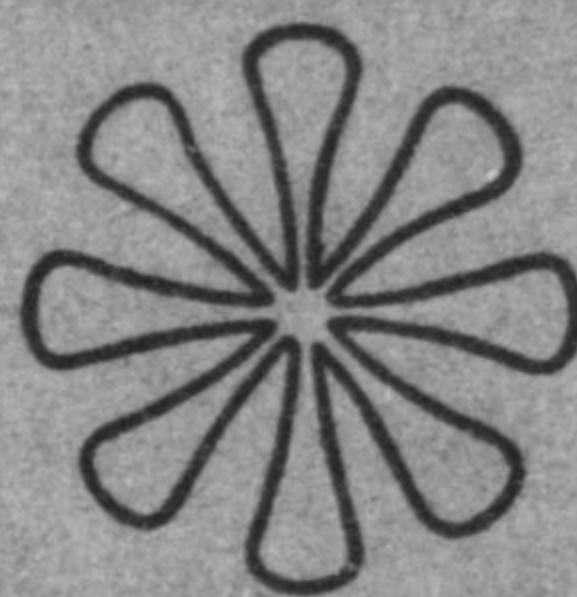


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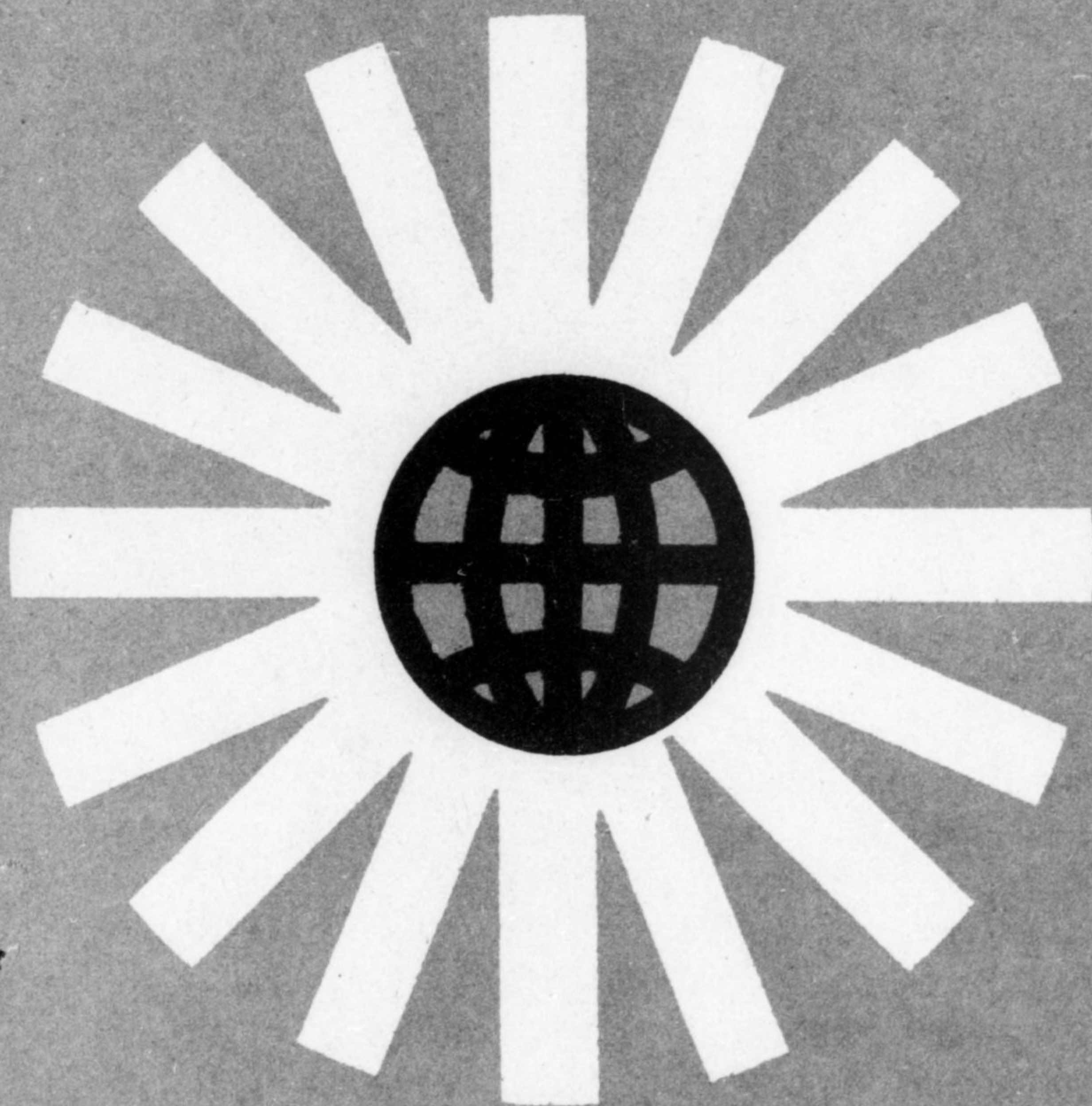
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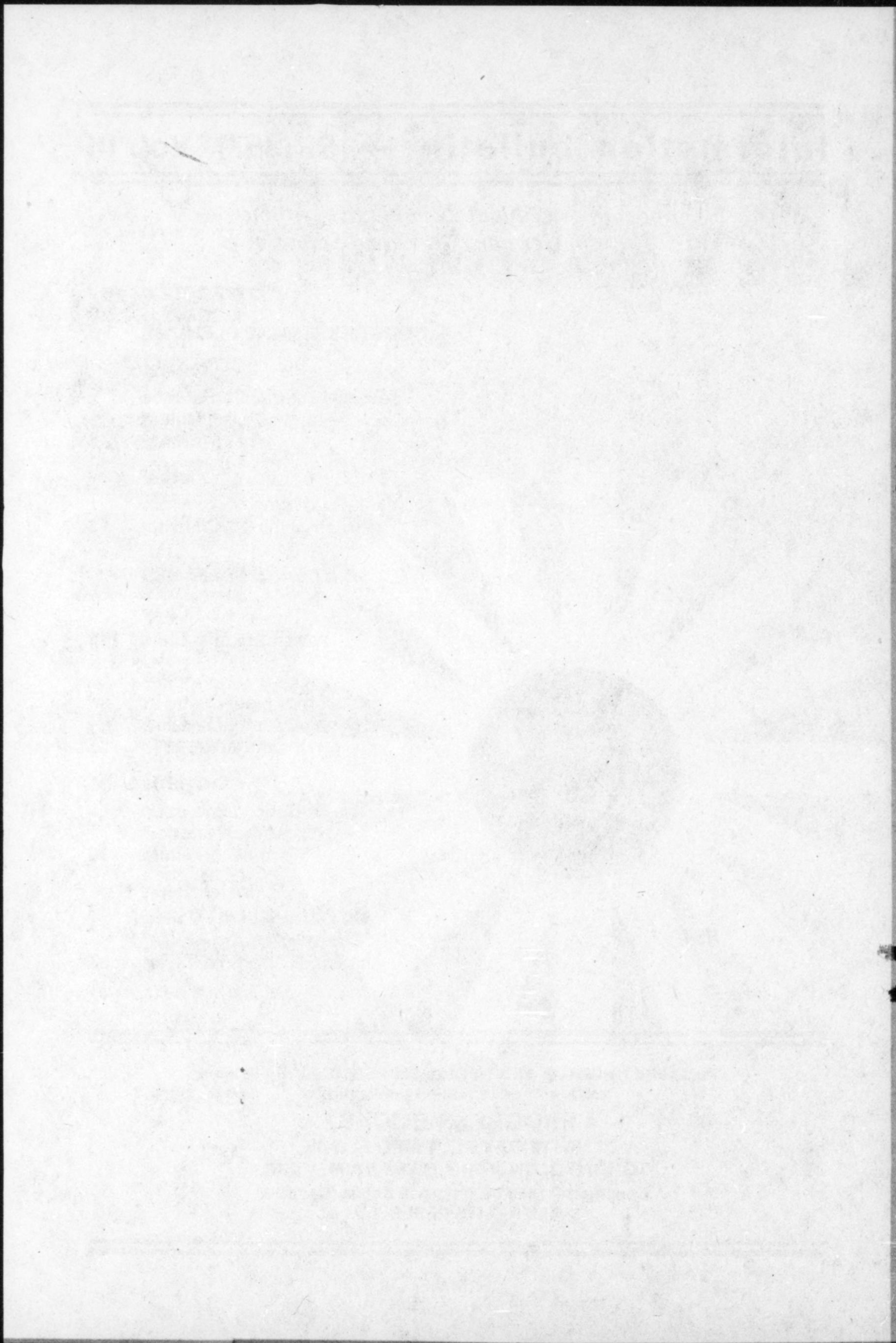


POLAND

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CONFERENCES AND PLENUMS

SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

The PUWP held its Second National Conference in Warsaw from January 9 to 10, to analyze the results of work in two years of the current five-year period and to elaborate targets for further socio-economic development.

First Secretary Edward Gierek delivered the report "For consistent fulfillment of the program to improve the quality of work and living standards, for further strengthening of the leading role of the party and deepening the moral and political unity of the people."

The following is abridged from a PAP release of Edward Gierek's report.

Two years have passed since the Seventh Party Congress, the report says. In this period we implemented our strategy of socio-economic development, the strategy of building a developed socialist society, the strategy of improving the quality of work and conditions of the people's life.

Poland has reached a new, high level of development as a result of consistent implementation of the line of the Sixth and Seventh Party congresses, and thanks to the dedicated labor of the working class, farmers and intelligentsia. This has ensured our people better living standards, a higher level of consumption and social security, greater opportunities to acquire knowledge, access to the treasury of national and world culture.

In close interaction with the socialist community states, Poland has improved its position in the international division of labor.

The decisions of the Seventh Party Congress were successfully carried out over the past two years, thereby confirming their correctness. But these were far from easy years. In striving to reach our goals and meet the targets of socio-economic development, our state had to cope with serious difficulties. They were the result above all of

the worsening conditions in developing agricultural production and the unfavorable impact on trade ensuing from the economic slump and poor state of affairs in the capitalist countries. There were also deficiencies in economic performance. Owing to aggravated internal and external development factors, the planned growth in national income was not fully reached in 1976-77.

The fifth and sixth Central Committee meetings assessed the new conditions of the country's development and drew up a program designed to surmount the difficulties and to reach the social goals charted at the Seventh Congress.

By effectively surmounting the difficulties and streamlining our methods of work with the changing situation, we successfully fulfilled the key socio-economic objectives and maintained high development levels. In 1976-77 we provided jobs for all young people who reached the working age. The national economy absorbed the 1,200,000 school leavers. More than half a million new jobs involving high level of technology were created in this period.

Higher rates of growth and consumption were achieved in 1976-77 than envisaged in the five-year plan. The share of consumption in the national income went up from 65.4 to 67.2 per cent. The money incomes of the population increased by almost 26 per cent.

Good headway was made in the sphere of social security, which grew by more than 36 per cent.

Housing construction developed faster than in the previous five-year period. More than 550,000 families have moved to new and more spacious and better appointed flats.

In the past two years much has been done to increase the output of consumer goods, to expand the service sphere and to improve the flow of supplies and the marketing network. In 1977 deliveries of domestic and imported goods were substantially higher than in 1975.

The headway made in implementing social goals is the result of the rapid growth of industrial output, which has increased by 20 per cent and is accompanied by positive structural changes. The output of goods for the domestic market and for export has developed faster than production as a whole. At the same time gross agricultural output has diminished by 3.5 per cent, which is reflected in the slower growth of the national income.

The country's production potential is developing fast and is being modernized. New projects are under construction which are of key importance for the national economy.

New branches of industry and new items of output have been

developed apace. Along with this production methods are being improved and new technologies introduced on a broad scale at operating factories.

Despite the rapid growth of output, public demand still exceeds the existing opportunities. This is due to a number of complex causes.

As to the situation in the market, the assortment and quality of goods still falls short of demand, many goods are in short supply. Moreover, for seven years already we have consistently implemented a policy of increasing wages and the incomes of the population. In this respect, we have to make up for a lag of many years. We realized perfectly well that such a policy, which is designed to benefit the population and respond to its demands, will result in difficulties, in intensified pressures on the market. With this in view, we stepped up the production of consumer goods. We were unable, however, to fully avoid difficulties, especially in cases when, due to a number of objective causes — lack of certain goods — these difficulties were aggravated by factors of a psychological nature, as reflected in a growing demand under the impact of unfounded rumors.

Housing construction has been stepped up substantially. But its further intensification is hampered by the insufficient production potential of building organizations. That is why, despite the significant expansion of housing construction, we were unable to shorten the waiting time for new housing.

The policy we have been conducting for seven years now is consciously invigorating public demand. Speedy satisfaction of some demands quickly leads to others. Such a policy is fraught with difficulties. We consider, however, that from the point of view of public requirements it is the only correct one. We reckon with the difficulties that arise in the course of its implementation, and are taking vigorous measures to surmount them, without interrupting our advance.

The results achieved attest to the fact that in the remaining three years we will be able to fulfill the key provisions of the socioeconomic development plan advanced at the Seventh PUWP Congress. At the center of the party's social policy will be the growth of real wages and the real incomes of the population.

In the wages policy we must more consistently coordinate the growth of wages with the growth of labor productivity, efficiency and quality. That is the primary condition for economic progress.

In accordance with the Seventh Congress provisions we are formulating a wages policy that would better respond to the needs of all groups of working people. Therefore great importance attaches to

reducing the imbalance between the minimum and average wage. Last year minimum wages were raised by 200 zlotys. I suggest that the National Party Conference recommend the introduction this May of an increase in the minimum wage by another 200 zlotys. This policy will be continued in the coming years.

We are consistently putting into effect the Seventh Congress program of developing social security. Substantial headway has already been made in this sphere.

Old-age and disability pensions are being raised in accordance with the provision determining that the minimum pension will be 2,000 zlotys in 1981. The ceiling has been raised for additional earnings that are allowed apart from old-age and disability pensions. A new system of social security for artisans has been introduced. A state fund for war veterans and former inmates of the Hitler concentration camps has been instituted.

Of truly historic importance is the introduction of a pensions system for farmers and their families, which harmoniously combines social and economic interests.

Successful fulfillment of the socio-economic development program adopted at the Seventh Congress hinges more than ever on Poland's participation in the international division of labor. Trade and other forms of economic cooperation with the socialist community states serve as the basis for this development. Promotion of socialist economic integration and stronger ties with the national economies of the CMEA countries are a source of long-term benefit for our national economy.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union is of special importance. The deliveries of Soviet fuel, raw and other materials, machinery and equipment are extremely valuable for us. Export to the USSR of our raw and other materials, as well as of machinery, equipment and plant, and of manufactured consumer goods are on the upgrade.

While meeting our everyday commitments to the CMEA countries, we must at the same time lay the foundation for further mutual exchange and cooperation, deepen and enrich specialization. In line with the principles and methods of planned development of the international division of labor between the socialist countries, we will seek to develop specialized areas of production. Promotion of trade with the fraternal countries, and above all with the Soviet Union will facilitate specialization, boost large-scale serial production, which in turn will help to enhance efficiency in management, to make fuller use of the production potential and to intensify technological progress.

Much greater use must be made of the socialist countries' achievements in production and technology. Accordingly, we will cooperate with the other CMEA countries in further improving the work of CMEA and its organs.

In commercial and economic cooperation with the capitalist countries we must bear in mind the persisting unfavorable state of affairs and growing protectionist tendencies on the world capitalist market. The industrial enterprises and foreign trade organizations must draw the corresponding conclusions from this situation. A key task is to invigorate export and to make it more effective.

We link the present and future development of Poland with sustained progress in socio-economic development of the community of socialist states, primarily with fraternal interaction with the great Land of Soviets. This interaction and Soviet technical aid is a key factor in the rapid industrialization of our country. The Katowice Combine is today a symbol of the USSR's contribution to the growth of our country's economic muscle. The advantages accruing from this cooperation are evident in all spheres of our national economy, beginning with shipbuilding and aviation industry all the way to providing agriculture with heavy tractors and other equipment. Soviet deliveries play a major role in our raw materials imports.

Simultaneously, the Soviet market is the chief recipient of Polish machinery, equipment and complex industrial plant.

There is no alternative to the political platform we have drawn up which ensures our country's present standing. It is a platform of the entire people. Our political system, which is based on the principles of socialist democracy, meets with social requirements, and we are improving and strengthening it further.

Our party highly assesses the support of non-party people for its policy, their high sense of civic duty and patriotism. The socio-economic strategy of the 70s has enhanced initiative and activity, created conditions for the ever broader participation of non-party people in political and public life, in state and social work, in the organs of power and in running the economy at all levels.

The development and deepening of socialist democracy, improvement of our state are at the center of our party's attention. In this field we are following the correct road. We seek to expand the working people's participation in the political and economic life, to teach the people to think in a statesmanlike way, to strengthen discipline and civic responsibility.

The party's strength is determined by its fidelity to the principles of

Marxism-Leninism. Its authority is the sum total of the authority of each party organization, of the stand of each member.

Much has been done since the Seventh PUWP Congress to strengthen the party, improve its composition, to unite it more closely round the Central Committee. And what is particularly important, we have reinforced the party's ties with the working class, peasantry and the intelligentsia, with the whole people.

Unity of aims and aspirations, initiative and discipline in working for the solution of the key social, economic and political problems, the ability to organize people to meet the targets of socialist construction, the growing responsibility of each party organization for party policy as a whole — such are the main features which most fully characterize the present situation in the Polish United Workers' Party, which unites more than 2,700,000 full and probationary members in its ranks.

The party is developing correctly. More than half of its members are workers and farmers. New people are joining the party to whom a creative attitude to work and high labor productivity are a matter of honor, people whose approach is both bold and principled. What is most encouraging is that a great number of young people are joining our ranks. This places on the party the responsibility of educating the young people in the spirit of fidelity to the cause of socialism in Poland.

Today too our country is developing in conditions of class struggle. Anti-socialist forces from across the border are inspiring and supporting the significant groups opposing socialism in the country, who abuse democratic freedoms and demagogically attack the principles of our state system.

In the political confrontation with the opponents of socialism our party is meeting with full understanding and support on the part of the non-party people. This is evidence of the patriotic maturity of our people and their striving to work constructively for the good of the homeland. It is essential to deepen this maturity and to encourage constructive aspirations.

This year will mark 60 years since Poland attained independence after a prolonged period of oppression and dismembering. While emphasizing the unshakable patriotism of our people, their selfless struggle for freedom, the leading role of the revolutionary and democratic forces in this struggle, and the significance of the October Revolution in attaining independence, we should popularize a correct assessment of the entire period of Poland's new history. We must

bring home to the people the inalienable truth that only identification of the cause of national independence with the cause of the socialist revolution, only the formation of People's Poland are the earnest of independence, full sovereignty, inviolable security and the successful development of Poland.

At year's end, 30 years will have passed from the historic unity congress which announced the formation of a united Marxist-Leninist party of the Polish working class — the Polish United Workers' Party, thereby ending the split in the Polish working-class movement. This was of decisive importance for the construction of socialism in the Polish People's Republic.

In its ideological-educational and organizational work, our party must make wide use of the intransient ideological and political significance of this great event.

The recent years have clearly shown the advantages of détente for the peoples and states. As a result of the historic Helsinki conference détente has become the overwhelming tendency in Europe and its positive impact on the entire international situation is growing. The process of détente leans on the new balance of forces that has appeared thanks to socialism.

What is most important now is to put a stop to the arms drive and to start disarming. That is the only way to stable and universal peace. This supreme cause is served by the new important Soviet initiatives. We fervently support these initiatives and will participate in the efforts for their fulfillment.

Poland's stand on curbing the arms race and on disarmament is well known. We stress the importance of the key Soviet-American dialogue on this issue, and come out for progress at the negotiations on limiting strategic offensive weapons. We will take an active part in preparing for the special UN General Assembly devoted to the problem of disarmament to be held this year.

We fully share the grave concern of the world public in connection with the plans to produce a new type of mass destruction weapon — the neutron bomb. This would substantially increase the threat of a nuclear war on our continent. Therefore we fervently support the Soviet proposal to conclude an agreement on mutually rejecting production of the neutron bomb.

In implementing the decisions of the Sixth and Seventh Party congresses, we seek to strengthen the international standing of the Polish People's Republic in every direction and every sphere, to worthily contribute to the cause of peace and socialism.

Over the past seven years, together with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee, with the enormous personal contribution of the leader of the communists and people of the Soviet Union, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, we have consolidated the fraternal Polish-Soviet relations. They are today closer and more varied than ever before and we are entering a new stage of their development. A new and vivid confirmation of this was the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, the participation of our party and government delegation at the jubilee celebrations in the Soviet Union and at the mass celebrations in Poland of this epochal event.

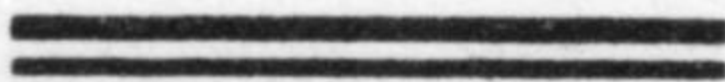
Unity and coordinated action with the Soviet Union — that is the key factor in strengthening the unity of the entire socialist community.

We are building our relations with the Western states on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

U.S. President James Carter visited Poland late in December 1977. The subject of the negotiations were crucial problems of détente in Europe and throughout the world. We emphasized the importance of curbing the arms drive, of averting the spread of nuclear weapons and production of the neutron bomb. We stressed our active support for the Soviet-American dialogue, which is of key significance for the cause of peace.

In accordance with our traditions, our general line, which was confirmed at the Seventh Party Congress, our party will in future too take an active part in strengthening proletarian internationalism in the communist and working-class movement, in deepening the solidarity of all progressive and democratic forces.

In the two years that have passed since the Seventh PUWP Congress, just as during the past seven years, our people have achieved much thanks to the dedicated labour of the working class, farmers and intelligentsia. But we are fully aware, however, that we have to do much more. We must consolidate our successes, surmount difficulties and ensure fulfillment of the key socio-economic targets.



NINTH PLENUM OF THE CC CP ISRAEL

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel met in plenary session in Tel Aviv on January 5. Political Bureau member David Hanin delivered the report "Development of the Political Situation and the Party's Targets in the Struggle for Peace," which was discussed, and then the discussion was summed up by the speaker.

The CPI Central Committee approved the report and the concluding speech and adopted the following resolutions.

ISRAEL WANTS PEACE. THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT POLICY HAMPERS PEACE EFFORTS

The CPI Central Committee notes with satisfaction that the political changes wrought in recent years prove that the peoples of Israel and Egypt and other Arab countries are interested in achieving peace, liquidating the Israeli-Arab conflict and settling the Palestine problem. At the same time our party's prediction to the effect that the Begin government's policy, far from leading to peace, could plunge our people into the abyss of a new war, has been confirmed.

The Begin government program, which envisages "autonomy of the Arabs living on Israeli soil" (!) in conditions of Israeli military and political domination is not a program of peace, but a program of perpetuating Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands, with Israel's sovereignty over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip considered as an indisputable fact. It is a colonialist program that denies the very existence of the Arab people of Palestine, not to speak of their legitimate right to self-determination and to setting up their own independent state along with the State of Israel.

The Begin government expresses — though with numerous reservations — a readiness to return the Sinai peninsula to Egypt on condition that Egypt agrees to the preservation of Israeli military and civilian power in the Gaza strip and on the West Bank. This is designed to eschew the national presence and legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arabs.

The Begin government is not seeking an all-embracing, just and permanent peace, but a deal with President Sadat of Egypt under the aegis of U.S. imperialism so as to reach a separate agreement with

Egypt to the detriment of the Palestinian problem and the Geneva peace conference.

The CPI Central Committee holds that any agreement which ignores the existence of the Arab people of Palestine, their natural right to self-determination and to create an independent state along with Israel, not only is not a peace agreement, but represents a deal that is essentially designed to prolong the present Middle East crisis with the consequent threat to peace in the Middle East and throughout the world.

The Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination and to setting up an independent state, just as the right of the Jewish people of Israel to self-determination and to setting up their own independent state was recognized by the decision of the UN General Assembly of November 29, 1947. The denial by former Israeli governments and, particularly by the present one, of the very existence of the Arab people of Palestine and their right to state independence — that is the basis of the Middle East crisis. Experience shows that basically the Israeli-Arab conflict stems from the non-implementation of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to set up their own independent state and from the unresolved Palestine problem.

Sadat's statement at the conclusion of the recent visit of U.S. President Carter to Egypt which noted the coincidence of views of both sides on denial of the right of the Palestinian Arabs to self-determination and to setting up their own independent state; his statement to the effect that he hoped King Hussein would be considered the representative of the Palestinian people, and his head-on attack against the Palestine Liberation Organization all attest to the Egyptian President's departure from his declared political course of supporting the right of the Palestinian Arabs to independent statehood. It evidences also that the Israeli-Egyptian negotiations under U.S. auspices are not aimed at achieving an all-embracing just and lasting peace, but at concluding separate, partial agreements that will sow discord between the Arab states and within the Arab national movement, leave unsettled the Israeli-Arab political conflict and the Palestine problem and maintain a situation that is characterized by instability and insecurity.

- Today it is clearer than ever that the measures initiated by Sadat's visit to Israel are designed to frustrate international efforts for an all-embracing settlement and establishment of a just and firm peace

in the Middle East; their aim is to prevent convocation of the Geneva peace conference. It was envisaged, in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. statement of October 1977, to hold this conference in December of that year. It was also envisaged that the conference would proceed under the supervision of the UN and the co-chairmanship of the Soviet Union and the United States of America and that a delegation of Israel and a joint Arab delegation including the Palestine Liberation Organization representing the Palestinian Arabs, would take part in its work.

However, the U.S. government in collusion with the Egyptian and Israeli authorities blocked the renewal of the Geneva peace conference. This confirms the fact that the U.S. imperialists are not interested in the establishment of a just and lasting Middle East peace. They would like to prolong the occupation and the Israeli-Arab conflict in order to consolidate their positions in the Middle East in the interests of the U.S. arms manufacturers and oil magnates, to the detriment of the independence and security of the peoples.

The CC CPI alerts the peoples of the dangerous machinations of U.S. imperialism, Israeli and Arab reaction, whose aim is to prevent the establishment of an all-embracing just and lasting Middle East peace.

The joint onslaught of imperialism, Israeli and Arab reaction against the right of the Palestinian Arabs to self-determination and to setting up their own independent state is clearly discerned in the attacks against the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arabs. Official representatives of the PLO have repeatedly declared that the PLO would agree to peaceful coexistence with Israel providing Israel withdraws from all the Arab territories it occupied in June 1967, and that an independent Palestinian state is set up along with the state of Israel and that they mutually recognize each other. Therefore, whoever seeks to destroy the PLO is out to deprive the Palestinian Arabs of the possibility of setting up their own independent state along with Israel, which undermines the cause of peace and the freedom of the peoples. The statement of the new "architect" of U.S. policy Brzezinski on saying "farewell" to the PLO, the attempts of the Israeli occupation authorities and Egyptian President Sadat to appoint Palestinian "representatives" who would represent no one but themselves is simply part of the plot against an all-embracing just peace, against a final and realistic settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict and of the Palestine problem.

The CPI Central Committee condemns the revolting crime against the PLO representative in Britain, Said Hamami, who fell victim to the enemies of the Palestinian Arabs, the enemies of peace and the independence of the peoples. The CC CPI expresses solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestine Arabs against the occupation, for a just and lasting Middle East peace, and creation of a Palestine state along with the State of Israel.

The Central Committee reaffirms that peace between Israel and the Arab countries is possible. All the Arab countries neighboring on Israel, as well as the PLO have repeatedly declared their readiness for peace on a basis that is just for everyone concerned. A just and lasting Middle East peace can be attained on the following basis:

- Israel's withdrawal to the borders existing prior to June 5, 1967;
- respect for the rights of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and creation of an independent state along with the State of Israel, a just solution to the problem of the Palestinian refugees in accordance with UN decisions;
- respect for the independence and territorial sovereignty of the State of Israel and the Arab states;
- ensuring Israel along with other states equal shipping rights in the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran.

The peace agreements must be in the form of a treaty.

Effective international guarantees must be established with the participation of the United States of America, the Soviet Union and other countries to ensure implementation of these agreements.

Demilitarized zones must be established and other measures of security must be determined on a mutual basis.

The way to achieve a just and stable peace has been and remains resumption of the work of the Geneva peace conference with the participation of all parties to the conflict, including the PLO, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the co-chairmanship of the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

The Central Committee highly assesses the principled and consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union in relation to the Middle East. The Soviet Union is exerting enormous efforts to prevent the outbreak of a new war in the region, and to establish a just and stable peace that would ensure respect for the legitimate rights of all peoples and states of our region, including Israel and the Arab people of Palestine.

The New Year eve statement by Leonid Brezhnev, President of the

USSR Supreme Soviet and CC CPSU General Secretary, on the Middle East reflects a genuine concern for peace in the Middle East and the whole world. Brezhnev's words to the effect that peace in the Middle East must be built on the basis of "the right to an independent existence and security for all states directly involved in the conflict: both the Arab states bordering on Israel and the State of Israel itself" demolishes the anti-Soviet fabrications spread by Israel, Egypt and the anti-Soviet propaganda centers in the USA and other countries.

The Soviet Union's insistence that within the framework of the peace agreement Israel must withdraw from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, that it must respect the right of the Palestinian Arabs to self-determination and to setting up an independent state is a just demand that fully corresponds to the relevant UN decisions, the proposals of the champions of peace in Israel and throughout the world.

The CPI Central Committee calls on all political circles and public figures in Israel who want a just and stable peace to be vigilant, not to be deceived by the maneuvering of the Begin government, which claims to seek peace but in actual fact is working against it, advancing demands for the military and political domination of Israel over the Palestinian lands — on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip — and denies the very existence of the Arab people of Palestine and their national rights.

The Begin government's decision to continue building new colonial settlements on all occupied Arab territories is an outright challenge to the Arab peoples, world public opinion and the Israeli peace forces.

The construction of new settlements in the Rafah region, Sharm al-Sheikh, on the territory of the Jordanian depression and other occupied territories reaffirms that all the Begin government's talk about peace is simply designed to disguise the policy of annexation and war.

Peace is possible. To achieve it a fundamental change in official Israeli policy is required. First of all, it is essential to recognize the Arab people of Palestine and their right to self-determination and to setting up their own independent national state along with Israel. The Israeli peace forces can advance the cause of peace by joint struggle against the policy of the Begin government, by fighting for a just peace for everyone that is based on political realism, and for reconvening the Geneva peace conference. It is the only way leading to an all-embracing just and stable peace in the interests of all peoples of the region and throughout the world.

Al-Ittihad, January 10, 1978

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

THE SITUATION IN CHILE

Statements by the Communist Party of Chile

In connection with the organization and conduct of "national consultations" by the fascist dictatorship, the Communist Party of Chile issued two statements: one before and another after the referendum. The third CPC statement regarding the junta's terrorist actions against its political opponents, fills in the details of the situation in which Pinochet's political farce took place.

All three statements are printed below.

AN ATTEMPT TO VALIDATE FASCISM

Pinochet's fascist dictatorship declared its intention to stage a farce which it fraudulently called a "national consultation." It is attempting to depict the UN General Assembly's condemnation of the dictatorship regime for the fourth time running as an act that is hostile toward Chile. The 99 states which approved the resolution expressed the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of mankind. Both socialist and capitalist states voted for it, including the United States, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, most of the Third World countries, including a number of Latin American states. They voted in favor of Chile, for the restoration of the Chilean people's democratic rights.

The tyranny is seeking through the referendum to validate the fascist regime. This is clearly evidenced by the cynical formula of the plebiscite. It speaks of international aggression, though the only aggressor in relation to the Chilean people is Pinochet himself. The formula demands expression of personal support for Pinochet, who styles himself as president and the custodian of Chile's dignity, whereas no one has more brutally flaunted our country's dignity than he himself. More, he is intent on validating his despotic regime, on ensuring the irreversibility of the country's fascistization. There is no limit to Pinochet's unscrupulousness.

Knowing that a free and sovereign referendum would reject such a

formula, Pinochet is trying to set up a machine to falsify the results of the plebiscite, and then to represent the data fabricated at the junta's headquarters as the will of the citizenry. The plebiscite is planned for January 4. Pinochet is in a hurry, hoping to make use of the Christmas and New Year holidays. He intends to hold the plebiscite though the voters' lists have been burned on his orders. There are no provisions whatsoever to guarantee a secret vote. Without proper supervision, the counting of votes and its results are predetermined.

Such a procedure is in keeping with the mentality of fascist gangsters. Pinochet is out to frighten the population and to force it to the polls, though its vote will not be taken into consideration. On the other hand, he hopes to identify his opponents. We are convinced that the Chilean people will find ways of frustrating these plans. The people have successfully torpedoed other attempts at mass blackmail. For instance, the junta tried to make the Chileans put up flags on September 11¹ to establish the identity of those who would not comply with the order. In view of the general negative attitude to such an order, the junta was obliged to cancel it.

The Communist Party exposes the fascists' deception and calls for vigorous opposition to it. Whatever results Pinochet might announce they will not reflect the real state of affairs, but only his urge for histrionics.

In concocting this new farce the tyrant is implicating the armed forces as well, thereby once again revealing his total disregard of them. The country hopes that as patriots the military will give serious thought to the responsibility devolving on them and as to how long the armed forces will remain an instrument in Pinochet's hands.

The Chilean people are experienced in holding genuine elections. Today it is not enough to simply denounce the farce mounted by Pinochet. The fact that he is resorting to this parody on elections shows that he is compelled to take into consideration the people's demands for restoration of their right to decision-making. In these circumstances, the demand for a genuine plebiscite is all the more imperative.

What is needed is a genuine popular plebiscite. For this it is essential to re-establish civil liberties, repeal the state of emergency, lift the curfew, eliminate the DINA or CNI.² The rights of trade unions, the citizens' councils, student organizations and political parties must be restored. It is necessary also to restore freedom of the press, permit the return of millions of Chilean emigrants, release all political prisoners, above all the 2,500 "disappeared." A genuine machinery for

voting and counting votes must be set up. Pinochet must go, and the plebiscite must be conducted by an authoritative body that will provide the necessary guarantee.

The Communist Party considers that restoration of the unity of all Chileans who are not fascists — both civilian and military — is possible and essential. We hail the victories that have been achieved thanks to the growing unity of our people. We must work perseveringly in that direction, raising the struggle to a higher level. The Pinochet farce is directed against all parties, all social strata who are affected by the crisis, which the junta is further aggravating. The unity of all Chileans of goodwill will open the road to a renewed democracy.

Communist Party of Chile
December 1977

A POLITICAL FARCE

As we predicted, the "consultation" with the people staged by Pinochet turned into a crude farce. The results of the plebiscite, which he advertised far and wide, show that it is a fraud. It is physically impossible that so many citizens participated in the voting as he claimed. Equally, no one will believe that the percentage of those who abstained from voting was so small, for it contradicts Chile's entire historical experience.

The figures announced by the tyrant carry no weight whatsoever. Only the facts are important. And they show that Pinochet lost the present political battle, and lost heavily. This battle did not center around the ballot box, but was reflected in the actions of all democratic forces and in concrete manifestations, including on the streets of Santiago and other cities.

The Communist Party, all the Popular Unity parties and the Christian Democrats denounced the farce from the outset. The Catholic Church called for a postponement of the plebiscite or its cancellation. The leaders of trade unions and mass organizations opposed it vigorously. Even the Controller-General Humeres refused to support the decree on holding the plebiscite. Also in the Armed Forces there was vigorous opposition to this Pinochet maneuver. In sum, all Chile opposed Pinochet's masquerade.

On its part, world public opinion realized immediately that Pinochet was planning a political swindle in conditions of the persisting state of emergency and curfew, with jails and torture centers full of prisoners and "disappeared," in conditions of a total lack of civil

rights and guarantees, which only the dictator himself enjoys.

The important occurrence these days is not Pinochet's show, but the brave struggle and strengthening of the Chilean people's position. We salute these successes won through struggle and unity against the tyrant and his camarilla.

The people emerged stronger, and the tyrant weakened and still further discredited from the experience of these heroic days, when thousands of Chileans went out into the streets chanting "Chile si, junta no" and "the people will win, the junta will fall," when millions of Chileans challenged the dictatorship by voting "no" or simply abstaining from voting.

Millions of Chileans saw the fraud with their own eyes. It was witnessed by the armed forces and hundreds of foreign journalists, who directly said so.

Pinochet's crude maneuver, with the aid of which he sought to suppress discontent in the country and to respond to the contempt of world public opinion, confirms the justice of the resolutions of the UN General Assembly which for the fourth consecutive time denounced his crimes.

As the fascist dictatorship exposed its profound contradictions, the people demonstrated the success of their unity and combative spirit.

Today the Communist Party is more insistently than ever urging the democratic forces to seek mutual understanding with the aim of overthrowing the dictatorship. All that has occurred over the past weeks shows once again that Pinochet cannot hold on for long. The social processes cannot be stopped by either criminal actions or force. Still less can they be stopped by lies and deceit. The crisis of the fascist dictatorship will intensify, and the people's struggle to overthrow it, the process of uniting Chileans for the restoration of their right to work, bread and freedom will grow irresistibly until final victory is achieved.

Long live Chile and its valiant people!

Communist Party of Chile
January 5, 1978

APPEAL TO WORLD PUBLIC OPINION

A year has passed since the arbitrary detention and disappearance at the hands of the DINA of Professor Fernando Ortiz Letelier of the Chilean University and a member of our Party's Central Committee. He was seized on Avenue Larrain in Santiago at 7:30 in the evening of December 15, 1976. This fact has been confirmed by several witnes-

ses. On the same day Lincoyan Berrios Cataldo, Chairman of the National Association of Municipal Employees; Horacio Cepeda, a construction worker; Waldo Pizarro, a mining technician; Reinalda del Carmen Pereira, secretary of the Federation of Medical Workers, who was 29 years old and in the fifth month of pregnancy at the time of detention; Santiago Araya, a trade employee; Hector Veliz, a municipal worker and trade union leader; and Luis Lazo Santander, former president of the Trade Union of Electrical Workers were detained and disappeared. Trade Union leader Edras Pinto was seized on December 20; Fernando Navarro, leader of the United Trade Union Center of Chilean Working People on December 13; Carlos Duran, a construction worker on December 18; Armando Portilla, a trade union leader on December 9.

There are witnesses of the arrest of these people by DINA agents, and the judiciary has been alerted in each case and provided with abundant proof. The Pinochet junta continues to deny these arrests, however, alleging that most of the above comrades had left for Argentina.

The Communist Party of Chile, to which these 13 outstanding popular leaders belong, appeals to the Chilean people and to world public opinion to intensify their denunciation of Pinochet and his clique for this sinister crime.

The Communist Party of Chile expresses support for and solidarity with the struggle of the wives, daughters and other relatives of the "disappeared" citizens, including these 13 comrades, and calls on the international community represented in the United Nations, to the peoples of the world to step up their demands that Pinochet account for the lives of more than 2,500 Chileans seized by the DINA, including Victor Diaz, Deputy General Secretary of our Party, and Exequiel Ponce, Deputy General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Chile, and other prominent leaders of the popular movement.

Communist Party of Chile
December 15, 1977

1. Date of the fascist coup. — *Ed.*

2. National Information Service. — *Ed.*

SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO AT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION ON DECEMBER 24, 1977

The directives on the economic plan for next year and our budget outlays were first analyzed at this National Assembly session.

The authority of our National Assembly is obviously growing and at an incredibly fast rate. It shows what our revolution has done to achieve the party's objectives in laying the foundations for our revolutionary institutions.

The discussions at the session were broad and free; we were not preoccupied, and correctly, with whether our sessions were open or closed, we were not afraid to touch on all problems, discuss all aspects, both positive and negative, openly in front of the people, more, in front of the whole world. And this common commitment to the cause we represent is a sign of the superiority of our democracy over the so-called bourgeois and capitalist democracy.

Our Assembly need not fear for its existence; nobody will ever dissolve our National Assembly for it represents our working people, its best part, the overwhelming majority.

The enthusiasm displayed at our session is obviously due not only to the presence here of experienced and tested party and government officials, but also to the presence — and they are in the majority — of the deputies who come from among the people and have been directly elected by them.

The year 1977 was a very hard year for our revolution. As deputies you know full well the difficulties we all had to cope with, which stem from the existing world situation.

With the exception of the socialist community, and a handful of oil producing countries, the capitalist world and the developing nations having no oil are in the throes of a grave economic crisis. Even the most adroit and experienced theoreticians of capitalism are unable to find a way out of it.

The situation in the developing countries having no oil is particularly grave for at the height of the international economic crisis prices on their exports are being cut, the markets that are open to them are in a slump, energy resources — that is, oil — have gone up five times, semi-finished products and manufactured goods, particularly indus-

trial equipment, are three times higher, while the raw materials these countries export bring in incredibly low prices.

But there are many countries, as distinguished from us, that do not have the markets that appeared after the revolution, and the kind of trade relations we have with the socialist community, especially with the Soviet Union. It is enough to say that we use almost nine million tons of oil and other fuel annually, and in 1978 our oil consumption will amount to about 9.5 million tons. At the world prices this is equivalent to 800-900 million dollars. Sugar exports to the capitalist world at the existing prices — supposing that a market could be found for five million tons of Cuban sugar on the capitalist market, which does not exist, nor will it appear — these five million tons of sugar in the convertible currency area would bring us slightly more than 800 million dollars. That would not even pay for the oil, whereas we also have to import foodstuffs, raw materials and equipment, etc. Where would the country be without the revolution and without our excellent trade relations with the socialist community and above all the USSR?

Since our country is still largely dependent on trade with the capitalist world, we, naturally, were bound to suffer the consequences of the situation obtaining there. We had to tell the people on September 28, 1976* about the existing situation, which also impelled us to lower slightly the five-year plan targets set by our Party Congress. It was essential to advise the people about the difficulties and at the same time draft a policy that would ensure the essential level of consumption and employment, and to maintain the level achieved in such spheres as education and health care.

Today we can say that the targets we set ourselves on October 28, 1976 have been met, enabling us to move forward confidently and successfully in 1977.

The year 1978 promises to be a more favorable year. We have already surmounted the major difficulties connected with the international crisis, to which no end is in sight. We have worthily coped with these difficulties, so the country has met every single one of its international financial commitments.

We have thereby consolidated our credit-worthiness, surmounted enormous serious obstacles, and saved our people from very serious sacrifices. We have ensured a more than satisfactory economic

*On that day the National Assembly of people's power met for the first time. — Tr.

growth for the coming year, and most important, we are creating conditions for further improvement.

To return to the budget question: as you know, revenues are planned to amount to 9,159 million pesos, more than 4,000 million of which is earmarked for the sphere of production, investments, etc.

A most interesting feature of our budget are the following figures. For instance, allocations for public health and education: 1,532 million pesos. Noteworthy also are the allocations for social and cultural requirements, including social security. Social security is allotted almost 600 million pesos. World opinion has noted the fact that our expenditures on defense and maintenance of public order amount to 784 million pesos. In short, we spend almost twice as much on education and health care as on defense and maintenance of public order.

On an occasion like today it is fitting to deal with a number of subjects. From the point of view of our internal life, the questions we dealt with are the most important ones. But it is essential to touch on foreign policy as well. It is proper and necessary to clarify certain aspects.

What are our relations with the United States? They have improved somewhat. Clearly, first of all, imperialism has received many blows, for instance Vietnam, Watergate and others. Its economic blockade and aggression against us have failed, they are indefensible. There is no moral justification for such U.S. policy toward us.

Actually, we have emerged victorious in that battle.

In the United States there is a new administration. It has taken certain positive steps. Its actions are not characterized by hostility toward our homeland, it has not committed itself in the election campaign to conduct an aggressive policy toward Cuba. This administration has taken some positive steps and we on our part have also made some tentative gestures in this respect.

So some headway has been made.

But what is the actual state of affairs? The blockade remains in force. The immorality of this U.S. policy lies in that they seek to use the blockade as a weapon in negotiations with us. The blockade includes even medicines; we cannot buy either medicine or medical equipment in the United States.

They speak of compensation. The companies which exploited our country claim that their property is valued at 2 billion, and if interest is added, it runs up to 4 billion. We told them that all the plunder,

crimes, sabotage, invasion by mercenaries, subversive actions and the blockade have cost our country 4 billion and with interest, all of 6 billion. We were ready to acknowledge the damage to their enterprises, but they must also acknowledge the damage done to Cuba, and pay compensation, and we will pay compensation to the North American enterprises affected by the revolutionary laws.

In short, there are a lot of things we could discuss, but what is actually happening? Earlier they spoke of subversive action in Latin America, now they have stopped that. Now they talk of something else, for instance, the Puerto Rican issue, but Puerto Rico's right to independence is something we have always defended. They defend their theories, and we defend ours. We have said frankly that it is a question of principle, and principles are not a matter for negotiation.

Now another question has surfaced, that of Cuban soldiers in Angola and in Africa. That is a matter of Cuban solidarity with the peoples of Africa, and we say outright: Cuba's solidarity with the peoples of Africa is not a matter for negotiation or deals.

This is not to say that we reject the possibility of improving relations between Cuba and the USA; for us that is also a matter of principle, for we are convinced that every effort must be exerted in the name of détente, in the name of peace. We hold that war is no alternative, for it would virtually mean the extermination of humanity. We spoke of this at our party congress, the congress theses recorded it, and with every day we are more and more convinced that the struggle for détente and for peace is the duty of all nations and all conscious people on the planet.

Consequently, this principle is the main reason why we are prepared to improve relations with the United States. We know the world, we are acquainted with its problems, with the problems of the developing countries; we are aware of the complex problems facing humanity in the future, facing the people who are now studying in our secondary schools, the children now attending day-care centers; we realize the problems this generation will face as a part of humanity. These are: food, the uncontrolled population explosion, contamination of the environment, energy problems, lack of natural resources, the problem of development. We believe that without a genuine climate of peace these problems cannot be tackled.

We are, therefore, simply asserting our fidelity to principle in considering that if a possibility of improving relations exists we should work in that direction. But the U.S. government evidently does not understand this.

At best they presume that we seek improvement of relations for the sake of economic and material interests. Obviously in terms of economy it would be convenient for our country: it would be a positive factor, but not the decisive — and I stress — not the decisive one. What is decisive are our relations with the socialist community and the Soviet Union. And the United States can never replace these relations, owing to the very nature of imperialism.

In life, and above all in revolutionary life, clarity is the most important thing, and the U.S. government should clearly understand that any improvement of relations between Cuba and the USA will not in the least affect our people's and our revolution's ties with the Soviet Union. The United States government should not be deluded on this matter; any strategy on this plane is doomed to failure. Our government is not one that you can either buy or sell.

What is the point of the United States talking about the Cuban soldiers in Angola and Cuba's solidarity with Africa? What is there in common between these and the relations between Cuba and the USA? What right have the United States to talk about Cuban soldiers in Africa? What moral right to this has a country whose soldiers are spread across all continents, which has more than 20 military bases, for instance, in the Philippines, dozens of bases in Okinawa, in Japan, in Turkey, and elsewhere in Asia, in Greece, the FRG, in Italy, in Europe and everywhere in general? What moral right has the U.S. to talk about our soldiers in Africa when their own soldiers are flexing their muscles on Panamanian territory, having occupied a part of the country? What moral right has the USA to talk about our soldiers in Africa when their own soldiers are stationed on our national territory, at the Guantanamo military base?

As for soldiers being where they have no right to be, and who really are closely linked with Cuban-U.S. relations, then these are the soldiers at the Guantanamo military base. And regarding soldiers stationed in other countries, this is the only point we can discuss.

In Africa we support governments which appealed to us for cooperation, governments that are already established. Moreover, the governments in question are revolutionary and progressive. Our military advisors do not extend aid to any fascist government anywhere, our advisers are not to be found in a single reactionary government. Our military advisors are at the disposal of revolutionary, progressive governments that help and support the people.

The fundamental difference between our aid and that of the USA is

that the United States will never aid a revolutionary or progressive people, but as a rule, they hasten to the aid of reactionary and fascist governments. Revolutionary Cuba provides aid to revolutionary and progressive governments.

Our revolution has many excellent soldiers, tens of thousands of cadre officers and hundreds of thousands of men both in the regular army and in reserve. It is the U.S. imperialist aggression and blockade that have impelled us to adopt elementary measures to ensure our survival.

We do not deny that we are helping many African countries and have sent military advisers there. This is perfectly clear, and it, too, is no matter for any deals. This has nothing to do with the new U.S. administration; it is a traditional policy of our revolution. We are helping and will continue to help Angola. We are helping and will continue to help Mozambique. We are helping and will continue to help the Ethiopian revolution. If this is why the USA is blockading us, then let them.

Historically our role will always remain an honorable one, while imperialism invariably plays a despicable role. The peoples of Africa therefore have confidence in us and appeal to us for cooperation. We not only help the governments of Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and others, but also the liberation movements in Namibia, Zimbabwe and in South Africa.

To the positive measures of the U.S. government we have responded, as far as possible. But if the U.S. government conducts a policy of blackmail toward us, an immoral policy of pressure, while maintaining the blockade as a dastardly and criminal weapon against our people, if it presumes that for the sake of improved relations our people should renounce their principles, then we will fight the sixth president just as we fought the former five U.S. presidents. The confidence revolutionaries throughout the world display toward our people is a matter of great honor for Cuba. It is not by chance that our country will play host to the Eleventh World Festival of Youth and Students this year, not by chance will the conference of the non-aligned countries be held in Cuba in 1979. Revolutionary life has entrusted our homeland with this role, and we will remain loyal to our principles and our commitments. If the U.S. government foregoes the opportunities of improving relations with us, the responsibility will rest solely with it.

Carter speaks of human rights. The best answer to the question on whether there is even a hint of sincerity in his words is the blockade of

Cuba. Can a government which is enforcing a criminal blockade talk about human rights — a blockade dictated by the urge to starve millions of people? Let Carter prove his words with deeds. For, I repeat, the Cuban blockade is the touchstone on which to prove the existence or lack of the least sincerity in his pronouncements. Imperialism has nothing to say to the peoples any more, all that it has at its disposal are empty words that are calculated to deceive the inexperienced and the unwary.

We fully realize, of course, that we and they belong to two quite different social systems. If relations are ever to exist between our two countries, they must be founded on respect and equality; we are prepared for such relations, knowing that our systems are quite different and will remain so.

On the political plane the United States have a lot to learn from us yet, while on the contrary we have nothing to learn from them. For they belong to a class society, to the political prehistory of humanity, and we belong to its new history. As Marx put it, when the exploitation of man by man ends, then begins the new history of human society.

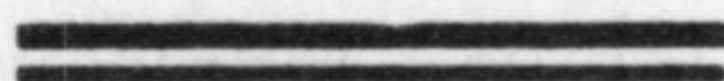
In the social and political sphere we are ahead of them by a whole century. Such is reality. They were on their way to independence while we were still a Spanish colony, at the close of the 18th century. They began earlier, but we have moved faster. And the capitalist dumping ground cannot compare with genuine humane and fraternal relations under socialism. Ideologically imperialism is extremely weak, and economically it is in the grips of an unsolvable crisis.

It is immaterial if the blockade continues for another ten or even 50 years. The U.S. government must clearly understand this. And when this is fully realized by the U.S. government and its accessories then real and objective criteria will appear on the basis of which we will be able to hold discussions and negotiations, commence to trade and establish diplomatic relations with the USA.

Patria o Muerte!

Venceremos!

Abridged from *Granma*, December 26, 1977



THE PATRIOTIC, DEMOCRATIC FORCES MUST SUPPORT A JOINT CANDIDATE

Statement by AKEL General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou

Below we print excerpts from the opening speech by Ezekias Papaioannou at a special plenum of the AKEL Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission, held in Nicosia on December 8, 1977.

THE ELECTIONS ARE OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE

The February 1978 presidential elections will be of enormous, crucial importance for the future of the liberation struggle of our people and country.

They will be the first presidential elections since imperialism's twofold crime against Cyprus — the junta putsch and the Turkish invasion — and following the sudden death of President Makarios.

What is the key objective facing the Cypriot people? Our key strategic aim is to continue and carry to its conclusion the struggle to save the country and for justice; to achieve the withdrawal of the Turkish and all other foreign troops from Cypriot territory, return to the refugees of their homes and property, clarification of the fate of all the disappeared, and to ensure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Cypriot state.

The AKEL, undeniably the most numerous party in Cyprus, declared already some time ago that as a party it had no intention of seeking the presidential posts, but would cooperate with all democratic, patriotic forces of the country in advancing a joint candidate.

This is not to say that our party could not put forward an able presidential candidate at the coming elections. On the contrary, it has a number of capable people with years of political experience who are selfless and absolutely loyal to the people and their cause. Our party, fully aware of its power, suffers neither from a feeling of inferiority nor of superiority. It fears neither imperialism nor any other enemies of Cyprus.

The only consideration why AKEL is not seeking the presidential post is the supreme interest of our key strategic aim — to save Cyprus

and ensure its freedom. And this aim is best served by a fighting unity of all patriotic, democratic forces of the people.

Some might say: why shouldn't each party advance its own candidate? The proponents of this view totally ignore the fact that ours is a life-and-death struggle and that dispersion of the patriotic, democratic forces would weaken this struggle and thereby directly and seriously imperil its outcome.

WE ARE STILL AT THE STAGE OF LIBERATION STRUGGLE

We have not yet reached the stage enabling us to follow our more distant goal — the socialist transformation of society. Ours is still an anti-imperialist, anti-invasion, liberation stage of struggle against powerful enemies, and this struggle requires patriotic unity irrespective of ideological or other differences.

From such unity we exclude the inveterate putschists and their patrons who betrayed Cyprus and perpetrated heinous crimes against its people. They have all put themselves beyond the bounds of our liberation struggle and their presence would be tantamount to the presence of a fifth column.

The aim of imperialism and its henchmen is to dismember Cyprus and turn it into a NATO military stronghold. To this end the imperialists seek to split and weaken the patriotic, democratic resistance front and our people's struggle. They reckon on the forthcoming presidential elections providing favorable opportunities for this.

The AKEL will continue to do everything possible to frustrate the attempts of the imperialists and their lackeys. The patriotic, democratic forces of the people can and must agree to support a joint candidate on the basis of a minimum program, which they will undertake to implement with a full sense of responsibility. Every party has a program. AKEL has had its own program from the start, which it updated after the declaration of the country's independence in 1960. Following the fascist putsch and the Turkish invasion, the party drafted, published and submitted to the government a two-year program of invigorating and restoring the economy. Some of its proposals were included in the official government program. In June 1977, AKEL submitted to the government a second draft two-year program and again some of its points were included in the government program. Understandably, the program advanced by AKEL is more radical and bolder.

Our plans are reckoned for a two-year period, while awaiting libera-

tion of the 40 per cent of Cypriot territory now occupied by Turkey; after that it will be possible to draw up a five-year or even a ten-year program of economic development.

MINIMUM PROGRAM

However, apart from the programs which the individual parties have already drafted or can readily draw up, there exist and must of necessity exist crucial common points which the candidate of the patriotic, democratic forces can draw on in elaborating his own program with a view to winning the support of all patriotic democratic forces.

This could be a minimum program of the cooperating parties that is obligatory for the presidential candidate; the parties will at the same time retain their own programs and will have the opportunity to freely propagandize them among the people. Thus the question of support for a joint democratic presidential candidate is discussed not on the basis of an integral program of any one party, but on the basis of the crucial common points contained in all the programs, including the minimum program of the presidential candidate, who is committed to implement it.

These, as AKEL sees it, are the basic points on which the minimum program could be constructed, and it will on its part help to consolidate all patriotic, democratic forces round the joint candidate.

Abridged from *Haravghi*, December 10, 1977

OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES BY A DELEGATION OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET

Statement by Head of the Delegation Boris Ponomaryov

Late in January a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet paid an official visit to Washington at the invitation of the U.S. Congress.

The head of the Soviet delegation Boris Ponomaryov, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, alternate member of the Political Bureau and CC CPSU secretary, made a statement in Congress.

Expressing the hope that the meetings in the Senate would proceed in a constructive spirit and would facilitate mutual understanding and better relations between the two countries, he said:

Experience invariably confirms that every step in developing Soviet-American relations on a mutually beneficial, equal basis serves the interests not only of our two countries but the interests of all peoples. It is not fortuitous that the whole world is following the development of these relations.

The present situation is a peculiar one. On the one hand, many good words are being said in favor of peace, and on the other, the arms race is continuing with intensified force.

Despite the fact that in the 1970s, a turnabout was achieved from the cold war to relaxation of international tension and the way opened to a positive, favorable world policy, another, an opposite process — that of developing more sophisticated mass destruction weapons and the stockpiling of arms has not been halted. More, this dangerous tendency was further intensified, at times endangering the gains in the sphere of political détente.

All countries are called upon to make their contribution to averting war, to developing international cooperation in the name of the very existence and future of humanity. However, a special, heightened responsibility in this colossal task devolves on the USSR and the USA.

Ponomaryov recalled that after World War II the Soviet Union has submitted 103 proposals aimed at curbing the arms race, at prohibit-

ing nuclear weapons, reducing military budgets, etc. Guided by the foreign policy programs adopted at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, the USSR has put forward numerous new initiatives designed to put an immediate end to the arms drive, to begin reducing armaments, cutting back military budgets, for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and destruction of its stockpiles. The Soviet Union is striving to stop the gloomy and futile process of endlessly stockpiling new weaponry so that the positive process of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation would prevail over the actual preparation for war.

The change that occurred in 1972 in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States was a positive step, which led to the signing of 61 important documents — treaties, agreements, conventions, joint communiqués and statements, memorandums and accords on a number of problems. They include such fundamental documents as “The Principles of Mutual Relations between the USSR and the USA,” whereby both our countries recognized peaceful coexistence as the sole basis for relations between them, an agreement on averting nuclear war, a number of accords on limiting strategic armaments.

Noting that subsequently relations between the two countries developed most unevenly, the head of the Soviet delegation went on to say: We come out for promoting Soviet-American cooperation on a jointly worked-out realistic basis. The USSR is firmly following a course of promoting them in strict compliance with the spirit and letter of existing agreements. This policy is neither provisional nor a matter of expediency but a permanent principled policy. This has been firmly and unequivocally stated by Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU General Secretary and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on many occasions as well as by other Soviet officials. In his report on November 2, 1977, Leonid Brezhnev said: “Life itself requires that considerations of a long-term character, prompted by a concern for peace, be decisive in Soviet-American relations. This is the course we follow, and this is what we expect in return. There is no lack of will on our part to continue developing relations with the USA on the basis of equality and mutual respect.”

We are convinced that despite the divergent social nature and ideology of the two states, real opportunities exist for resolving differences and disputes by peaceful political means, without the use of force or threats. We proceed from the fact that only such a course responds to the supreme national interests of our countries and the interests of peace.

That is why, as Leonid Brezhnev put it, "it is our belief, our firm belief, that realism in politics and the will to achieve détente and progress will ultimately triumph and mankind will be able to step into the 21st century in the conditions of peace stable as never before." And we noted with satisfaction that U.S. President James Carter solidarized with this optimistic forecast, when on July 21, 1977 in reply to these words of Brezhnev's, he said: "I believe in their sincerity. I share the hope and belief which they reflect."

Ponomaryov noted that the USSR's line in Soviet-American relations reflects the fundamental foreign policy course of the Soviet state, which, as stated in the new Soviet Constitution, steadfastly follows the Leninist policy of peace, comes out for stronger security of the peoples and for broad international cooperation.

The present Soviet-American negotiations, Ponomaryov continued, show that the outlook is favorable for concluding a new agreement on limiting strategic offensive weapons. This assessment was made by Leonid Brezhnev in his answers to a *Pravda* correspondent on December 24, and by James Carter in a number of speeches.

These opportunities must be translated into reality. For this, definite efforts are required, especially since "guardedly critical" sentiments and even frank opposition is voiced in the USA. Unfounded statements are being made to the effect that the Soviet Union under cover of talk about détente is stockpiling arms, seeking to ensure a strategic superiority over the USA and that it is building up a potential for a first nuclear attack.

Refuting these allegations, Leonid Brezhnev said last year: "The Soviet Union has always been and remains a confirmed opponent of such concepts. Our efforts are aimed precisely at not permitting either a first or a second attack, to rule out nuclear war in general."

We approach the conclusion of an agreement from positions of the principle of equality and equal security. We do not seek superiority over the USA, but neither can we permit, nor will we permit the other side by upsetting the balance to acquire superiority over us.

It is essential to deal in particular with the new means of warfare — the neutron bomb. This truly inhuman weapon, against which tens of millions of people across the world are protesting, is now being imposed on the world. These protests are understandable.

It is being insistently recommended that the neutron bomb be deployed in Western Europe. Perhaps those who live far away from Europe can approach this so thoughtlessly. Many Europeans, however, think differently.

The Soviet Union vigorously opposes construction of the neutron bomb. At the same time you should fully realize that if this bomb is developed and deployed in the West — meaning it will be aimed against us, which nobody denies — then we, being concerned for our security and the security of our allies, will of necessity have to meet the challenge.

But we do not want this. That is why the USSR advanced in December a proposal to agree to mutually refrain from producing the neutron bomb. We appeal to you to approach this important proposal seriously and with a full sense of responsibility.

The present negotiations on disarmament, Ponomaryov said, encompass a broad spectrum — from halting all nuclear explosions and prohibition of chemical warfare to ensuring military détente in Europe and reduction of military activity in the Indian Ocean.

In this connection I would like to draw your attention particularly to the recent Soviet proposal that all states agree to simultaneously stop the production of all types of nuclear weaponry — atomic, hydrogen and neutron bombs and missiles — including a simultaneous commitment by the nuclear powers to begin gradually reducing nuclear weapons stockpiles and then to totally destroy them. Is that a bad proposal? The NATO countries, nevertheless, maintain a total silence on it. Implementation of the Soviet proposal would help greatly to stabilize peace. We appeal to the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives to look very closely at this proposal.

We attach great importance to mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The socialist countries — participants in the Vienna negotiations — have repeatedly submitted concrete proposals aimed at reaching agreement. Had they been adopted, the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe would today have been cut by approximately 17 per cent. The USSR submitted a very concrete proposal — to freeze all armaments in Europe for the duration of the negotiations. But this was not accepted either.

And while the Vienna negotiations are deadlocked, NATO's military potential is rapidly built up. The military budget for the 1979 fiscal year of the USA alone keeps growing, reaching almost 130,000 million dollars, a record sum in U.S. history.

NATO troops are being re-armed on a broad scale, and there are plans to equip them with the Cruise Missile, and deploy the neutron bomb on the territory of the West European countries.

This development could lead to destabilization of the political and

military-strategic situation. It is fraught with danger not only for Europe, but for the whole world. The Vienna negotiations must at long last get under way and stop serving as a cover for stepping up NATO's military potential.

This year a special session of the UN General Assembly will be devoted to disarmament. We attach great importance to it. The Soviet Union proceeds from the fact that the special UN session is called upon to help resume the disarmament negotiations.

The Soviet Union, Ponomarev went on to say, highly assesses the significance of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Final Act, which was signed by the heads of 35 states, reflects a carefully considered balance of interests of all Conference participants.

Let it be recalled, he said, that in the ensuing period the Soviet Union has done much to implement the Helsinki agreements.

A meeting of representatives of foreign ministries of the countries participating in the European Conference is concluding its work in Belgrade. It is to be hoped that at the meeting's concluding stage results will be achieved that will facilitate the materialization of détente and implementation of the Helsinki agreements.

The head of the Soviet delegation declared: "In the course of Soviet-American contacts last autumn, agreement was reached on the need for and on the character of joint efforts aimed at a just Middle East settlement, and a corresponding joint document was signed. However, the U.S. administration has reneged on this agreement in substance and support a policy of separate Egyptian-Israeli negotiations. But such a policy is virtually an attempt to evade the key, crucial issues that demand solution — questions linked with the captured Arab lands, with the fate of the Palestinians. The course of events clearly shows that separate negotiations far from bringing nearer, serve to retard and undermine an overall settlement. As for the Soviet Union, its stand on the issue of eliminating the Middle East hotbed envisages the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arabs, including their right to self-determination, and to set up their own state; ensurance of the right to independent existence and the security of all states directly involved in the conflict and the corresponding international guarantees; it envisages an end of the belligerency between the Arab countries and Israel. As noted in the joint Soviet-American statement, should the interested sides so wish, internationally guaranteed borders could be established, and the

USSR and USA are prepared for the sake of observing the provisions of the settlement as a whole "to participate in these guarantees with account for the corresponding constitutional processes."

The Soviet Union continues to firmly adhere to the opinion that the most effective method for a cardinal Middle East settlement on the basis of the corresponding UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions is the use of a specially created international machinery — the Geneva Middle East peace conference, with the participation of all sides directly involved, including the Palestinian Arabs as represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Attention is now focused on the situation in Africa. We hold that the struggle of the African peoples for their freedom and independence, for the right to independently choose their way of development is a just struggle, and our country has always supported and will continue to support such struggles. The Soviet Union vigorously opposes interference in the internal affairs of the African countries. We seek no advantages or privileges for ourselves in Africa. Our policy on that continent too is aimed at building peaceful, friendly relations with all peoples, and to help them as far as possible to follow their chosen course.

Touching on Soviet-American trade relations, Ponomaryov said:

The Soviet-American trade agreement signed back on October 18, 1972, has still not entered into force for reasons of which you are well aware. And the said result: in 1977 our trade with the USA was reduced to \$2,000 million against \$2,900 million in 1976.

And if the USA created normal trade and political conditions with respect to the USSR as Leonid Brezhnev remarked to the participants of the American-Soviet trade and economic council, the volume of trade between the USSR and the USA in manufactured items and raw materials alone would top the \$10,000 million mark over the five-year period.

We continue to advocate development of our trade and economic ties on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. We see in the development of international economic ties an important element of improving international cooperation as a whole.

We expect, Ponomaryov said in conclusion, that our meeting will help in finding jointly a way to develop Soviet-American relations, to deepen equal, mutually beneficial businesslike cooperation, so as to steadfastly move forward along the road of peace and the security of all peoples.

Pravda, January 24, 1978

TASS STATEMENT

Reports have been recently disseminated in the foreign press, as well as statements by officials, above all those of Somalia, and in places far beyond that country, which present in a deliberately distorted manner the origin and current development of the armed conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia. It is alleged, in particular, that Soviet military personnel, as well as "thousands" of citizens of other socialist countries, are taking part in combat operations on the Ethiopian side. Rumors are also circulated, alleging that with their help an invasion of Ethiopian troops into Somali territory is being prepared, and that for this purpose the USSR Defense Minister has secretly arrived in Ethiopia. Provocative fabrications have also been put in circulation regarding an imaginary participation of Soviet ships and aircraft in the military operations taking place in Ethiopia.

TASS is authorized to state that all these inventions are absolutely groundless and their purpose is obvious: by distorting the actual state of affairs to cover up the designs being nurtured by some quarters in the West for their own interference in the Somali-Ethiopian conflict.

The truth is that the Soviet Union, for its part, did everything possible to prevent an armed conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia from breaking out. However, when the Somali leaders, contrary to common sense and the efforts of the true friends of the Somali people, began military operations against Ethiopia and when Somali troops invaded her territory, the Soviet Union, as always in such cases, sided with the victim of aggression. At the request of the government of Ethiopia it is giving her appropriate material and technical assistance in repulsing the aggression. In doing so, the Soviet Union proceeds from its fundamental foreign policy principles, regardless of the fact that this might be followed and was actually followed by the known unfriendly steps of the Somali leadership against the Soviet Union itself.

It is precisely those who are now trying to cast aspersions on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries who actually encouraged the Somali leadership at the time to start the aggression, promising to aid Somalia with weapons. They did so both publicly and, as later became known, during informal contacts with the Somali leadership. Now that the expansionist plans of the Somali leaders are failing, their sponsors abroad are trying to come to their rescue both by continuing arms supplies to Somalia through third countries and by

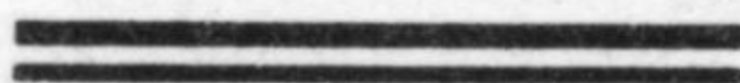
public assurances of possible open military aid. At the same time they are trying to intimidate Ethiopia and those countries which support her just struggle against external aggression.

And all this is being done at the time when, on the one hand, regular Somali forces still remain on part of Ethiopian territory captured by them and when, on the other hand, the Ethiopian leadership has stated officially that its only objective is to free its lands and that it has no intention of sending its forces to Somalian territory.

As to the Soviet Union, just as before, it comes out for a peaceful settlement of the Somali-Ethiopian conflict through negotiations based on reciprocal respect by the sides for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of borders and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Of course, the necessary prerequisite for such a settlement must be the unconditional and speedy withdrawal of Somali troops from Ethiopian territory. There are plenty of examples of what happens when military operations are ended without the immediate withdrawal of the invader troops from the foreign lands captured by them. Suffice it to look at the still explosive situation in the Middle East.

Those who stubbornly refuse to learn a proper lesson from this bitter experience must carry full responsibility for the possible consequences of encouraging the aggressor, which may further complicate the Somali-Ethiopian conflict and lead to a new sharpening of the situation throughout the world.

Pravda, January 19, 1978



THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND THE PARTY'S TARGETS

On November 20, 1977 new parliamentary elections were held in Greece, a whole year before the end of the Parliament's tenure. At these elections the Communist Party was quite successful, winning 9.36 per cent of the vote and 11 seats in Parliament, against 5 in the old composition.

The resolution of the December CC CPG plenum is dedicated to the elections results and the party's targets in the new situation.

THE NEW SITUATION AND THE MAIN DIRECTION OF THE CPG'S ACTIVITY

The November 20 elections resulted in a new balance of political forces in the country: the position of forces openly advocating changes grew stronger; the parliamentary representation of the rightist and conciliatory forces diminished; a minority government was set up. Simultaneously, a separate group of pro-junta fascists was also formed in Parliament.

The vital problems of the country and the people demand solution. The approach to them will reveal two fundamentally opposing policies: on the one hand — a policy of dependence, authoritarianism and austerity; on the other — a policy of national independence, democracy and progress.

Despite the rightists' setbacks, the New Democracy party still retains a substantial electorate and has the state apparatus at its disposal. It enjoys the support of the monopolies, U.S. imperialism and NATO, as well as the Common Market. Though somewhat weakened, the New Democracy party will persist (as evidenced by the very first statements of the Prime Minister of the new government) in pursuing a policy that is expressed in the notorious words: "We belong to the West." This is a policy oriented to the USA and NATO, Greece's joining the Common Market, to the austerity regime

that is prejudicial to the people, and anti-democratic measures. The people, however, condemn this policy, as reflected in a considerable loss of influence by the other bourgeois party — the Democratic Union of the Center (EDIK), whose stand on key points ("we belong to the West," and Common Market membership) is indistinguishable from that of the New Democratic party. The new balance of forces in Parliament does not favor the New Democracy policy. At the same time the rightist elements within and outside it, as well as other reactionary forces are out to impose a more rightward course on the country.

In view of the above, the people must fight for a policy of national independence, democracy and economic development in their own interests, for radical changes and democracy.

In these circumstances, the Communist Party considers it vital to step up the struggle of the workers, of all working people and democrats against the disastrous Atlantic orientation of Greek policy, to ensure that radical measures are adopted to dismantle the open and disguised fascist structures, and for the economic and social needs of the working class, the laboring peasantry, artisans, handicraftsmen, the intelligentsia and the youth.

The Communist Party will raise still higher the banner of anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic unity of the people from below (primarily from below) to the top as an indispensable condition for democratic change. It will, above all, seek to further strengthen the ranks of the left forces — a vital prerequisite of the anti-imperialist, democratic, and then socialist transformation of the country.

The CPG declares its readiness to cooperate with political parties and organizations on the basis of either a complete or partial program of struggle for radical changes on national security, extricating the country from dependence on the USA and from NATO, dismantling foreign military bases and annulling the shackling agreements, for an independent and peaceful national policy, cooperation with all states and peoples, for a democratic economic and social policy.

PROBLEMS AND TASKS

The Communist Party of Greece — strengthened by the broad mass support of its policy and relying on the new positions it won thanks to its modified policy both at the grass root level and in Parliament, being fully aware of its growing responsibility to the people and country — will move forward in reaching its pre-election targets and

implementing its program. This presupposes the fulfillment of a number of political, ideological and organizational tasks.

It is important for the party to popularize among the masses its program provisions and ideological theses, particularly with relation to democracy and socialism, and for it to reject the erroneous conceptions of socialism, which deny, in particular, the decisive role of the working class in building a socialist society, and to rebuff anti-Sovietism.

The causes of the electoral defeat of the revisionist party and the Alliance of Progressive Left Forces are obvious and easily explained. Their stand on such fundamental issues as NATO membership and the foreign bases, is virtually no different from that of the EDIK. On the question of Common Market membership they adopted identical positions. In relation to authoritarianism and the dangers threatening democratic freedoms in our country their policy was contradictory and failed precisely because it was erroneous and tailist.

The revisionists' defeat was determined by the fact that they advanced as a basic aim unity of the left and democratic forces without any additional concrete demands for change, by their excluding the CPG from this unity, and by anti-Sovietism (all the results of their departure from Marxism-Leninism). The fact that a substantial part of the left forces denounced the revisionist line and the leadership which carried it out is of great importance for the further development of the left forces in Greece.

The CPG is aware that a number of left forces activists nevertheless followed the revisionist leadership, which put forward the "renovation" slogan to disguise its splitting and conciliatory stand. And they were caught in a trap. The so-called "renovation" is nothing but an attempt to question the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, an onslaught on the heroic traditions of the communist movement, an attempt to set up a sort of an anti-CPG. But it is the Communist Party that is persistently working for a revolutionary renovation, an inalienable part of its activity. It is the CPG that is building a new, truly Leninist type organization, strengthening its ties with the working class and the people as a whole, and developing internal democracy and conscious discipline. It is the CPG that is applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the Greek conditions. Finally, it is the CPG that is renewing its ranks from among the best representatives of the new generation.

The Central Committee addresses once again all activists of the left forces who in one or another manner supported the line directed

against the Communist Party and calls on them to mobilize their combat ability, experience, knowledge and to surmount their feelings of bitterness, vacillation and understandable prejudices so as to exert every effort together with the communists and their supporters to unite the movement of the left forces and take part in the great cause of strengthening the communist movement in our country.

Though life has led to the debacle of revisionism (as evidenced by the recent elections), its leaders are still seeking to silence the dissatisfaction of those who fell into the trap by launching on interminable "discussions" aimed at perpetuating the split in the communist movement.

While not renouncing criticism of revisionism, our party will, however, welcome in its ranks every activist who has realized where the revisionist leadership is leading its group and has reflected deeply on all this, and above all, is ready to contribute to uniting the communists.

Another important ideological objective of the CPG is to more vigorously expose the ideological and political conceptions of the ultra-left and to help the proponents of these concepts in freeing themselves of them.

As a result of the November 20 elections and the party's work in mobilizing the masses for broad actions, a number of political and organizational problems were revealed, which must be examined and resolved in the course of the new development stage the CPG is entering. A study of these problems will also facilitate preparations for the Tenth Party Congress. Apart from the above-mentioned problems, the plenum particularly emphasizes the following:

(a) Timely and fuller participation by the party in all important events concerning the people.

(b) The party organizations must overcome all vestiges of a narrow conception of its tasks with respect to the popular masses, particularly with those who do not yet follow CPG policy. They must more vigorously and boldly open up before these masses and tackle their problems. The party's ties with the masses must be strengthened.

(c) Town and village party organizations must invigorate their work among the workers and all working people, primarily with the aim of winning over those who are being influenced by bourgeois and reformist conceptions. They must more convincingly popularize CPG policy and intensify party work in the trade unions.

(d) The party must develop methods of restoring broad ties with

thousands of National Resistance fighters, whose forces for various reasons are not being utilized.

(e) By using the rich experience accumulated in connection with the participation of party supporters in the election struggle it is essential for each party organization to develop further in the new situation the organizational forms of work evolved during the elections, to find new forms of promoting ties with the masses and to intensify its activity in the framework of the mass organizations.

(f) For the CPG to fulfill its new objectives it must step up efforts to become a stronger and more massive party.

(g) In view of the new situation, the CPG and all its organizations must enhance political vigilance.

(h) It is essential that the Central Committee, aided by its parliamentary group, pay greater attention to studying our people's problems.

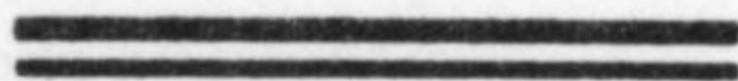
(i) The CPG must adopt measures to improve the quality of the daily *Rizospastis* in order to ensure a steady increase in its readership.

While systematically and purposefully tackling urgent problems of everyday party work, the Central Committee must show constant concern for preparations for the Tenth Party Congress. The congress preparations and discussion of the above-mentioned objectives by the communists, their friends and sympathizers and the YCL, as well as by delegates to the congress should become an important stage in the life of the working-class party.

Central Committee, Communist Party of Greece

December 1977

Abridged from *Rizospastis*, December 7, 1977



FROM THE PRESS

THE TRUTH WILL OUT

A while back, bourgeois propaganda sought, by fabricating the so-called "Shcharansky affair," to prove that his contacts with American journalists could not have been criminal for the simple reason that it is contrary to journalist ethics for bourgeois reporters to collect intelligence information. This "presumption of innocence" of the U.S. press served in particular as the basis for launching a clamorous anti-Soviet campaign.

Recent press reports on the U.S. information organs' ties with the Central Intelligence Agency completely demolish this new anti-Soviet provocation, as the reader will see for himself from the materials printed below.

IDEOLOGICAL GANGSTERS

On Christmas Day, *The New York Times* started a three-part series on the CIA. The obvious question that comes to the mind of any knowledgeable reader is: Why would this newspaper, which has knowingly published false and misleading material furnished by the CIA and, in turn, supplied the CIA with information it collected, now run a series of articles exposing the CIA?

The answer becomes clear from reading the very first page. "The recurring allegations have led the House Select Committee on Intelligence to schedule hearings on this matter beginning this Tuesday."

It is clear that *The New York Times*, in typically CIA fashion, wanted to take the public shock out of facts that will be revealed by giving them an advance coverup interpretation.

What is the aim of the series? First, to serve as a special coverup for the slimy, irresponsible and reprehensible role of *The New York Times* and other mass media organs in misleading the people of the United States.

Second, the aim is to convince the public that the gangster-like ideological activities of the CIA and its mass media flunkies are something behind us and in the past.

The New York Times hastens to state editorially: "Information that is more than ten and twenty years old," "the CIA once used the credentials of reporters," and "these contacts developed in the years of bitter cold war hostilities."

This an obvious effort to give the impression that such activities are not going on today. The series mentions names of people who are dead and names of CIA fronts, newspapers and news services which are now out of business.

This is a deliberate coverup for currently existing fronts, including the very-much alive double-agents, reporters and CIA agents.

In the same issue of *The New York Times* there is a typical example of how *The Times* continues to work with the CIA today. It publishes an article on the "serious problems" in the oil fields of Saudi Arabia. It is clear the CIA did not want this article (for which it furnished the material) to be published before the meeting of the OPEC countries because such news would have cut the influence of Saudi Arabia in the meeting in Venezuela last week. So the dirty tricks of the CIA and *The New York Times* are not a thing of the past.

Third, the aim of the series is to cover up the fact that the CIA and *The New York Times* deal in totally calculated falsehoods.

This coverup is aided by use of sub-heads in the articles such as, "Efforts to Mould the World's Views," or "CIA Secret Shaper of Public Opinion." And in a special coverup story, *The New York Times* states that the reporter's relationship with the CIA "is a legitimate relationship for a reporter."

It is obvious *The New York Times* wants to pass over the campaign of falsehoods and lies as just "propaganda," or simply "an attempt to influence people."

It is apparent that in the eyes of *The Times* editors there is no difference between "influencing people" and lying. While it is inexcusable it is also understandable why organs that defend capitalism can do so only by lying. The truth would expose their anti-social, anti-people nature as paid defenders of a dying, inherently anti-human system.

Nevertheless because of its fear of what will come to light in the Congressional hearings, *The Times* series is forced to admit some of the facts:

— That the CIA spends billions of U.S. tax-payers' money on spreading lies and distortions to the people of the United States and throughout the world;

— That the CIA does this by paying off hundreds of newspapers, magazines, radio and TV stations;

— That this is being done by having thousands of reporters, commentators and editors, both in the U.S. and overseas, on the CIA payroll.

In fact, the question is not which reporter or commentator is on the CIA payroll, but to find some who are not.

The series states that the CIA was and still is paying for the writing, publication and distribution of hundreds of books, and also pays for "good reviews" of these books in newspapers like *The New York Times*.

What is the basic nature of the falsehoods and distortions of these criminal, ideological gangsters? Day in and day out, in their most fundamental sense, they are anti-working class, racist, anti-socialist and in a special, vindictive way anti-Soviet. These falsehoods are manufactured to support policies of imperialism and colonialism.

In many cases the CIA sees to it that the articles they provide the material for get widely circulated.

It is a sad commentary on the so-called "freedom of the press," on "objective reporting." Examples of this Big Lie journalism are the relationships between *The New York Times* and the CIA, and the FBI and its house organ, the *New York Daily News*.

The main issue in all this is that the CIA, the FBI and the mass media spend billions of dollars to spread the Big Lie, to put over a gigantic fraud on the world and the American people.

Never in history have so many mass media organs spread so many lies and falsehoods for so many year.

Gus Hall

Abridged from *Daily World*, December 29, 1977

ONCE AGAIN ON THE ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN

The current propaganda campaign in the West, especially in the USA around the alleged "violation of human rights" in the USSR is concentrating on the so-called "Shcharansky affair." Referring to this "affair," they keep spreading fabrications about "persecution of dissidents" and "infringement of human rights" in the Soviet Union. And to stir up this unsavory propaganda concoction, the special services of the U.S. and some other NATO countries are masterminding the setting up of self-styled "committees" "in defense of Shcharansky," etc.

As reported earlier, Shcharansky is charged with aiding a foreign state in its hostile activities against the Soviet Union. He systematically provided his masters with slanderous "information" which was used for ideological subversion against the Soviet Union, and dispatched to the West data on Soviet enterprises and institutions, data which constitute a state secret of the USSR.

Shcharansky's guilt is evidenced specifically by the statement known to everyone, including the U.S. State Department, made by Sania Linavsky, a Soviet citizen, whom the U.S. intelligence service attempted to involve in criminal subversive activity against the Soviet Union. Robert Toth, an agent of the U.S. special services and former correspondent of the *Los Angeles Times* did not deem it necessary to conceal Shcharansky's working for the U.S. intelligence services. After his expulsion from the Soviet Union he said that he had used Shcharansky as his source of information.

The Shcharansky affair, as reported by TASS, is being studied by the Soviet judicial agencies assigned to examine the charges against Shcharansky and to draw their conclusions. In the USSR, just as, incidentally, in the USA and other countries, no one has the right to influence the court, which is guided by legislation that applies to all Soviet citizens, including Shcharansky. All the more amazing then are the statements issuing from Washington, including from official sources, to the effect that they are "concerned over the Shcharansky affair." Incidentally, how would the U.S. authorities and judicial agencies react if anyone in or outside the country attempted to openly influence some criminal case, and at an official plane at that? We believe that such attempts would be most emphatically rejected. Why then is something that is impermissible in relation to the American judiciary considered in Washington to be quite acceptable with respect to the Soviet judiciary?

Such are the facts. The question arises, what is the purpose of those who, in defiance of facts, stubbornly seek to stoke up an anti-Soviet clamor? Obviously this is nothing but another attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union on the hypocritical pretext of "concern over human rights," to smear and sow feelings of unfriendliness and enmity to the Soviet Union. Needless to say, such actions run counter to the spirit and letter of the Helsinki accords and will in no way promote good Soviet-American relations.

Yuri Kornilov
TASS political commentator

PLAYING UP TO IMPERIALIST ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA

Apropos of Some Pronouncements by Manuel Azcarate, a Leading Functionary of the Communist Party of Spain.

The bourgeois press, radio and TV, both in America and in Western Europe, are continuing to expatiate on the subject of "Eurocommunism," interpreted, of course, from their own particular angle. A great many books and a spate of articles propounding it as an essentially anti-communist, anti-Soviet trend have been published. And congresses, seminars, symposiums and the like have been held (and more are projected for the immediate future) on problems of "Eurocommunism" and ways and means of adapting it to serve the practical needs of the Western ruling quarters.

In November and December meetings of this order were held in Cologne and Frankfurt on the Main in West Germany and in Lugano in Switzerland. The roster of their sponsors and participants is in itself indicative — here we find bourgeois theorists and politicians, retired NATO generals, representatives of such reactionary, anti-Soviet propaganda centers as the Deutsche Welle, the CIA-financed Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, etc. International monopoly capital too — Esso, Ford, Brown Boveri, and big West German concerns — has been prominently represented at them.

These organizations and concerns can hardly be suspected of seeking to disseminate communist ideas. On the contrary. The purpose of the assemblages they sponsor is to modernize their weaponry for combating communism, to find new ways and means of dividing and weakening the international communist and working-class movement.

A recent new development is the regular invitation of representatives of West European communist parties to present communications and papers at such symposiums. And the representatives of some communist parties have accepted such invitations.

The communists of course are not sectarians. Lenin already in his *"Left-Wing" Communism — An Infantile Disorder* wrote that they *must* make themselves heard everywhere, bourgeois parliaments and reactionary trade unions included, must "*work wherever the masses are to be found,*" in order to bring home to the working people the

need for and importance of active struggle against capitalism, for democracy and socialism.

But no one is likely seriously to contend that Radio Liberty or Ford appointees represent the masses. They speak for those who seek to *suppress, intimidate, deceive* the masses in order to divert them away from revolutionary struggle. It is not by chance, for instance, that the admission charge to one of the above-mentioned meetings was nearly 1,000 West German marks, or more than half the monthly wage of a West German skilled worker.

Thus, invitations to the monopoly seminars on "Eurocommunism" are extended not to provide a platform for the dissemination of socialist ideas among the working people. And it is hard to imagine that the communists who have accepted such invitations were not fully aware of this. Clearly, in agreeing to appear at gatherings of this order they were guided by altogether different considerations. Could some of them have expected to be able to "persuade" the monopolies to be "more obliging?" Or did they have some other ideas in mind? But let us not conjecture.

The fact remains that communists have taken part in such symposiums. The important thing, however, is *how* this participation tallied with communist ideology and the dignity of a communist, a champion of the workers' cause.

One of the most active participants in the meetings held so far has been Manuel Azcarate, a member of the Executive Committee and Secretariat of the Communist Party of Spain. This is not to say of course that he had never before made statements hostile toward the socialist countries and primarily the Soviet Union. The Soviet press (for instance, the journal *Party Life* No. 4, 1974) has already publicly replied to his sallies.

It must be noted, however, that in his speeches in Cologne and Lugano and in his December 12, 1977, interview to the West German *Der Spiegel*, Azcarate went to considerably greater lengths in leveling crude attacks against the socialist countries and above all against the Soviet Union.

It is only fair to say that reading press comment on his performance and his published statements one comes across occasional references to the striving of the Communist Party of Spain to build socialism in its country and to pursue its own specific way to that objective. All this is generally known from the party's official documents. However, it is not on this that Azcarate placed the emphasis. Nor is it this that bourgeois press writers primarily seized upon.

Their attention was drawn by two things, namely:

— the fact that Azcarate disavowed the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism,

— and his condemnation of existing socialism, of the experience of the Soviet Union.

Let us take a closer look at this.

First. Azcarate says: "We Spanish communists reject the concept of Marxism-Leninism. . . . Having long considered many aspects of Leninism to be obsolete . . . we do not regard Marxism as an absolute truth."

One might ask: did the Spanish communists authorize Azcarate to make such pronouncements? Reading such essentially anti-communist statements, one cannot but recall that it was thanks to the epochal contribution made by Marx and Engels nearly 130 years ago in linking together with the working-class movement and advanced revolutionary theory that this movement became a powerful, militant movement. And that all the far-reaching changes that have taken place in the world in recent decades were brought about by parties and forces basing themselves on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. No other ideas have so far produced results in any way comparable to those yielded by the successful application of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Today Azcarate would have the working class return to the remote past and reject the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Yet all past experience and the realities of the present day conclusively show that departure from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, from the historically verified laws of the class struggle and the socialist revolution, spells for the working class and all other sections of the working people only defeats and setbacks, impelling them onto the road of social reformism, submission to the policies and interests of the bourgeoisie. Without the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin there could be no revolutionary working-class movement, no communist movement, no genuine struggle in defense of the interests of the working class and the masses in general.

Further. There are forces that would like to see the communists renounce Marxism-Leninism. They make no secret of this. These forces are the monopoly capitalists, the right-wing social democrats, and, in Spain, primarily the Francoists and their successors. Could following the advice of these forces bring anyone an iota closer to socialism?

Second. Having declared that "Eurocommunism" is a new trend in

modern Marxism, Azcarate proceeded to say that "the characteristic feature of Eurocommunism is rejection of the Soviet model" and that "if the West European communists wish to work out their own concept they must openly criticize the Soviet model of society."

It is in place to mention (Azcarate himself, incidentally, should know this very well) that the Soviet Union has never sought to impose on anyone "its model," the conclusions it has drawn from its own rich experience as well as from the international experience of contemporary socialism. It is of course up to each Communist Party to decide whether to study and draw on the experience of fraternal parties, or whether not to do so.

Discussing the relationship between theory and practice, CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev said at the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe: "While greatly attentive to the creative work of our comrades in the communist family, we proceed from the fact that only practical experience can be the criterion for judging whether one or another concept is right or wrong. But before practice passes its final verdict, it is possible and indeed necessary to evaluate these concepts in a comradely discussion, through comparing the viewpoints and experience of various parties."

As regards our party, it has for 60 years now been giving effect to the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Firmly adhering to the fundamentals of their revolutionary teaching and effectively applying it in the struggle for socialism and communism, the CPSU has led our country forward to momentous victories and achievements. This is an incontrovertible fact. At the same time our party closely studies the experience of the other socialist countries as well as the work done in the spheres of theory and practical policy by the fraternal parties in the non-socialist countries.

Built by the efforts of the Soviet people and the peoples of the other fraternal countries, existing socialism has become a source of strength for the international working class, a powerful bulwark of peace and social progress. Its existence and strengthening opens broad opportunities for the reconstruction of society in other countries in circumstances that will be, we hope, in many cases less onerous than those with which the peoples of the USSR and other socialist countries had to cope.

Existing socialism has played a signal role in ensuring the success of the national-liberation movement. Its very existence, its might and its support are now facilitating the struggle waged for economic

independence by the countries that have won independent statehood.

It is plain for all the peoples of the world to see that existing socialism has posed the task of ridding humanity of world wars on a practical plane. More, it has already made a decisive contribution to the recasting of international relations along democratic lines.

The socialist countries firmly hold the initiative in the foreign policy sphere, working for such solutions of international issues as would accord with the interests of the working-class movement, of all working people, the interests of national independence, peace and security. Needless to say, in waging this struggle, the socialist countries stand in solidarity with the communists and all other progressive, democratic forces the world over and highly appreciate reciprocal manifestations of solidarity on their part.

Azcarate is unable to counterpose to the living and practical experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries any living, practical embodiment of his own ideas. Basing himself on an abstract unverified scheme, he takes it upon himself categorically to reject the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union even though he *does not have*, and as likely as not does not wish to have, any proper knowledge of that experience.

It would seem that the picture he has of the Soviet Union is derived from anti-Soviet concoctions, from the massive propaganda drive which the Western mass media have mounted, making extensive use of a handful of renegades expelled from our country for hostile activity and anti-Soviet slander.

Playing up to this malicious imperialist, anti-Soviet, anti-socialist propaganda campaign, Azcarate goes so far as to say that the Soviet Union "is not really a socialist state."

Smears of this kind are not worthy of an answer. We cite them only to show how rapidly Azcarate is being sucked into the quagmire of anti-Sovietism. It is in place to recall that a delegation of the Communist Party of Spain, which had talks with a delegation of the CPSU in October 1974 and of which he too was a member, voiced in the communiqué on the talks its "deep satisfaction with the successes of the Soviet Union" and condemned anti-Sovietism as "running counter to the interests of the working class and the anti-imperialist struggle."

Considering the statements Azcarate has now been making with such self-assurance it is legitimate to ask what *positive* concept he has to advance as to what a truly socialist state and socialist society should be like. But no coherent answer to this question can be found

in his pronouncements. For Spain, incidentally, he puts forward the idea of socialism with all-round "pluralism" — economic, political and ideological.

In Spain today there unquestionably is pluralism (in the sense of the existence of many different classes, antagonistic ones included, and parties and organizations reflecting their positions). This is perfectly natural in a capitalist country. Discerning this fact does not require too much perspicacity. The trouble is, however, that he does not go beyond this. However, the working class, the masses in general, want to know what is the way out of the blind alley into which their countries have been led by the domination of monopoly capital.

Talk about ideological pluralism as a feature of socialist society as it is visualized by Azcarate boils down in practical terms merely to concern for the preservation of the positions of anti-socialist ideology. And what is *economic* pluralism? Is it a matter of preserving capitalist property under socialism as well?

As regards pluralism as applied to our country and our state, everybody knows that we have no exploiting classes and hence no social carriers of bourgeois ideology. What, then, should we do? Cultivate class enemies so as to create pluralism to please Manuel Azcarate? Let no one expect us to do that!

Ours is an altogether different road — the road of the further strengthening and developing of socialist democracy, the hallmark and consistently observed principle of which is the ever broader participation of citizens in the administration of the affairs of state and society. Our road is the road to building communism, that is, of creating a society ensuring the all-round development and application of the abilities of each individual. The people of the Soviet Union take pride in their society and state, and have every reason to do so, they cherish all they have achieved by their labor and struggle, and are doing everything in their power to ensure the continued advance of this society.

The true meaning of the attacks on existing socialism which are integral components of Azcarate's "Eurocommunism" can be fully assessed if they are viewed in the light of the class confrontation of the two social systems in the international arena.

Reaction and imperialism have realized that socialism has become established once and for all and cannot be overcome by frontal attack, even by using armed forces. Hence their stake, first, on slander designed to counteract the appeal socialism holds for the working people of other countries, and, second, on undermining the com-

munist movement from within by setting the communist parties one against the other, and, in particular, the communist parties of the capitalist countries against those of the socialist countries.

The imperialists are naturally casting about for allies that could help them to achieve their ends. And, regrettably, they are not always unsuccessful. It might be mentioned in this connection that the French *Le Monde* wrote recently with patent satisfaction about an "interesting pronouncement by Manuel Azcarate" and highly praised his stand as "progressive" (as compared with the stand taken by leading members of other communist parties). Azcarate has thus won the plaudits of exponents of the interests of the bourgeoisie. Of this there is no doubt. What the working class thinks of it is quite another thing.

By choosing to become a detractor of existing socialism Azcarate, in our opinion, is causing harm to his own party. History has shown time and again that anti-Sovietism is inseparable from anti-communism. Anti-Soviet campaigns or campaigns against any other socialist country can only be damaging to the entire communist movement. By virtue of its very essence anti-Sovietism inevitably tends to undermine the influence and prestige of the communist parties of the capitalist countries, to weaken their ties with the working class and other democratic social and political forces. Every anti-Soviet campaign gives encouragement to forces hostile to the communists. One cannot effectively fight for freedom and democracy in one's own country — and this applies to Spain as well — while discrediting existing socialism.

Following earlier articles published in our journal on "Eurocommunism" — of which the imperialist rulers and propagandists expect and demand, all the "explanations" given at diverse symposiums notwithstanding, only anti-communism, anti-Marxism, anti-Sovietism — some Western press commentators felt that *New Times* had overdone it, that we had exaggerated the anti-Soviet tendency in the views and activities of the avowed ideologues of "Eurocommunism." Manuel Azcarate's latest statements testify to the contrary. The fact is that some of the most active proponents of "Eurocommunism" in effect bring grist to the mill of imperialism. It is not a matter of labels and epithets. It is a matter of stating a fact, from which we cannot but draw due conclusions. "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan," Lenin said. "But what the workers' cause needs is the *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism."

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