lenin wrote, "have not taught the proletariat any new methods of struggle; they have only retreated, borrowing fragments of outdated theories, and preaching to the proletariat not the theory of struggle, but the theory of concession — concession to the most vicious enemies of the proletariat, the governments and bourgeois parties who never tire of seeking new means of baiting the Socialists."

So much for the essence of Bernstein's theses. Clearly, these are not the theses of a revolutionary, of an adherent of scientific socialism, but of a secret ally of the bourgeoisie. But here we have Elleinstein declaring, with astonishing impudence, that Bernstein's analysis "was correct," and that it had only one "flaw" — its premature appearance. "What was utopian has now become possible," Elleinstein writes without any embarrassment.

Which of Bernstein's views are feasible today in Elleinstein's opinion? In his latest writings he advances the idea, so dear to the father of reformism, of "democratizing" the bourgeois state as the principal (sic) condition for transition from capitalism to socialism. As for the reform of capitalist society, the most important thing, Elleinstein holds, is not a reform of economic relations, i.e., capitalist property relations (the bourgeois holy of holies!) but a reform of human relations, "relations between parents and children, men and women, competent persons and incompetent persons," and so on. The class approach has totally vanished in this handling of the question.

And so, let's go back to Bernstein. Elleinstein is engagingly frank. Now everyone participating in the working-class movement can see what he is driving at, where his sympathies lie, and who his allies are.

History repeats itself. But the past is never reproduced exactly as it was. Bernstein came forward with his revision of Marxism at a time when socialism was still only an idea, a distant goal of the working-class movement. Elleinstein is prophesying at a time when socialism is already in its seventh decade, when it has proved its vitality in the severest trials, including the ordeals of World War II. Elleinstein writes his lampoons at a time when socialism is already recognized as a leading force in world development, when more and more people are turning toward its ideals and are setting about building it, when the broad masses of people pay tribute to it as the mainstay of peace and security.

In other words, Bernstein attempted to subvert the struggle for socialism before the decisive battles for its triumph, and history

passed a deservedly stern judgment on him. Does not Elleinstein, who has chosen to follow in Bernstein's footsteps when one-third of mankind is already building the new society, deserve a much more severe condemnation?

But even this is not all. Today Elleinstein is coming out openly against his own party. For instance, in a number of public utterances, including the above-mentioned *Le Monde* article, he blamed the electoral reverses of the left alliance on what he calls the party's failure to decide on "radical changes" in its essence. He demands that the party "go all the way" in reviewing its theoretical and organizational principles.

It must be said that the "radical changes" Elleinstein urges upon the French communists have a very definite character. In effect, he demands of the FCP what out-and-out reactionaries demand of it, namely, renunciation of the main characteristics of a revolutionary party of the working class.

For instance, he calls for founding a "new Communist Party" which would begin by disavowing the decisions of the historic Tours Congress of 1920, shedding democratic centralism, and even discarding its own name. To call a spade a spade or, as the French say, appeler un chat un chat, these are demands of a liquidator.

Elleinstein's writings are a hodge-podge that includes rejection of scientific socialism, praise of revisionism, impudent attacks on the Soviet Union that would do credit to its bourgeois vilifiers, and liquidationist criticism of his own party.

However that may be, it is clear that Elleinstein has discarded the mask and appeared before the public in all his anti-socialist splendor.

No denying, he has already won laurels, and quite considerable ones, but it is the class adversary that has bestowed them on him. Elleinstein's photographs, showing him sometimes in the picturesque pose of a "thinker," sometimes with a finger raised in admonition, fill the pages of the Paris pictorials. *Paris-Match*, for instance, presents him to its readers as a man who "calls everything in question" and singles out as his special virtue the fact that Elleinstein was the first among the French communists to "criticize the USSR openly," while *Le Nouvel Observateur*, describing Elleinstein's further "refutation" plans, bestows upon him the title of "front-page man."

It is highly indicative that the bourgeois press should praise and popularize Elleinstein. This means that what he is doing is useful to the bourgeoisie and harmful to the working class and its parties.

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