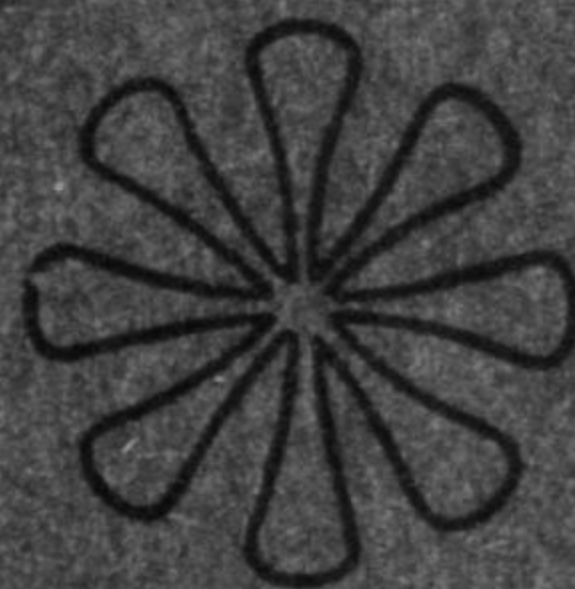


INFORMA



1002

BULLETIN

Issued by

**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
PUBLISHERS**

**SPEECH BY
L. BREZHNEV**

•

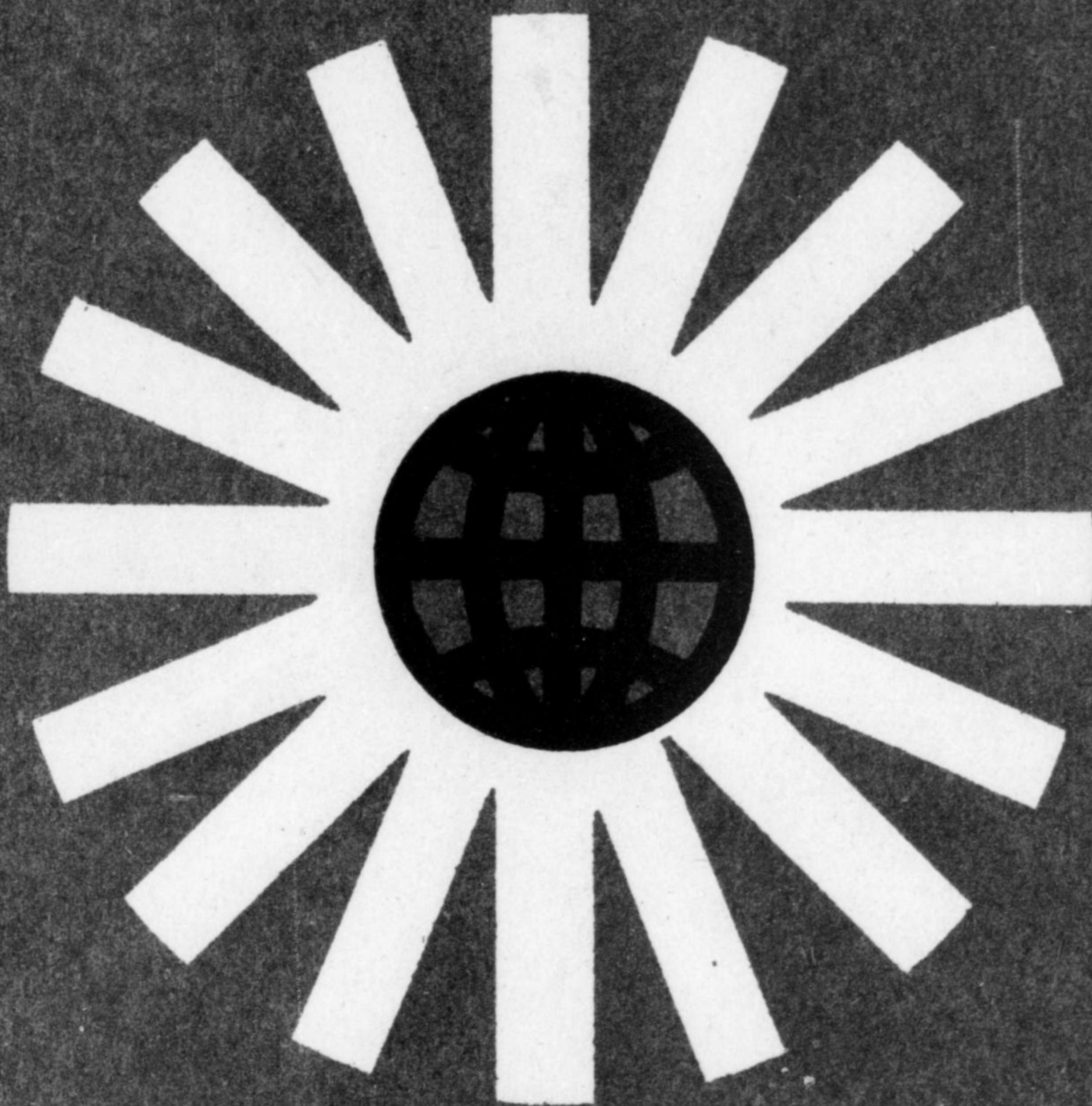
MIDDLE EAST

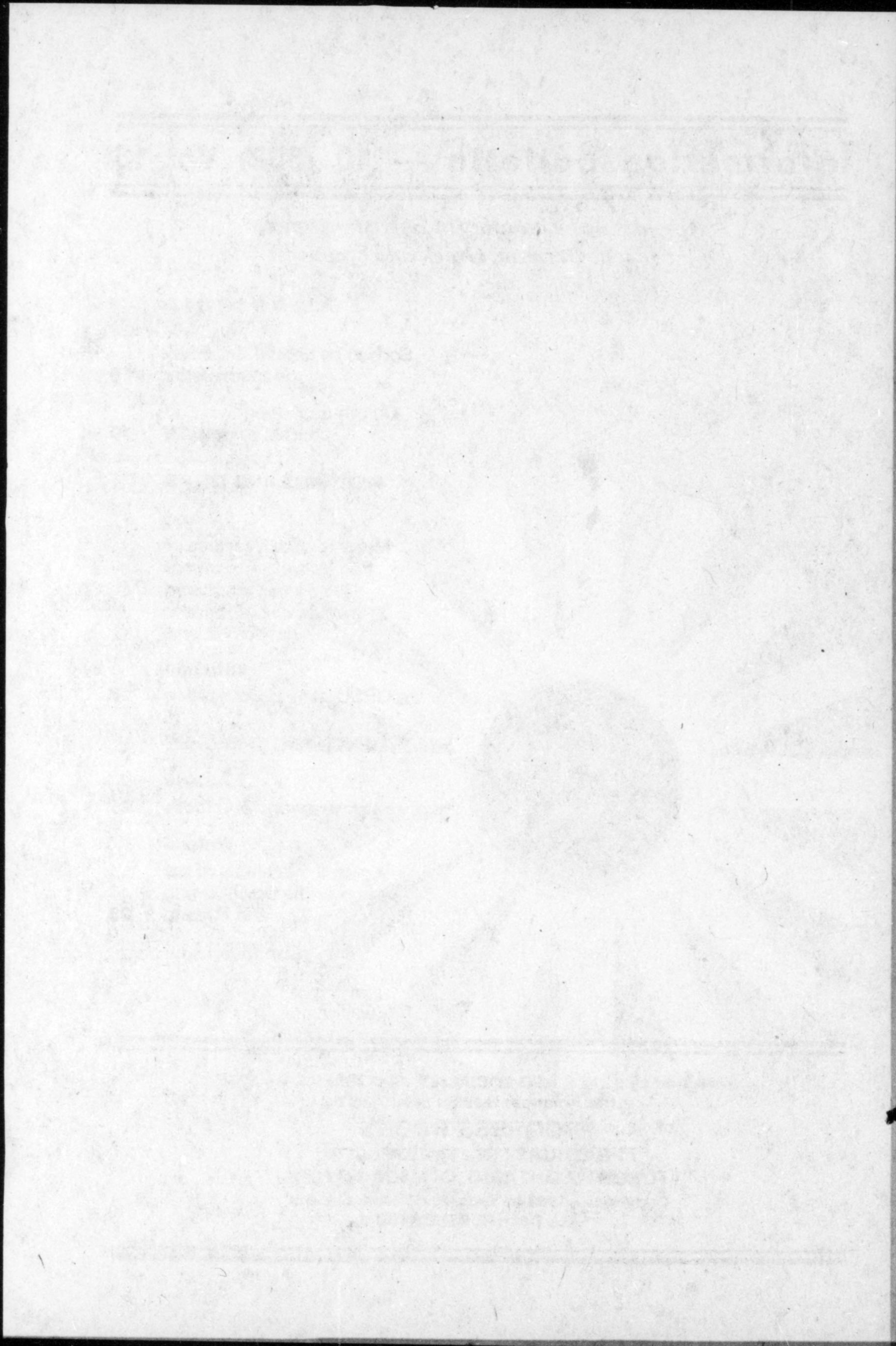
•

**POLITICAL
FACE OF
MAOISM**

10

(362) • 1978





information bulletin — 10 (362) Vol. 16

*Appears twice monthly in English, Arabic,
French, German, Greek and Spanish*

contents

Speech by Leonid Brezhnev
in Vladivostok 5

Continuing along the road
charted in Helsinki 10

MEETINGS AND TALKS

Finland

Meeting of delegations of
the Communist Party of
the Soviet Union and
the Social-Democratic
Party of Finland 15

Lebanon

At the CPSU Central Committee 17

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Austria

Forty years ago and today 20

Finland

In the interests of the
peoples of the Soviet Union
and Finland 23

(Continued next page)

Published by PEACE AND SOCIALISM PUBLISHERS—Prague
North American edition published by

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 BATHURST ST., THIRD FLOOR,
TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA M5V 2P6

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Continued

**In connection with developments
in the Middle East**

Stop the brazen aggressor 24

The Palestinian people
are fighting for
a just cause 27

FROM THE PRESS

The political face of Maoism

Reality and fabrications
Pravda 30

New leadership,
words and deeds
N. Dagan, B. Turbador 38

Peking: anti-détente,
anti-Sovietism
G. Todorchev 42

Disgraceful betrayal
Peruvian CP 44

Dangerous policy
Grynningen 45

Why a left-center coalition?
Gus Hall 47

Threat to Africa
Y. Zhukov 53

PRINTED IN CANADA
MAY 31, 1978

PRICE: 10 CENTS



SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV IN VLADIVOSTOK

From March 28 to April 9 Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet visited a number of major cities in Siberia and the Far East.

During his stay in Vladivostok Leonid Brezhnev addressed officers and ratings of the USSR Pacific Fleet. He said:

Dear comrades,

Allow me on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the Politbureau of the Central Committee and from myself personally to greet you and through you all sailors, officers and admirals of the glorious Pacific Fleet, the bearer of the Order of the Red Banner.

I watched today the exercises of your fleet and I can say with great satisfaction that the personnel and command of the fleet have carried out vast work for mustering new equipment and perfecting the skill of conducting naval operations.

I am convinced that the Pacific Fleet and its personnel will continue to discharge with credit their sacred duty of reliably guarding the state interests of the Soviet Union.

In the conditions of peace, we are tackling major economic and social problems set by the 25th Congress of the CPSU. In the center of our plans is a steady rise in the living standards of the Soviet people.

In considering the plans laid by the party for the further development of our country and the problems of economic development, we cannot ignore, of course, the way the international situation develops.

The present state of affairs in the world is characterized by a turn for the relaxation of international tension. The consistent implementation by our party of a Leninist foreign policy and the purposeful efforts of the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist states and all the peace forces and peoples have played a tremendous part in the impressive achievements made on this way.

These successes did not come easy, they were achieved in intensive struggle. The struggle over the question of the further destiny of

détente is going on, sometimes taking on point and gaining in intensity.

Comrades,

For all the significance of this or that problem, there is no more important task in present conditions, one touching the destiny of every person on earth, than the task of achieving real disarmament. The main problem now on the order of the day is to stop the arms race, to ensure progress toward reducing and eventually removing the threat of a thermonuclear disaster. It is here, in this direction, that the basic question is decided, the question of how the world situation will develop further, and it is here that the most bitter struggle is unfolding.

It is no secret that both to the west and to the east of our frontiers there are forces which are interested in the arms race, in working up an atmosphere of fear and hostility. They sow doubts as to the possibility of taking practical steps to limit armaments and to achieve disarmament and hamper efforts to achieve agreements in this field.

The activities of these forces have an adverse effect on the position of the USA and some other countries, partners of the Soviet Union in the talks on curbing and stopping the arms race.

As is known, a Soviet-American summit meeting took place in the Far East, in Vladivostok, in November 1974. It led to an accord on the conclusion between the USSR and the USA of a long-term agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms. Having assessed all aspects of the situation, the two sides then concluded that there was a possibility of finishing the drafting of the agreement in the next year, 1975.

Almost three and a half years have passed since that time and the agreement has not yet been signed. I have already had cause to mention the reasons for this. The experience of the talks, the lessons of the agreements concluded earlier in this sphere show that given proper awareness of the great importance of the problem and a real desire to reach agreement on the basis of equality and equal security, both sides are capable of resolving what would seem to be the most complex problems. And the documents that are being prepared now have been thrashed out and are largely agreed upon.

And if the final conclusion of this work is, nevertheless, being delayed, it is, evidently, for political reasons. The matter is that the United States government is both indecisive and inconsistent; it continually looks back over its shoulder at the circles which were against this agreement from the very beginning and which are doing every-

thing they can to thwart it and to get their hands free for an uncontrolled missile-nuclear arms race. That is apparently the reason why the American side repeatedly made attempts during the talks to amend in its favor or to call into question what was agreed to earlier, and instead of conducting a businesslike discussion, has tried to raise all kinds of questions behind which is concealed only one thing — the absence of readiness to look for practical solutions. Moreover a tendency is being shown to link in some way the advance at the talks and the destiny of the agreement in general with other political problems in the hope of bringing pressure on the Soviet Union.

This position of the United States was manifested soon after the Vladivostok meeting. As a result of this the work on the agreement was then practically stalled and even set back in a number of aspects.

Great efforts have been required to bring the talks back on the track of the Vladivostok arrangement. But this has been finally done. Principled solutions of some remaining questions have been found and the range of questions to be worked upon has, on the whole, been considerably narrowed. This has been ensured largely due to the Soviet Union's patient and constructive stand.

It is understandable, however, that the remaining questions cannot be solved without the United States making steps to meet us halfway. But, frankly speaking, we do not see such steps of late. One gets the impression that some people in the United States are inclined to interpret our readiness to conclude an agreement as a chance for the USA to gain unilateral advantages.

This is the only way to explain the continued attempts at the talks to erode somehow, for instance, the understanding reached on limitations on cruise missiles or to impose unjustified limitations on Soviet missiles while leaving the United States full freedom of action for modernizing and creating new types of practically all components of strategic arms.

We resolutely reject any attempts to impose unacceptable terms of agreement on us. We have said and we are saying now that the Soviet Union stands for the earliest achievement of an agreement, but only the kind of agreement that would be strictly in keeping with the principle of equality and equal security and that would embody in a real way this basic principle. We do not demand that the agreement give us any advantages at the expense of the other side, but we expect the other side to take a similar approach. There can be no other solution.

Further delay and all kinds of maneuvers over the talks can only

lead to missing the very opportunity of concluding an agreement and, hence, a chance for subsequent transition to more far-reaching steps to limit and reduce strategic arms. It is our firm conviction that such a prospect cannot suit anyone.

Therefore we should like to hope that proper conclusions would be made in Washington and that a course would be finally taken there toward a fruitful completion of the talks.

There are a whole number of other disarmament questions which are now being negotiated and whose solution is long overdue. Our constructive proposals on this score are well known. Also well known is the broad series of concrete measures our country proposed for consolidating the relaxation of military tension in Europe. We intend to persistently seek the realization of all these measures.

A number of statements in favor of disarmament have been made lately in the West, the USA included. But the peoples of the world judge not by words but by deeds. The question of neutron weapons is very indicative in this respect. This is a weapon of mass destruction of a new type. Any talk about such weapons being allegedly defensive in character does not correspond to reality. These are nuclear offensive weapons, weapons designed chiefly to destroy people. This weapon increases the risks of a nuclear war.

Faced with a mass protest movement against the plans to develop and deploy these weapons in Europe, the USA and some other NATO countries are trying to mislead the peoples, pretending that they are ready to hold talks with the Soviet Union on this question while in fact they are trying to make it the subject of bargaining and tying this weapon to unrelated issues. Concealed behind all this is only one thing — a desire to get away from the clearcut and concrete Soviet proposal for mutual commitment not to manufacture neutron weapons. Such maneuvering does not testify, of course, to the seriousness of intentions to achieve disarmament. Nor does it facilitate advance toward this aim.

It is high time some leaders of the West think in earnest about their responsibility to their own peoples, to all peoples, for the destinies of the world, and show in deed the readiness to take effective steps toward curbing the arms race.

The Soviet Union, for its part, will continue its efforts to achieve a steady advance along the road of military détente and transition to real disarmament. Such is our firm policy and we shall continue implementing it steadily.

Comrades,

We do not threaten anyone. The talk about the so-called Soviet menace is a mere invention of the opponents of the relaxation of international tension and nothing more. We are improving our defenses with the sole purpose of defending securely the gains of the Great October Revolution, of guarding reliably the peaceful work of the Soviet people, of our friends and allies. It is this noble aim that the Soviet Army and Navy serve.

The glory of the Soviet Navy is everlasting. So may you be always worthy of it. Enhance your combat efficiency, improve your political training, carry honorably the banner of the Soviet Armed Forces!

Allow me, comrades, to wish the best of success to you and to the people of Vladivostok, a city where the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the older generations of the people of the maritime territory are being sacredly honored.

Long live the Soviet Navy which reliably guards the sacred frontiers of our Motherland!

Pravda, April 8, 1978

Understanding Marxism

A CANADIAN INTRODUCTION

FRANK CUNNINGHAM

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 BATHURST STREET (3rd Floor)

TORONTO, ONTARIO M5V 2P6 368-5336

PAPERBACK \$4.95

CONTINUING ALONG THE ROAD CHARTED IN HELSINKI

On the outcome of the Belgrade meeting

The Belgrade meeting of representatives of states-participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe would up its work on March 9. As envisaged in the Final Act, the meeting was to continue the process begun in Helsinki, thus promoting peace on the continent and the security of its peoples.

The Soviet Union, consistently implementing the fundamental foreign policy line of the 25th CPSU Congress, proceeded from the assumption that the main content of the Belgrade meeting should be, as Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU General Secretary and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet put it, concern for peace and security in Europe, for promoting cooperation between European nations, and therefore agreement should be reached on some concrete recommendations and proposals on these issues.

As a whole, the Belgrade meeting achieved positive results. It demonstrated the European people's resolve to continue along the course set in train in Helsinki. The concluding document was adopted unanimously.

In advancing proposals on security and cooperation, the Soviet Union took account of the fact that now the primary, vital problem facing Europe is to consolidate détente, to complement political détente with détente in the military sphere and to adopt practical measures on disarmament.

The action platform aimed at strengthening military détente in Europe, formulated by Leonid Brezhnev, evoked broad interest in Belgrade. The Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries actively advocated this realistic program which includes concrete, effective steps designed to avert war on the continent. It envisages, as is known, the conclusion of an accord on refraining from being the first to use nuclear weapons against each other; on reaching agreement, at least, on not expanding by the admission of new members the military-political groupings and alliances confronting each other on the European continent; an agreement to limit troop exercises to

50-60 thousand men; to extend the military-confidence measures envisaged by the Final Act to countries in the southern Mediterranean.

The Soviet side proposed an early discussion of the entire problem of military détente, as well as other likely constructive proposals in this sphere at special consultations of all states participating in the European Security Conference. The meeting stressed the enormous political importance of the Soviet proposal to reach agreement on mutually refraining from producing the neutron bomb.

The adoption in Belgrade of an action platform aimed at strengthening détente in Europe, of the entire complex of proposals on military détente would be of enormous significance for the cause of peace not only in Europe but throughout the world. However, the USA and some of its NATO allies rejected these proposals, demonstrating their total indifference to the fundamental questions of ensuring European peace. Not a single one of the proposals advanced by the delegations of the USA and other NATO countries could really lead to military détente and reduce the military confrontation in Europe.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries advanced at the Belgrade meeting a number of proposals aimed at promoting cooperation between states.

In the political sphere, the Soviet proposal on additional measures to ensure the personal security of representatives and citizens of one state in the territory of another, and the safe conduct of cultural, sports and other measures responds to the consolidation of détente. The USSR and the Polish People's Republic proposed signing into law the principles set forth in the Final Act; the GDR suggested implementing the Final Act by promoting treaty relations in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

Important proposals were aimed at developing the practice of political consultations between participant states (GDR and Czechoslovakia); on banning the propaganda of war or the use or threat of force (Czechoslovakia).

In the economic field, the Soviet delegation proposed adopting a recommendation on the early convocation of a conference or international meeting on questions of environmental protection, energy and transport.

The proposals of the Polish delegation envisage, for instance, that the states-participants in the Helsinki conference undertake to speedily eliminate the existing trade barriers and not to set up new hurdles in the way of commercial and economic cooperation.

Of interest also were Norway's proposals on expanding interna-

tional cooperation in environmental protection, and those of Austria — on invigorating European cooperation in the sphere of energy and in relation to an all-European plan of using internal waterways. Acute problems affecting the fate of millions of people were raised in the proposal on migratory labor.

In the area of humanitarian cooperation, the socialist countries advanced a number of new initiatives. They proposed that encouragement be given to public meetings in defense of peace, security and friendship between the peoples; to forums on folk art (USSR); on cooperation in the sphere of education in the interests of peace (Poland); on stepping up the activity of the mass media (Czechoslovakia); on European cultural cooperation (Rumania); on declaring 1980 European Culture Year (Yugoslavia), and others.

But not all came to Belgrade with the aim of drafting practical recommendations designed to consolidate security and promote cooperation in Europe.

The USA, essentially following a line against the adoption of proposals on vital aspects of European security and cooperation, resorted to obstructive tactics and demagoguery on the human rights issue.

The Soviet Union, of course, has no reason to avoid a serious discussion of the human rights issue, their violation in the USA and other capitalist countries. The USSR, having built a society of mature socialism, finalized in its Constitution full human rights, guaranteeing their implementation. Therefore the Soviet Union, as distinguished from the propaganda devices of its opponents, openly continues to come out for international cooperation in facilitating the recognition and promotion of human rights throughout the world. Influenced by the practice of the socialist countries, an international law concept has been developed and expressed in the Final Act of the European Security Conference and in a number of other international documents which stipulate that — far from being counterposed to them — the principle of human rights cannot be considered or applied separately from other fundamental principles of international law (non-interference in internal affairs, sovereign equality, the peoples' right to be masters of their own destiny, etc.).

The representatives of Bulgaria and the GDR proposed including a recommendation that the participating states ratify international human rights pacts. The Hungarian representatives suggested that the participating states ensure the right to work for everyone, and the representatives of Bulgaria and the GDR — that women be given equal rights with men.

The U.S. delegation, however, was not concerned with the plight of millions of their own citizens bedevilled by unemployment, social injustice, racial discrimination, gangsterism and other mass violations of human rights. Instead of seriously approaching the human rights issue, the U.S. delegation attempted to defend certain renegades who had betrayed their people and to use their unsavory deeds as a pretext for arrogating the "right" to dictate to other states what laws and order they should have, that is, to legalize interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, subversive activity from the outside — which is prohibited by international law and U.S. legislation.

In his recent statement at the so-called Washington "commission on security and cooperation in Europe," the head of the U.S. delegation Arthur Goldberg virtually admitted that his entire activity in Belgrade was actually reduced to a propaganda fuss around the so-called "human rights" problem; other matters, including key problems of political and military détente, did not interest him at all. In a gesture of self-exposure, he admitted that the aim of the U.S. delegation's unsavory activity was to create an atmosphere that would impel the Eastern countries to reassess their positions on internal questions, in other words — direct pressure on sovereign states. These actions are aimed at diverting public opinion from major present-day issues — arms race limitation and disarmament, and to cover up their reluctance to constructively discuss realistic proposals.

Such actions were tantamount to the use of "psychological warfare" methods at the meeting with the aim of eroding the process of cooperation begun in Helsinki, and to take a step backwards, toward renewed confrontation. Can anything be more hypocritical than to pose as "defenders" of human rights while planning the production of the neutron bomb, thereby threatening the basic human right — the right to life!

The Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries vigorously rebuffed those who are wont to interfere in internal affairs. They firmly declared that there can be no revision of either the Final Act or its provisions, or the key directions of the process of détente charted in Helsinki.

The Soviet Union together with the fraternal socialist countries and other states interested in strengthening security and cooperation in Europe made an important contribution in achieving positive results at the Belgrade meeting. A positive role was played by neutral and non-aligned states. Yugoslavia made a useful contribution to the successful consummation of the meeting.

The concluding document emphasized the importance the participants attach to continuing the process of détente and noted that the exchange of views on the points on the agenda was a valuable contribution to achieving the aims defined by the European Conference, and reaffirmed the resolve of the participating countries to give a full effect — unilaterally, bilaterally or multilaterally — to the Final Act provisions.

The document records the agreement on holding the next meeting in Madrid in November 1980. It was also agreed to hold, prior to that meeting, three meetings of experts, on examining and elaborating a generally acceptable method of peacefully regulating disputes, on preparations for a scientific forum, and cooperation in the Mediterranean in the economic, scientific and cultural sphere.

What are the main results of the Belgrade meeting?

First, it has reaffirmed the tendency toward promoting détente, which is making headway despite the opposition of its opponents.

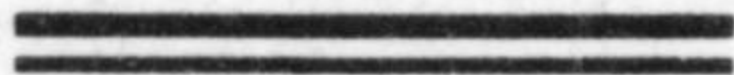
Second, the experience of the Belgrade meeting has clearly shown that serious efforts at resolving topical international problems and interference in the internal affairs of other states are incompatible.

Third, thanks to the vigorous rebuff to every attempt to upset the balance of the Helsinki understandings and to distort their sense, the Final Act has not been weakened, but has become more firmly rooted in the political ground of Europe.

Fourth, the meeting charted ways of continuing the multilateral process of strengthening security and promoting cooperation in line with the Final Act.

The Belgrade meeting benefited the common cause of peace, security and détente.

Pravda, March 25, 1978



MEETINGS AND TALKS

MEETING OF DELEGATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF FINLAND

The delegations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by CC CPSU secretary Mikhail Zimyanin, and the Social-Democratic Party of Finland led by Party Chairman Kalevi Sorsa met in Helsinki over March 28 to 30, 1978.

In the course of the talks, which proceeded in a spirit of comradeship and friendship, the delegations informed each other on the activities of their parties, exchanged views on a number of topical international issues, Soviet-Finnish relations and the working-class movement.

It was noted that on vital international questions the positions of the two parties as a whole coincide, or are close to each other.

The representatives of the CPSU and the SDPF expressed satisfaction over the fact that the process of international détente, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, has asserted itself as a decisive direction in international life. They noted the need to continue the struggle to strengthen détente, to make it irreversible and to complement political with military détente. They emphasized that the international public, the broad masses of working people and their organizations have an enormous role to play in this connection.

To ensure a stable peace, effective measures are required to curb the arms race and to advance in the direction of general and complete disarmament. A stop must be put to the spread of nuclear weapons while working for their total banning. Both parties come out against the creation of new types of mass annihilation weapons and condemn in this connection the plans to manufacture and deploy the neutron bomb. They hold that a special General Assembly on disarmament

would serve to substantially strengthen the striving toward détente and would facilitate the efforts to convene a world disarmament conference.

While exchanging view on European problems the sides emphasized that the basic direction in strengthening peace on the European continent is consistent implementation, equally and fully, of the provisions of the Final Act of the European Security Conference by all its participants.

The sides expressed their concern in connection with the continuing tension in the Middle East. In their view, the crisis should be speedily resolved on the basis of the Security Council resolutions stipulating that the Israeli troops withdraw from all Arab territories occupied in 1967. It is essential to ensure the legitimate right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the independence and security of all states of the region. The delegations come out for an early resumption of the Geneva conference.

The sides noted that the situation in the south of Africa is fraught with danger to the cause of peace. They declared their support for the liberation movement of South Africa, denounced the apartheid policy of the Republic of South Africa, its occupation of Namibia and the colonialist actions of the unlawful racist regime in Rhodesia.

The delegations expressed solidarity with the struggle of democratic forces for democracy, progress and human rights in Chile, Uruguay and other countries where reactionary regimes still dominate.

Much attention was devoted in the talks to Soviet-Finnish relations. The two sides expressed satisfaction over the development of these relations on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. They both agreed that all the provisions of the treaty — the 30th anniversary of which is being broadly marked by the public of both countries and which has become an important factor in the security and peace in northern Europe — fully retain their topicality in the present circumstances.

The delegations of the CPSU and the SDPF declared the striving of their parties to continue in every way to promote in all spheres confidence, good-neighbor relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and Finland. In this connection they attach particular importance to imparting a concrete content to the long-term program of commercial, economic, industrial and scientific-technical cooperation, signed by Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU General Secretary, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and President Urho Kalevi

Kekkonen of Finland. Of enormous importance, in their view, in promoting friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Finland is the activity of the USSR-Finland and Finland-Soviet Union societies. The resolve was expressed to safeguard Soviet-Finnish friendship as a great gain of the peoples of both countries, responding to their vital interests, and to rebuff every attempt to undermine this friendship.

The delegations noted with satisfaction the expanding contacts between various trends of the working-class movement. They hold that despite ideological differences, cooperation between the communists and social democrats is of enormous significance for united actions aimed at strengthening détente and peace, and in fighting for the working peoples' interests, for democracy and social progress.

The sides noted that the relations between the CPSU and the SDPF favor stronger and deeper relations between the Soviet Union and Finland, and expressed their intention to promote friendly contacts between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Social-Democratic Party of Finland.

Pravda, April 1, 1978

AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

On March 30, Andrei Kirilenko, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Ivan Kapitonov, CC CPSU secretary, Georgy Kornienko, first deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and Karen Brutents, deputy chief of the CC CPSU International Department met with a delegation of the Lebanese Communist Party consisting of General Secretary Nicolas Chaoui, Deputy General Secretary Georges Haoui, CC LCP Political Bureau member and secretary Abdel Samad and Political Bureau member Georges Batal.

The representatives of the CPSU acquainted the Lebanese comrades with the activities of the CPSU and its Central Committee headed by Leonid Brezhnev in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy, described the intensive creative activity of the communists and the entire Soviet people in fulfilling the decisions of the 25th Party Congress. It was noted that the adoption of the new Constitution and celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution roused tremendous moral and political enthusiasm which is being successfully translated into practical deeds in the course of the

nationwide competition for raising production efficiency and the quality of work.

The CPSU delegation informed the Lebanese guests about the consistent translation into life of the CPSU's foreign-policy course, directed at ensuring peace and security, at supporting the struggle of the peoples for national and social emancipation.

The representatives of the Lebanese Communist Party noted the historic significance of building a developed socialist society in the Soviet Union under CPSU leadership, of the Soviet people's new outstanding achievements in economic, social, political and cultural development, in implementing the Leninist peace-loving foreign policy.

During the talk, views were exchanged on questions pertaining to the Middle East situation, particularly in connection with the stepped-up aggressiveness of Israeli ruling circles and their attempts, with the active support of the U.S., to impose on the Arab countries humiliating separate deals, using for these purposes the capitulatory line of the Egyptian leadership.

The sides declared their full support for the national patriotic and progressive forces of the Arab world which are opposing these designs aimed at crushing the liberation movement of the Arab peoples, at denying them the fruits of many years of struggle for independence and social progress, at imposing the neo-colonialist yoke. The significance was noted of the striving by progressive Arab states and all the anti-imperialist forces to rally their ranks to repel the machinations of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

The participants in the meeting strongly condemned the brazen incursion by the Israeli military into Lebanon, their new atrocities against the civilian population. The LCP delegation described the courageous struggle waged against the aggression by the communists, by all the country's patriotic forces, together with the Palestine Resistance Movement. The representatives of the CPSU stated their support for the patriotic, anti-imperialist forces in Lebanon which are coming out firmly against the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon, for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the troops of the aggressor, for the preservation and strengthening of the Lebanese Republic's national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The delegations of the two parties underlined their solidarity with the Palestine Resistance Movement, which is the target now of concentrated attacks by international and internal reaction seeking to

prevent the realization of the legitimate national rights of the Palestine Arab people. The representatives of the LCP noted the community of the vital interests of the Lebanese and Palestine peoples in the joint struggle against the common enemy.

The representatives of the CPSU reiterated the consistent and principled position of the Soviet Union on questions of a Middle East settlement, exhaustively and clearly outlined in Leonid Brezhnev's replies to a *Pravda* correspondent. The Lebanese comrades declared their full support for the Soviet position.

The participants in the meeting stressed that in the present Middle East situation the role of Soviet-Arab friendship, the significance of all-round cooperation of the Arab states with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community are gaining in importance. In this connection they pointed to the need to actively oppose the policy of anti-Sovietism, on the platform of which imperialism, Zionism, Arab reaction and the Chinese leadership are linking up.

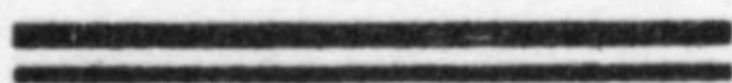
The Lebanese comrades expressed deep gratitude to the CPSU for the active and persistent support of the national aspirations of the Lebanese and other Arab peoples.

The community of the positions of the CPSU and the LCP on problems of the contemporary international situation was noted during the talks. The two parties believe that, in the interests of universal peace and security, it is essential to step up in every way the struggle for the further deepening of détente, ending the arms race, banning the creation of new kinds of mass annihilation weapons, including the neutron bomb.

The representatives of the CPSU and the LCP reiterated the invariable striving of the two parties to promote fraternal relations and to deepen the cohesion of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The meeting proceeded in a warm and comradely atmosphere.

Pravda, April 1, 1978



STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

FORTY YEARS AGO AND TODAY

Statement of the CC CPA on the 40th anniversary of the annexation of Austria

Forty years ago Hitler's tanks rolled across the frontiers of our country. By annexing Austria, the German imperialists wanted to wipe it off the map as an independent state and to use the riches of our allegedly inviolable country for their crusade aimed at establishing a "new order" in Europe. Hitler's army was accompanied by SS and Gestapo men, who seized tens of thousands of Austrians — communists, socialists, Christians — in the very first days and sent them to jail or concentration camps.

In that initial hour of bloody fascist rule there was only one party, the CPA, which firmly voiced its conviction that an independent Austria would re-emerge. Even on the night of March 12, 1938, it called for resistance: "The Austrian people have been subjected to violence but their faith and confidence are unbroken. The struggle is continuing. A free, independent Austria will rise again through its own strength and with the aid of the world peace front."

In those days there was only one state in Europe which championed Austria's independence. It was the Soviet Union. In contrast to the Western powers, which made deals with Hitler Germany, the Soviet Union condemned Hitler's aggression and refused to recognize Germany's annexation of Austria.

One still needs to understand clearly why Austria was raped without offering organized resistance. Many are still at pains to conceal the real reason why the Schuschnigg government beat a cowardly retreat, why the Austrian army, which had shelled Austrian public buildings, surrendered to Hitler's army without resistance, why Cardinal Innitzer put "Heil Hitler!" to his message of greetings to the German oppressors, and why the leading Social Democrat, Karl Renner, voted for the anschluss "with a glad heart," as he himself put it.

The road to the annexation led through the dissolution of parliament in Austria in 1933, which the social democrats accepted without resistance. It led through the suppression of the working-class movement in February 1934, through a home policy motivated primarily by "struggle against Bolshevism." That road led through a foreign policy of rabid anti-Sovietism characterized by the fact that the Schuschnigg government sought support from none other than Mussolini's fascist Italy while trying to appease Hitler fascism. Schuschnigg himself called Austria the "second German state" and the Austrian question, "an internal affair of the German nation." To many leaders of the traditional parties, Austria was an "unwanted state"; this was also true of the social democrats, who long after the annexation rejected the restoration of Austria's independence as a "historical step back." It was the Communist Party that insisted even before the annexation that there is an Austrian nation. The claims laid to Austria by Hitler fascism were not national but imperialist.

Leaders of the major parties now try to create the impression that the annexation became possible because there had been no social partnership in the First Republic. Yet bitter experience shows that one can never defend national independence with the help of reaction, by making deals with it or retreating before it, but only by fighting it.

The course of history and the re-emergence of an independent Austria — thanks above all to the victories of the Soviet Army over Hitler fascism — proved the Communist Party right. Today the vast majority of the people is convinced of the need of independent statehood and its advantages, and of the viability of our country. The vast majority of people take the recognition of the existence of the Austrian nation for granted.

Even now, however, there are forces which overtly or covertly question Austria's independence. Although the State Treaty makes "prevention of any nazi and militarist activity or propaganda in Austria" mandatory, there still exist neo-nazi organizations and publications which play down or even deny the crimes of Hitler fascism, cultivate the reactionary traditions of the Hitler army and campaign for its re-annexation by West Germany as part of "European integration."

Today learning the lessons of the past means banning neo-fascist activity in accordance with the State Treaty. It means opposing any encouragement of the reactionary Freedom Party of Austria by the Socialist and People's parties.

A new and growing threat to our national independence that must

not be ignored is that foreign, first of all West German, capital already controls a part of Austria's economy that is bigger than the whole of its nationalized industry. It undermines our balance of payments, reduces employment opportunities, cuts jobs and curtails neutral Austria's freedom of action, primarily by binding the country to the EEC, which is trying to export abroad its crisis at the cost of small states. Austria's economy, neutral policy and national interests all make it indispensable to cut the country loose from this one-sided, oppressive bond.

Given today's balance of forces an active peace and neutrality policy serving to strengthen Austria's independence is possible and necessary. This also implies that Austria must take a resolute stand against all plans designed to intensify the arms build-up, add the barbarous neutron bomb to the arsenal of weapons of mass destruction and revive the cold-war atmosphere.

Even now that international relations have changed fundamentally, defending national independence and democratic rights requires determined joint action by all anti-fascists and democrats against every form of neo-nazism and German nationalism. It requires a common struggle to force back international monopoly capital, which always and everywhere stands for reaction. It requires rejecting social partnership and any compromise with reaction, which means that the working class and other working people of Austria must realize their strength and their responsibility for the future of this country.

Volksstimme, March 10, 1978



IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND FINLAND

Speaking at a meeting dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the Soviet Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, voiced satisfaction over the progress made in friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Finland. We will continue, he said, to carefully protect and further these relations. This is one of the main tasks of the Finnish communists and the people's democratic movement as a whole, he emphasized.

The history of the Finnish people shows, Saarinen said, that their security, progress and happiness can only be built on mutual trust and peaceful cooperation with Finland's great eastern neighbor, the Soviet Union, with a country and people who were the first to set about building a new social order, socialism, over 60 years ago.

Finland's communists and people's democrats declared immediately after World War II for the signing of a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union, he recalled. They were convinced that this would meet the Finnish people's fundamental interests and that the treaty would guarantee them real security and pave the way for durable friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

President Urho Kekkonen of Finland, who had led the country's foreign policy on these principles for 20 years now, has repeatedly stressed that Finland is not neutral on the issue of war and peace. Finland must show still greater activity and consistency over this issue.

World peace and security would benefit greatly if the Communist Party of China rejoined the common front of the world communist movement for the promotion of détente, for an end to the arms race and for disarmament, Saarinen continued. Regrettably, the CPC leadership rejected one after another the Soviet Union's proposals to normalize relations between the two countries.

This matter has a bearing not only on the relations between the two biggest states, but also on the opportunities of the world communist movement to influence the progress and destiny of mankind.

The CPF Chairman called attention to the danger of designing new weapons of mass destruction, in particular the neutron bomb.

IN CONNECTION WITH DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

STOP THE BRAZEN AGGRESSOR

Communists the world over have emphatically condemned Israel's aggression in Lebanon. This is seen in the following statements of the Communist Parties of Lebanon, Israel, Syria, Iraq and the USA.

LEBANON

The CC of the Lebanese Communist Party has published in Beirut an appeal to the Communist and Workers' Parties and the liberation, progressive and socialist forces of the world in connection with the Israeli aggression in Lebanon.

The appeal says, in particular, that Israel is carrying out its unprecedented aggression with direct military and political support from the USA. One of the objects of the aggression was to achieve what Sadat's initiative had failed to do, namely, to deal a blow to the Arab national-liberation movement, eliminate the problem of the Palestinian people and impose the U.S. plan for a Middle East settlement on the Arab countries.

The appeal calls for condemning the Israeli aggression and putting an end to it, supporting the Lebanese people's struggle for the restoration of their sovereignty over the southern part of the country and backing the Palestinian people's struggle for the right to self-determination.

ISRAEL

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel demands in its statement the resignation of the Begin government and a radical change in Israeli policy.

A just and lasting peace could be achieved only if Israel withdrew from all the territories occupied in 1967 and recognized the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and independent statehood. The CC CPI Political Bureau declares for the convocation of the Geneva peace conference, which should be attended by all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

There is no doubt, the statement says, that the present Israeli government does not express the opinion of the majority of the people politically, economically or socially, and that its extremist and chauvinist policies prevent the establishment of peace in the Middle East. The CPI insists, therefore, on the resignation of the Begin cabinet and on the formation of a new government that would pursue a realistic policy, a policy for peace.

SYRIA

The new Israeli aggression, says the Syrian Communist Party in a statement released in Damascus, is being carried out according to a common plan of the U.S. Israeli Sadat camp. Its main purpose was to frustrate efforts toward establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East, eliminating the Palestinian resistance movement and imposing capitulation on the Arabs.

The SCP demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from Lebanese soil and declares its support for the PLO, which is defending its existence and the sovereignty of fraternal Lebanon, as well as for all democratic progressive forces who are on the side of the Palestinian fighters.

All attempts to exploit the Israeli aggression as an excuse for imposing the terms of Sadat's capitulation on the Arabs and for isolating the PLO must be foiled. It is highly important to defeat the attempts of imperialism, Zionism and reaction to use the Lebanese events as a means of preventing Sadat's isolation in the Arab world under the guise of "uniting the Arabs."

In the face of these intrigues, the SCP stresses, a task of the first importance is to strengthen the foundations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

IRAQ

In a statement circulated in Baghdad, the Political Bureau of the CC ICP says that the Iraqi Communist Party is at one with the progressive forces of Arab countries in strongly condemning the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, declares that it supports the Lebanese national movement and the Palestinian resistance, and calls for rendering them the assistance they need in their heroic struggle against the offensive of the Israeli army and Lebanese reaction.

It is the duty of all progressive Arab regimes and forces to join efforts in order to unite the various contingents of the Arab liberation movement in a common struggle and foster solidarity with the world

forces of freedom and peace in whose van are the socialist community and friendly countries.

The Political Bureau notes that the criminal action of the racist Zionist top leaders of Tel Aviv is carried out in full coordination with Lebanese reaction and is intended to establish their domination over southern Lebanon and clear the way for their activity all over the country.

The sinister aims of the Israeli rulers and U.S. imperialists, the ICP statement says, are making the situation in the area explosive, thereby endangering international security and peace.

USA

Israel's massive military invasion of Lebanon threatens to push the Middle East into a new war, wrecking any moves toward peace and avoiding compliance with the relevant UN resolutions, says the CC CPUSA statement issued in New York.

Begin has sent thousands of troops into Lebanon in an effort to wipe out the Palestinian resistance movement, to terrorize the Palestinians and Lebanese progressives in southern Lebanon, and to eliminate the Palestinian question from the peace agenda.

The statement points out that Prime Minister Begin had been planning an invasion of Lebanon for some months, and in fact sent tanks and troops across Israel's northern border at various times in collusion with Lebanese fascists. Begin's foray into Israeli-occupied Lebanese territory is reminiscent of Hitler's "conquering hero" visits to Nazi occupied Austria, Czechoslovakia and other countries during World War II.

It is becoming increasingly evident to public opinion in the U.S. and Israel, the statement points out, that these countries' ruling circles want to bring about a separate Egyptian-Israeli accord, and to impose a neo-colonial version of peace beneficial to the oil monopolies. The objectives of U.S. imperialism and of Israel's ruling circles are clear: (1) to undermine and destroy the anti-imperialist movements in the area; (2) to protect the interests of the oil monopolies and (3) to give Israel a strategic military advantage over Syria and the Palestinian resistance movement.

The statement emphasizes that the main obstacle to Washington's plans is the persistent Palestinian question. Therefore, imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction found it necessary to try to eliminate this obstacle. This is the meaning of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, armed by the U.S. and aided by Lebanese fascists.

The responsibility for these crimes rests on U.S. imperialism in particular, which has helped to impede the implementation of the UN resolution designed to end the conflict.

Israel must withdraw from all occupied territory. The U.S. and Israel must recognize the Palestinian Arab people's right to self-determination and the PLO as their sole representative, as well as their right to an independent state. The statement says in conclusion that the only road to peace and security for all peoples in the Middle East lies through Geneva.

"THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE ARE FIGHTING FOR A JUST CAUSE"

*Interview with Yassir Arafat, Chairman,
Executive Committee, PLO*

Following is the text of an interview granted by Yassir Arafat to a special correspondent of *L'Humanité* in Beirut.

Q. What were the aims of the Israeli aggression? Have the Tel Aviv leaders achieved them?

A. The purpose of the Israeli aggression in Southern Lebanon was, according to statements by Begin and Gen. Gur and Gen. Weizman, as well as to the resolution passed by the Knesset, to destroy the PLO, the Palestinian people and the Palestinian resistance. It was by agreement with the U.S. administration, as Secretary of State Cyrus Vance has specified and as Kissinger has recalled, that the operation, planned during the past six months, was carried out.

The Israelis used the most up-to-date American arms, such as F-15 fighter bombers, pellet bombs, anti-tank grenade launchers and other destructive weapons, which killed hundreds of unarmed civilians — Lebanese and Palestinians — and razed whole villages and camps.

In the light of those deadly raids and unequal battles in which the entire might of the Israeli war machine was used, I wonder what has become of respect for human rights, which President Carter has been talking about so much . . . The Israelis also used French arms against us, such as Mirage fighters, gunboats and sea mines.

But did the aggression achieve its goal? The grim eight-day resistance of the combined Palestinian and progressive Lebanese forces

confronted by an army superior in strength and materiel exploded the myth of the Israeli army's "invincibility."

The Palestinian fighters and the Lebanese National Movement have reason to be proud of their resistance, which is hailed and backed by the Arab masses and by progressives throughout the world . . . But the imperialist and Zionist conspiracy is not over.

There will be more attempts to defeat the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement — and also by other means . . .

Q. What is the stand of the Palestinian resistance and how was the Security Council resolution on dispatching "Blue Helmets" to southern Lebanon received?

A. We appreciate the UN decision and Resolution 425 envisaging the dispatch of an international force to southern Lebanon. We have stated that we will provide, to the best of our ability, every facility to assist that force in its mission, which is to end occupation by the Israeli army.

Q. Thirty years after the state of Israel was founded and ten years after the occupation of the West Bank, how do you visualize a Middle East settlement for your people? What are the PLO's immediate objectives?

A. For 30 years the Palestinian people, who have been expelled from their homeland, have been living in execrable conditions, without identity or rights of any kind. These circumstances facilitate the plans of Israel and the United States aimed at eliminating the Palestinian people.

We have exercised our legitimate right to resist. It is a right conceded to all the oppressed. The French people exercised the same right against the nazi invaders, the Vietnamese people exercised it against the United States and the people of South Africa exercise it today . . . The Palestinian people are fighting for a just cause, for their right to self-determination, for their right to return to their homeland and build an independent state on national soil.

The Jews were conceded the right to found a homeland. Why are we Palestinians denied that right? Don't we have the right to live in freedom on the basis of elementary respect for human rights?

The U.S. administration wonders how we can build an independent state of our own . . . I answer that we have the greatest proportion of educated people in the area. As regards a Middle East settlement, I see no solution as long as Israel persists in its policy of expansion.

Peace in the area will be impossible for as long as the rights of the

Palestinian people are ignored. We are a reality. We exist, and this is a reality that cannot be by-passed.

For as long as the Palestinian people are prevented from living in their own land and in independence there will be neither peace, nor a solution. By over-running southern Lebanon, the U.S. imperialists and the Zionists wanted to strike us a mortal blow. They imagined that it would take them a few hours to end the Palestinians' resistance. But the result is that Begin himself is in a difficult position and that the attempt to eliminate the Palestinians has fallen through.

In this new ordeal, the Palestinian people could see that they are not alone. They were supported by the democrats of the world, and enjoyed backing in the non-aligned countries. We know we have friends, and we are proud of them. The progressive forces of France are among them.

Abridged from *L'Humanité*, March 31, 1978



NEW HORIZONS MAGAZINE

A bi-monthly magazine of feature articles, news, analysis, Marxist education, book, TV & movie reviews, popular science, and much more. A youth magazine with a socialist perspective.

Only \$3.00 for twelve issues

(Institutional rate \$5 for ten issues)

NEW HORIZONS, 24 CECIL ST.
TORONTO, ONTARIO M5T 1N2

FROM THE PRESS

THE POLITICAL FACE OF MAOISM

REALITY AND FABRICATIONS

*Concerning the question of a Soviet-Chinese
border settlement*

The Soviet Union has constantly shown and continues to show a principled approach to the relations between the USSR and China, an approach prompted by a sincere striving for their normalization and development.

The principles formulated by the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses on the basis of which Soviet-Chinese relations could be improved to the benefit of the vital interests of the peoples of both countries, to the benefit of peace and socialism, have been confirmed by the Soviet Union's concrete and realistic proposals.

A recent proof of this is the message sent by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the Standing Committee of the PRC National People's Congress on February 24, 1978.

In order to materialize the desire expressed by both sides to base their relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence and embody this in a tangible international act, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet proposed that our countries come forward with a joint statement on the principles of mutual relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of China.

It is believed in the Soviet Union that a joint statement affirming that the sides will build their relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence, while firmly adhering to the principles of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other and non-use of force could advance the cause of normalizing our relations.

Regrettably, Peking has again taken a negative stand. Moreover, the rejection of our proposal served virtually as a signal for a fresh wave of the anti-Soviet campaign, which has been going on in China for a number of years.

Notably recurrent reference is made in the speeches and statements by Chinese officials as well as in the comments of Peking propaganda agencies to the so-called mutual understanding on the question of normalization of relations between the two countries, allegedly achieved during the meeting of the Heads of Government of the USSR and of China in Peking on September 11, 1969.

The Chinese version about this mutual understanding was reiterated at the session of the National People's Congress, which ended at the beginning of March, in the note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, published in Peking on March 26, 1978, in reply to the message of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and in the articles printed in the newspaper *Jenminjihpao* on March 13 and 26.

The essence of this version (as it appears from the aforementioned note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China) is that talks on border matters must be preceded by the Soviet Union's fulfillment of a number of preliminary conditions — recognition of the existence of so-called "disputed areas" in Soviet territory adjoining the border, the withdrawal of armed forces from these areas, and the conclusion of an agreement on the preservation of the status quo on the border. In addition, Peking demands that Soviet troops be withdrawn from the Mongolian People's Republic and from the entire Soviet-Chinese border.

This version is gladly snatched up by certain Western quarters. It is even claimed that during the meeting the sides allegedly signed some kind of a document, almost a "treaty."

This version has nothing in common with reality. By resorting to obvious distortions and deliberately misleading world public opinion, Peking has decided to make use of the circumstance that at the meeting itself no documents (for instance, a declaration, a statement, uniform minutes) were accepted, with the exception of a brief statement for the press, the agreed text of which was unilaterally changed by Peking. However, the fact is intentionally concealed that the positions of the sides were documented, but only after the meeting itself, through an exchange of letters between the sides.

I

How does the Chinese side interpret the questions which were discussed at the above-mentioned meeting and in the subsequent official correspondence? What are these questions?

One group consists of questions on which the sides have expressed views which are either identical or close.

Agreement was reached that certain steps be taken to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations (to restore relations at ambassadorial level, expand trade between the two countries, etc.). The sides also agreed that a border settlement was an important factor in the matter of normalization of inter-state relations. They agreed not to permit armed conflicts to occur on the border, and to settle matters through negotiations.

Acting in keeping with the real agreement, the Soviet side took a number of measures, which Peking was informed about in a letter dated September 26, 1969. The measures in question are the following:

- to maintain normal relations between the Soviet and Chinese border units and to preserve the existing border;
- to observe a procedure under which all border questions should be examined through consultations in a spirit of goodwill and proper conduct in order that an atmosphere of good-neighborliness prevail on the border, and that the use of arms and force be excluded;
- proceeding from the traditional relations of friendship between the peoples of the USSR and China, to take into account, in a spirit of goodwill and reciprocity, the interests of the population of the border areas of both countries in the field of economic activity;
- not to conduct propaganda on the border against the other side, including the use of amplifiers.

In its turn, Peking announced in written form that the Chinese side had also taken certain steps.

Thus, both sides acknowledged mutual interest in normalizing inter-state relations and the situation on the border. Mutual understanding was achieved precisely in this, and it was an important result of the meeting. Later, the sides exchanged ambassadors, and measures were adopted for the expansion of trade.

However, it must be emphasized here that, neither during the meeting of the sides nor in the subsequent exchange of letter between them was the achievement of positive results at the talks made dependent on the fulfillment of any preliminary conditions. At any rate, the Soviet Union did not advance such conditions and did not undertake commitments that would contradict its interests.

The Soviet Union sought to reach agreement on ruling out border conflicts and to initiate Soviet-Chinese talks on settling the border dispute and on the basic principles of future constructive negotia-

tions. The recognition of the existing border is one of these principles.

As for the concrete and specific questions connected with border settlements, they were to be tackled by the delegations appointed by the governments of both countries.

The sides agreed that in beginning the talks both delegations should proceed from the underlying principles, that is: border questions were to be settled on the basis of the Russo-Chinese contractual documents in force; the sides had no territorial claims to each other.

However, at the meeting questions also emerged on which the sides immediately recorded their disagreement. Mutual consent and consensus were not registered on the question of the "disputed areas," the disengagement of armed personnel and the procedure of economic activity either at the meeting of the sides or in their correspondence.

It was the Chinese Premier who put forward the "disputed areas" issue and who tried to impose it upon the Soviet side. Asked what he meant by the term "disputed areas," he finally said: when we begin border talks, it will become clear to you, we shall give you our maps.

Peking's letter, dated September 18, 1969, said that the question of the Chinese-Soviet border should be solved through peaceful negotiations and that until its settlement each side would take temporary measures to normalize the situation on the border and to avoid armed conflicts. The letter presented these measures in the form of five points. In particular, it was proposed to recognize the existence of the "disputed areas," effect the "disengagement" of the armed forces there, and also determine the procedure of economic activity there. In conclusion the letter said: "If the above-mentioned measures are confirmed by a letter from the head of the Soviet government, they will become an agreement between the two governments."

In this way, the Chinese side confirmed in this letter the absence of agreement on a number of questions, the "disputed areas" included. But perhaps the Soviet side eventually changed its position and expressed its consent to these proposals of Peking? No, such consent was not given either in the letter of the Soviet side, dated September 26, 1969, or in any subsequent Soviet letters and documents. Nor is it accidental that the second letter of the Chinese side, dated October 6, 1969, again expressed the wish "to reach agreement" on the above questions, including the "disputed areas."

Now Peking even presents its unilateral demands on the withdrawal of Soviet troops "deployed along the border" and also the withdrawal of troops from the Mongolian People's Republic as an element of "mutual understanding." The truth is, however, that this matter was

not raised at all either at the meeting or in the subsequent correspondence between the sides.

Such is the real state of affairs. However, Peking still continues to insist stubbornly on the "mutual understanding" it invented, simultaneously accusing the Soviet Union of "rejecting" and "violating" this "mutual understanding."

II

Let us see what meaning the Peking leadership imparts to the concept of "disputed areas," how and when it originated.

To begin with, it should be noted that until 1960 China had not made any territorial claims to the Soviet Union, not counting the Chiangkaihekites' expansionist encroachments upon Soviet territory. More, it was repeatedly admitted that the territorial integrity of the two sides was respected and that it was determined by the contractual documents whose validity nobody denied. The joint declaration of the Soviet and the Chinese governments, dated October 12, 1954, and other documents say that the principles of equality, mutual respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity lie at the basis of cooperation between the two countries.

The Soviet Union has stated on several occasions that there had never been, nor is there now, any territorial problem between it and the People's Republic of China. This problem emerged when the Chinese leaders, having ruptured friendly relations with the USSR, embarked upon nationalistic and great-power positions. It was precisely then that Peking began making attempts at changing the Soviet-Chinese border, and, moreover, not only on paper.

Soviet-Chinese consultations to specify the line of the border on its individual sections were held in 1964 on Soviet initiative. During the consultations the delegations exchanged topographic maps. It was then that it came to light that the Chinese maps showed a number of areas of Soviet territory as belonging to China and the borderline of these areas was arbitrarily traced deep in Soviet territory, behind the line which had been protected by Soviet frontier guards since the establishment of the Soviet state. It was precisely these areas of the Soviet territory that the Chinese side proclaimed as "disputed."

It is important to stress here that the borderline of the "disputed areas," marked on the Chinese maps, has no juridical foundations whatsoever, that it does not coincide with the line determined by the Russo-Chinese contractual documents. It is not accidental that in order to substantiate its tracing of the borderline Peking refuses to

take into consideration the contractual documents which constitute the only juridical substantiation of the existing border. On top of it, Peking says that the Soviet Union should first admit the existence of "disputed areas" on its territory and that after that it will receive "substantiations." By insisting on the recognition of the existence of the "disputed areas," Peking is seeking to invalidate the contractual-legal foundation of the existing borderline.

Peking's scheme is quite simple: by confirming the existence of "disputed areas" in a bilateral interim agreement, which, in Peking's view, should precede any discussion of the border issue, the Soviet side would recognize *de facto* the legitimacy of Maoist claims. This also would create a pretext for laying new territorial claims to the USSR.

Judging by everything, Peking hopes that Soviet recognition of the existence of "disputed areas" would allow it:

- to call in question the validity of the Russian-Chinese agreements which determine the present Soviet-Chinese border;
- to claim that at present there is no single and continuous borderline between the USSR and China defined by any agreements;
- to lay claim to large areas of Soviet territory before discussion of the border problem;
- to count on a unilateral Soviet troop withdrawal from "disputed areas," which would, in fact, lay open the border with a frontage of thousands of kilometres; as a result the Soviet population would have no defense or cover, whereas the Chinese troops would remain where they are and the Chinese authorities would have an opportunity to "develop" these areas.

In his speech in Ulan Bator in November 1974, Leonid Brezhnev said: "Peking, in fact, puts forward, as a preliminary condition, nothing less than the demand for withdrawal of Soviet frontier guards from a number of areas of our territory, which the Chinese leaders have now decided to lay claim to, calling them 'disputed areas'. . . . It is absolutely clear that this position is totally untenable, and we reject it.

"As for the Soviet Union, we do not lay down any preliminary conditions for the normalization of relations with China. We have long offered the Chinese side to begin at long last businesslike and concrete negotiations. We lay no claims to any foreign territories, and for us there are no 'disputed areas' in this sense."

III

The fact that in the past the border between the two countries came to be known as a "border of friendship" serves to show once again that China is deliberately and maliciously exaggerating the "border problem." Such a problem has never existed nor does it exist now. The Chinese leaders themselves have admitted this. Replying to a question put by a correspondent at a press conference in the capital of Nepal, in April 1960, as to whether there were any sectors of the border between the USSR and China not yet definitely delineated, none other than China's Premier said: "There are minor differences on the maps. They are very easy to settle peacefully."

True, no one says that the Soviet Union and China should not, in a number of areas, establish more accurately the borderline determined by the Russo-Chinese agreements. It is from this position that the Soviet side proceeded when it invited Peking to discuss border settlement problems in 1964 and 1969.

This is not a difficult task: one should take the Russo-Chinese agreements and work things out on their basis.

The Chinese side's approach to the border settlement is quite different. From the very beginning of the talks it tried to dodge discussion of the principal problem of the negotiations, that is, establishing more accurately the borderline in a number of areas, and as stubbornly insisted on a preliminary agreement on so-called "temporary measures," whose main purpose was to impose on the Soviet Union recognition of the existence of "disputed areas."

The Chinese side presents as an important element of "mutual understanding" the achievement of an agreement on the preservation of the status quo on the border and puts it forward as the indispensable condition for further negotiations on border problems. Meanwhile, the Chinese government itself said on October 7, 1969, that this proposal was not provided for by the agreement between the heads of state and was made "in addition" to it.

Displaying goodwill and guided by a sincere desire to promote progress at the negotiations, the Soviet side agreed to an agreement on the status quo and submitted a draft of such an agreement on February 11, 1970. It contained no preliminary conditions and, with minimum goodwill, could have become a basis for working out mutually acceptable solutions. Later on the Soviet side presented several drafts of the agreement which took into account all reasonable proposals made by Peking. Moreover, at various stages of the negotiations

we made many important constructive proposals and did all we could to achieve progress. The Chinese delegation, however, unfoundedly rejected all constructive Soviet initiatives.

The Soviet side is for status quo, by which it understands the preservation of the present border determined by the Russo-Chinese treaty documents, which not denying, as has already been mentioned, the need for some adjustments. In contrast, the Chinese side links status quo with the recognition of "disputed areas" and a recarving of the historically established border. Naturally, the Soviet Union cannot accept such an interpretation of status quo.

For more than eight years now the representatives of China have been suggesting one and the same scheme at the Soviet-Chinese talks: without the conclusion of an agreement on a status quo it is impossible to start adjusting the borderline, and without the recognition of "disputed areas" there can be no agreement on a status quo.

The entire behavior of Peking indicates that it does not seek a settlement of border issues, but is deliberately exaggerating them for its anti-Soviet, chauvinistic purposes. This is the only possible explanation for the noisy provocative campaign in "substantiation" of the claims on Soviet lands which Peking has been conducting for so many years now.

Peking is tirelessly clamoring that China is the "injured party," that the Soviet Union is going to "destroy" China and that in the conditions of a threat it is impossible to achieve success at the talks. But would it not be more precise and more correct to say that while deliberately procrastinating on the resolution of the border issue the Chinese authorities find it more convenient to concoct fables about a so-called "Soviet threat"?

And if Peking is really concerned about the security of China, then why did it refuse to conclude the special treaty on the non-use of force the draft of which was handed to the Chinese side on January 15, 1971, as well as the treaty on non-aggression proposed by us in 1973? Or, perhaps, the Chinese leadership believes that the anti-Soviet propaganda being fanned up in China day after day is Peking's contribution to creating "favorable conditions" for the talks and for better state relations between the USSR and China? Or, in its opinion, the language of ultimatums in regard to neighbor countries is conducive to the creation of such conditions? It is precisely this language that Peking is seeking to establish in the sphere of inter-state relations, putting forward, for example, a demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the borders and the pull-out of military units

from the People's Republic of Mongolia where they are at the request of the Mongolian government. The language of ultimatums, however, has never led and cannot lead to a genuine normalization.

To stand in two boats at once, as the Chinese say, is not a convenient position. To pretend to be desirous of developing relations between countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence and even the "strengthening of friendship between peoples," while simultaneously calling for the unification of all the dark forces of reaction and imperialism for struggle against the Soviet Union, and to lay territorial claims to the people whom you are trying to convince of your wish for friendship means to occupy a dual and, besides, a very provocative position.

If Peking really wanted to improve relations between the USSR and the People's Republic of China and to complete the talks on border issues on a practicable basis, all the possibilities exist for this. The PRC leadership is well aware of the many important Soviet initiatives which fully correspond to the basic interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples and are aimed at positive shifts in the relations between the Soviet Union and China.

"There is no point in trying to guess how Soviet-Chinese relations will shape up in the future," Leonid Brezhnev declared on November 2, 1977. "I would merely like to say that our repeated proposals to normalize them still hold good."

A sincere, genuine expression of goodwill and desire for improved relations — this is what the interests of the peoples of our two countries demand. In almost two decades many complex problems have of course accumulated in Soviet-Chinese relations, but this only confirms the need for a constructive exchange of opinions. The Soviet Union has declared on many occasions that there are no issues between the USSR and China which, given goodwill, could not be resolved.

The matter is now up to the Chinese side.

Pravda, April 1, 1978

NEW LEADERSHIP: WORDS AND DEEDS

Over the last 15 months the new Peking leadership has been busy attacking the "gang of four" and establishing "general order" in post-Mao China in line with the decisions of the CPC's 11th Congress.

At that congress and in Peking's official documents this campaign is described as "a fierce clash between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a life-and-death combat," which has a direct bearing on the destinies of the party and the state. This and the statements in the Peking press that the criminal activities of the "gang of four" had fully undermined every success attained by China in the first 17 years of the republic may seem to suggest that the aim of the current struggle is to eliminate the harmful consequences of the anti-popular and anti-socialist course of Mao Tse-tung. But the facts show that the words and deeds of the new leadership seldom tally, except for one thing — faithfulness to Maoism, above all to its Sinocentric, expansionist concept obviously viewed by the Maoists as the essential part of Mao's thinking.

So, Maoism, which has grown on the rotten soil of great-Han chauvinism and bellicose nationalism and has caused deep social and economic deformities in Chinese society, underlies the ideological and political platform of the present Chinese leadership. The new chairman of the CPC Central Committee and his retinue are all out to vindicate Maoism and consolidate the Maoist military-bureaucratic regime. This only confirms that Marxist China experts were right in saying that the current struggle within the Peking leadership is, most likely, another power squabble between the rival groupings.

They are divided mainly on the tactics to be employed in implementing the great-power, hegemonistic line of Mao Tse-tung. Of course, one cannot deny the fact that the struggle between the Maoist groupings grew more intense due to the crisis of Maoism and the general political atmosphere in China after Mao, where dissatisfaction with the policy of the present regime spread to ever wider sections of the public. In these circumstances, many of the leaders, especially those involved in the practical management of the country's affairs probably realized that Maoist precepts, if not modified, can largely block their effort to create a mighty power on clearly anti-socialist and militarist lines.

The current campaign in China, we believe, should be viewed precisely from this angle. The chief target of the campaign is to prove Mao's "infallibility" while jettisoning the most odious and obviously bankrupt aspects of Maoism. All this called for the inevitable "scapegoat" to be held responsible for the wrongs of the Maoist anti-popular course, thereby showing that both Mao and the present ruling group are free from any errors.

The "gang of four," picked out as the scapegoats, and their back-

ers are officially accused of being responsible, for instance, for the "long period of stagnation and even regress in the country's national economy" (*Hsinhua*, December 31, 1977). It is allegedly their fault that in many provinces "production was in disorder and made no headway or was even curtailed" (*Hsinhua*, December 26, 1977), that the state income plan was not fulfilled "for several years running," that "the gap between the scientific and technological levels of China and the advanced countries of the world was growing." They were accused of having exerted "a pernicious political and ideological influence on the youth and teenagers," impeded the growth of "a whole generation of young people," brought "unheard-of misfortunes to the country and the people," and so on. According to Hua Kuo-feng, the "gang of four" had intended to establish a "fascist dictatorship" in China. Sometimes, in the heat of their criticism of the Four, top-ranking Peking officials openly admit that the notorious "cultural revolution" was a "lost decade."

According to eye-witness accounts and foreign press reports there is little evidence of the "new economic upswing" and the "profound change" in all other spheres of social life, so widely publicized by Peking. Many of the pressing problems of economic and cultural development are still awaiting solution, in particular the problem of improving the miserable living conditions of the population. The latter task was not even mentioned in the "four modernizations" program underlying the long-range economic policy of the Peking leadership. The planned accelerated economic advancement, or "the task of the new period of the development of the socialist revolution and socialist construction," as it was formulated in the report by Hua Kuo-feng at the First Session of the All-China Council of People's Representatives (fifth convocation), is tied in with the task of militarizing the country, above all building up its nuclear-missile potential.

This task was given prominence at the numerous meetings and conferences held by the Peking leadership over the past two years. The stress on the priority development of the war industry, far from ensuring a balanced growth of the whole economy, runs counter to the basic principles of building socialism, whose chief economic goal is to raise the living standards and cultural level of the working people.

Judging by Chinese and foreign press reports, the organizational and political measures taken by the present leadership to establish "general peace and order" do not always produce the desired effect. That the campaign against the "gang of four" is being conducted by

methods of crude violence, so widely applied in the days of Mao and his orthodox followers against political rivals, could not but evoke the negative response of the Chinese public. Indeed, the propaganda machine of the new leadership has been trying to convince the population that the rout of the "Gang of Four" will put an end to unrestrained terror and violence. However, no signs of this are in evidence in China.

On the whole, the political course followed by the Peking leadership at home is based completely on the anti-popular and anti-socialist concepts of Mao Tse-tung. The Maoist anti-socialist superstructure is in sharp contradiction to the economic basis, which once rested on public ownership of the means of production. The use of these production means for anti-popular purposes inevitably erodes their socialist character. On the other hand, the complete rejection by the Peking leadership of the life-tested practice of socialist construction in other countries and their global confrontation with world socialism on the international scene clearly suggest that socialism for the Maoists is not the goal but merely a tactical means of realizing their great-Han plans.

Juggling with socialist slogans and separate phrases from the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the half-measures, like the partial restoration of the material incentive principle, distribution of income according to work, and attempts to restore the former system in the education and culture field cannot by themselves lead to socialism in the conditions of Maoist ideology and military-bureaucratic dictatorship.

Lenin pointed out that in our epoch of the great victories of Marxism, the advocates of various forms of unscientific socialism cannot by-pass Marxism when formulating their tasks. He wrote: "Pre-Marxist socialism has been defeated. It is continuing to struggle, no longer on its own, independent ground, but on the general ground of Marxism, as revisionism" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 15, p. 33). This idea of Lenin is directly relevant in explaining the fact that Maoism, having degenerated into a variety of anti-communism, insolently insists that it should be regarded as a "new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism." The present situation in China is, indeed, unique in that for the first time in history backward petty-bourgeois nationalistic forces, having proclaimed socialism to be their banner, seized power in the party and the country, and are now trying to implement their reactionary utopian concepts and even impose them on others.

But today, in the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to

socialism, when existing socialism has become a decisive factor of world development, reactionary Maoism has no future.

The anti-socialist and anti-popular essence of Maoism is most clearly pronounced in the foreign-policy course of the present Peking leadership. It has not budged an inch from Mao's hegemonistic and provocatively expansionist war-mongering line. More, it has made the confrontation with world socialism, specifically with its bulwark — the Soviet Union, the chief target of its foreign policy. China today is, in fact, almost the only country to crudely trample on modern international law and come out for an aggravation of international tensions, even to the point of provoking a world nuclear catastrophe. On the international scene the Maoists are trying to sow distrust and enmity between states and peoples wherever they can, to divide the world into hostile military-political blocs on the continent-and-race basis, and are guided exclusively by their self-seeking hegemonistic interests. Moreover, the Peking leaders are trying to fight world socialism and the world communist and national-liberation movements with the aid of the most reactionary forces of imperialism. For this purpose they readily establish close contacts with NATO and other aggressive organizations of imperialist powers, encourage their activities against détente, universal peace and international security.

In view of all this, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has been consistently exposing the reactionary essence of the policy pursued by the present leaders of China and rebuffs it most decidedly.

N. Dagan,

B. Turbador

Unen, March 21, 1978

PEKING: ANTI-DETENTE, ANTI-SOVIETISM

The substance of Peking's foreign policy, the means it employs and its bluntness and ill-concealed goals continue to tell on relations in the world today. As before, the political strategy and diplomatic tactics of the Maoist leadership in various spheres of international activity are spearheaded against the main positive trends of our epoch and are poisoned by hegemonism, militarism and enmity toward the real forces of peace and progress.

The recent developments have again revealed the fallacy of the ideas and concepts constituting the Peking leaders' general platform of anti-détente and anti-Sovietism. Addressing a delegation of West

German Parliament, deputy chairman of China's State Council, Teng Hsiao-ping declared that "a war with the USSR is inevitable." "To counter the Soviet Union, China and Japan should join efforts in the East, and West European countries and the USA, in the West," he said. According to a Reuter report, Teng Hsiao-ping said to Friedrich Zimmermann, head of the West German delegation, that "China rejects outright the recent Soviet move to improve relations between the two countries."

Such, in fact, is the hostile response of the Chinese authorities to the peaceful initiative of the Soviet government, which proposed that the two countries make a joint statement on principles of relations between them and which would declare that they shall maintain their relations on principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, mutual respect, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference into the internal affairs of each other and non-use of force. Peking has rejected the Soviet proposal in a most unconvincing manner. What is more, it is making a wide use of political, economic, psychological and other pressure in a bid to impose the policy of anti-Sovietism on other nations, to unite the most reactionary, aggressive and warlike forces for struggle against existing socialism, to knock together a broad anti-Soviet bloc.

The all-round and crude pressure exerted by the Peking hegemonists on Japan is a case in point. The purpose is to persuade Japan to include in the draft of the Sino-Japanese treaty on "peace and friendship" a special clause directed against a "hegemony" of a "third state" in Asia (meaning, in fact, the Soviet Union).

For a few years now Peking has been seeking support among the militaristic and revenge-seeking circles of Japan, indoctrinating its businessmen, party leaders and public figures in an attempt to push through the "anti-hegemony" clause. In actual fact, this is meant to disguise China's own hegemonistic ambitions. China is interested in Japan because of the latter's economic potential, its geographic position in Asia and the Pacific and its role in world politics. Recently Junya Yano, Secretary General of the Komeito party was subjected to such pressure during his visit to Peking. In an interview to the Kyodo news agency Junya Yano said that during his Shanghai meeting with Teng Hsiao-ping he proposed to include in the draft of the Sino-Japanese treaty on peace and friendship Item Seven of the 1972 communiqué on restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The communiqué said in part that "normalization of relations between China and Japan is not directed against third coun-

tries.” Teng Hsiao-ping emphatically rejected this proposal and tried insistently to talk Yano into accepting Peking’s new clause, which is of “paramount importance” for China as a political basis for friendship with Japan. At the time when public protest is mounting in Japan against the inequitable Japano-American “security treaty,” an impediment to Japan’s policy of non-alignment, peace and neutrality, the Chinese authorities back this treaty for its anti-Soviet implications.

This policy is clearly near-sighted. Many anti-Soviet actions, campaigns and diplomatic schemes have fallen through. To maintain tensions in relations between states, to call for stepped-up arms race, encourage confrontation, undermine security, direct bilateral agreements against the interests of third countries — all these adventurist targets of Chinese foreign policy run counter to the wish of the peoples to build a new and just system of peaceful international relations. This is also seen from the analysis of the situation caused by Peking’s policy at the talks on signing the Sino-Japanese treaty.

What kind of treaty it will be is a matter to be decided by the two states themselves. But whether it infringes on the interests of third countries or not is a matter of concern for the world public, inasmuch as it affects principles of peaceful coexistence and inter-state relations. This is precisely why the Japanese circles were so impressed by the statement made by Todor Zhivkov, Chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria, during his recent visit to Japan, in which he spoke about the inadmissibility of an approach when two states build their relations at the expense of a third country.

As for Peking’s ambitions, the recent statements and actions of the Peking leaders confirm the conclusions made at the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party that “the degradation of Maoism has entered a new phase,” that it has joined hands with the most reactionary forces, with the avowed opponents of peaceful coexistence and social progress, and that “the actions of the Maoists increasingly jeopardize peace and security of nations.”

Georgi Todorchev,

Abridged from Rabotnichesko Delo, March 27, 1978

DISGRACEFUL BETRAYAL

The present Peking leadership in its foreign policy has fully repudiated the international communist and working-class movement; Peking allies itself more and more closely with the most reactionary

imperialist forces and continues to follow this disgraceful path of betrayal, says a statement of the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) circulated in the country.

Speaking of Peking's reaction to the recent Message from the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the Standing Committee of the Chinese National Congress, which expressed readiness to put an end to the present abnormal situation in relations between the USSR and the PRC, the Peruvian Communist Party describes the Maoists' reply as an attack on the Soviet Union.

Peru's communists, like all fair-minded people on earth, were perturbed by the fact that the Maoist leaders had rejected not only the latest initiative but many other initiatives of the Soviet Union aimed at restoring friendly relations between the two countries.

Peru's communists emphatically condemn the Maoists' subversive activities in Asian, African and Latin American countries. The betrayal committed by Peking is evident, among other things, in the Chinese leaders' cooperation with the anti-popular Chilean regime, the Maoists' disgraceful role in Angola, their support of Israel and the policy of Sadat, who has split the united front of Arab countries. The Maoists' entire foreign policy activity completely contradicts Peking's demagogic talk about "support for the peoples fighting for their national and social liberation."

In conclusion the PCP declares its unqualified support for the foreign policy line of the CPSU, which is based on Marxist-Leninist principles and translates proletarian internationalism into reality.

DANGEROUS POLICY

Maoism has done the peoples of the world much harm through its policy of fomenting war and backing imperialist and fascist forces, writes *Gryningen*, a Swedish newspaper, in an article entitled "What Is Maoism?"

It is typical of all Maoists, *Gryningen* comments, that they fiercely resist every effort to maintain peace. The main reason for the Maoists' rupture with the world communist movement was the war and peace issue. "A world war is inevitable," the Maoists claimed. "A world war can and must be prevented through the joint efforts of all peace forces," the communists objected. The Maoists go on combating the principles of peaceful coexistence. They favor an

increase in NATO armaments in Europe as a means of defense against an alleged "Soviet threat," the paper says.

The Soviet Union was the first country to recognize the People's Republic of China after the 1949 Chinese revolution and to establish diplomatic relations with it. In the 1950s, *Gryningen* recalls, hundreds of large steel, engineering, tractor, power and other industrial plants were built in China with Soviet aid. About 1960 Mao Tse-tung, however, severed all ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Subsequently, in the 60s and 70s, the Maoists stepped up their attacks on the world socialist system, singling out the Soviet Union as their chief "enemy."

Every sensible person can see, *Gryningen* notes, that the main contradiction today is the one between socialism and imperialism. But the Maoists affirm that there are two superpowers in the world against which all other peoples must fight. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries invariably support the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world. But the Maoists have made the Soviet Union as a "superpower" their chief "enemy" and do all in their power to assail and slander it. This has brought the Maoists into the imperialists' arms.

Whoever supports the Soviet Union, the paper goes on, is automatically treated by the Maoists as an enemy. By the same token, anyone who opposes the Soviet Union and socialism in general is welcomed by the Maoists.

In accordance with this line, China renders political and financial support to reactionary forces all over the world, such as the fascists in Chile, racists in South Africa, Strauss in the FRG or counter-revolutionaries in Angola. As for countries which maintain friendly cooperation with the Soviet Union, such as the GDR, Cuba, Vietnam or Angola, the Maoists assail and slander them.

More and more people realize as the years go by that Maoism serves imperialism and reaction, the paper concludes. This is why the numbers of Maoism's supporters are dwindling. The time will come when the Chinese people reject the policy of their leadership.

Gryningen points out that the Maoist splitter groups which sprang up in Sweden in the 60s and call themselves the "Communist Party of Sweden" can no longer win new adherents. But for all who stand for peace and socialism, it is as important as ever to combat the Maoist ideology, which hampers the world revolutionary process.

Abridged from *Gryningen*, March 27, 1978

WHY A LEFT-CENTER COALITION?

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party USA

In general terms, the task of the Central Committee of our party is to analyze developments and to formulate our policies and tactics in response to these developments.

Then Gus Hall poses the question "why we have projected the policy of struggle for left-center unity" and goes on to say:

Left-center unity is a term applied mainly in the trade union movement and the working-class movement in general. There are similar concepts of unity in other areas of mass work, but they usually have other designations. In the struggle for peace, against racism, against regressive taxation, a left-center concept may be too restrictive.

The left-center concept is a guide for building united front formations and relationships within the working-class and trade union movement. It is a response to the changes that are taking place in the ranks of workers and the trade unions.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF "LEFT-CENTER" POLICY

We say "left-center" and not "center-left" for a reason: to give the proper emphasis to the role of the left as the initiating force . . . We want to emphasize that we are not giving up the idea of working for left unity or building left formations. The left-center concept does not replace any other organized forms. It unites them.

The left-center concept is not a new idea. This is not the first time our party has projected this concept. It was a guide for united front movements in other periods, reflecting other realities. It is not new, but is also not simply a return to the old because in concepts and tactics "you can't go home again" because "home" keeps changing.

The class struggle, the objective processes and the nature of class political currents of today are different. Left-center alliance is now projected under today's conditions and relationship of forces. It is projected in its own unique historical framework.

I would like to emphasize that we have now placed this concept as the centerpiece in our trade union work. It is now the key to our trade union policies, tactics and overall approach to working-class movements.

We do this because the relationship of forces within the working class and trade union movement has changed. It would have been a wrong emphasis in the recent past, and it would be an error not to

project it now. It comes up now because it reflects the new reality and the new relationship of forces in the trade union movement, including that important trade union forces are moving from right field to center field. This is the broadest and most significant political motion that is taking place.

One of the most serious setbacks of the McCarthy period was the destruction of the left in the trade union movement. I considered whether the word "destruction" is too harsh. It is not. This was the most damaging development in the McCarthy period. The destruction of the left in the trade union movement took place on all levels. And once the left was destroyed the right-wing elements became the unchallenged leading influence in the trade union movement and for a long period remained so. The left was shattered and the center was demobilized and scattered.

The party also suffered great losses in that period. Again, the greatest losses in the party were in the industrial areas. This also helped to create a situation where the right was in an unchallenged position.

Because of McCarthyism and also because of some internal weaknesses the party for some time did not pursue a policy of industrial concentration. Now we can fully appreciate what a weakness that was. We also had almost no shop clubs and for a time there were no shopgate distributions of leaflets or of the press. This was the period when the left was disorganized and therefore not an effective force in the trade union movement. There were of course some left forces, but they were not organized.

The center forces, when they did not have a left to gravitate toward or be influenced by, were pushed to the right. The right influenced the center, and in many cases the center forces simply went along for the ride with the right. Many became silent and passive.

After the McCarthy period the party, with other militant trade unionists and workers, had to face the problem of how to pick up the pieces as far as the left in the trade union movement was concerned. As the crisis of capitalism deepened and as policies of class collaboration became more evidently bankrupt, the process of radicalization shifted into higher gear. This gave impetus to a left current. In the beginning it was a grassroots development, in the form of rank-and-file groups.

It is a long process. The party had to re-establish the policy of industrial concentration, which meant the re-establishment of shop clubs, circulating party press at shopgates, etc. Slowly, step by step,

the party has become an organized influence in the shops and trade unions. The party's industrial concentration has influenced the re-emergence of the left. The work of the party, at each stage, has been based on the changes in the outlook and thinking of the workers. The process of radicalization called for an emphasis on organized rank-and-file groups. That was a very important historic step in the process. It was based on the truth that there was no other way of basically influencing the trade union movement. It was not possible to influence or change it from the top. The rise of rank-and-file movements was a historic development because they made possible establishment of a mass base for the left trend. Now the rank-and-file movements and groups have become the grass-roots base for the left trend on all levels. That was the basis for the formation of Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD).

TUAD was and is a national gathering of these groups and trends. The first convention of TUAD was made up of delegates from center and left groups and trends, with very few elected or appointed trade union officials. It became a national coordinating center for these rank-and-file groups, and generally for the left and center trends. TUAD has served and continues to serve this historic purpose. It has left its mark on history because it came into being at a time when it was necessary.

With the development of a grass-roots movement the center elements in local and secondary leadership began to feel that there is some hope after all; they began to respond and develop a sense of confidence and to move in a more militant direction because they had a new mass base. So the development of a grass-roots "left" has played a very important role in creating conditions for the emergence of broader and bolder center forces which we have at the present time.

THE CENTER FORCES

The deepening crisis of capitalism has given rise to the growth of a left and following that the development of an active center force in the trade union movement. As the crisis deepens so do the policies of class collaboration go into a deeper crisis. It is much more difficult for the right elements to put over their ideas. As a result, the right has been losing its influence on the center forces. The right forces have become more isolated, and the center forces have become more active. These forces have started to look for alliances and relationships with the more left forces. This has been going on for the last

number of years. Important sections of the trade union movement have separated themselves from the status quo of class collaboration and will not return to the old position.

A weakness becomes evident as a result of this development. The weakness showed up as reluctance and hesitation to establish relationships with center forces, both on a leadership and grass-roots level, based on fears resulting from old experiences and a lack of confidence in the left forces. This more than anything else forced us to reformulate our trade union policy more basically and to project the idea of left-center unity.

We felt that it was necessary for the party and the left forces to say to the center forces: "You're welcome. We want to work with you." And we have to say it boldly. I think we are still hesitating. The hesitation leads to sectarianism.

The reason for this hesitation is a lack of understanding of the historic moment, a lack of understanding that things have changed, and that we must actively reflect this change and react to it. Everything in life must be seen in transition, including political forces and trends.

Who are the center forces? They are honest, militant working-class trade union forces. This is true also of those on leadership levels. They are honest trade union forces. They are the largest sector in the trade unions. They are in transition from right to center, moving toward the left. Therefore, they must be worked with. They must be encouraged to move further from one position to another. They most likely will not agree with the left on all immediate questions, and certainly not on a specific program.

- They will agree in specific areas with the party and with the left, and work together with the left. That is what the idea of left-center is all about; it is a united front between forces who agree on some questions, but disagree on others.

The center forces are in the process of becoming radicalized. So the left-center concept is a united front policy with forces who are in transition from right to left.

THE CASE OF STEEL

I want to explore the concept of left-center unity in relation to the steel industry.

Clearly, in the steel union there are different kinds of forces. There are the right forces — McBride, Abel, the top leadership; there are

the center forces; there is a growing organized left force and a Communist Party.

The contest in the election campaign for the steel union leadership was between the right forces and a left-center coalition. In this case it was a loose center-left coalition of forces. There were three organizations involved: the McBride, right-wing organization; the Sadlowski Fight-back organization, and the Steelworkers Rank-and-File Committee, which is a gathering of numerous left and center rank-and-file movements and groups. There are some other left groups that are not national in scope. This left-center, rank-and-file movement plays a very important role in some specific struggles, for example, in the iron miners' and taconite strike in Minnesota. This is a most important strike. It is a direct challenge to the anti-labor policies of Big Steel and the no-strike, class-collaborationist policy of the right-wing leadership of the steel union. The right-wing leadership of the union does not attack the strike, but neither does it give it much support.

George Edwards, a steelworker from Ohio who is the co-chairman of the Steelworkers Rank-and-File Committee, went to the Mesaba Range and spoke at a number of meetings. This forced the McBride leadership to take a more active role in support of the strike. That is a good example of the role of the left-center forces. It gave great encouragement to the center forces among the taconite workers in Minnesota.

It is important to know that the center-left challenge to the right-wing leadership of Abel actually won the majority of votes among basic steelworkers. They most likely won a majority of the whole union, but were "counted out."

After the elections some differences developed. Some thought all forces and efforts should be directed toward building the center forces. Others took the position that there is a need for both the center and the steelworkers Rank-and-File movement as a left-center force, and that this is not a contradiction to working with and in other movements whenever that is possible and necessary.

To get clarity it is necessary to make a more concrete assessment of which forces are center and which are left. And it is necessary to make the assessment by analyzing the positions of the different movements on specific issues — the economic struggles, on the struggle against racism, independent political action and many others.

Examining the forces involved and their positions, it is clear the center forces have an intermediate position on economic struggles, not consistently militant; a center position on the struggle against

racism, sometimes seeking to opportunistically get around the issue; and on political action they are moving in a left direction, but have not yet reached the level of the left and broken with the two old parties. They are honest, positive, militant forces, often influenced by left concepts and ideas. But they have some limitations.

Left-center unity is designed to influence the center forces on specific questions, but in most cases that does not mean they are moved to a left position in general. Very often there are no solid walls between the left and the center. There is always a mixture of center and left ideas that overlap. Once the correct assessment is made it becomes clear there is no contradiction between building the Steelworkers Rank and File, and working with the center forces and Fightback.

For example, the left had a fundamental influence on the center forces on the question of struggle against racism. This could not have been done without two things — shop clubs of communists and a left-center movement like the Steelworkers Rank and File . . .

We must guard against any error of seeing the left as only the Communist Party, or the Communist Party as the left. The Communist Party is very much a part of the broader left, but there is a left that is not communist.

The left-center concept cannot be limited to common actions. It is a much more basic concept. It cannot and should not end with action. It is the basis of continuing actions. And it is the basis for continually bringing center forces toward the left position.

The left-center approach in the present context means a broadening of the united front . . . The left-center forces are the power base of the working-class movement.

A word on left-center program. At this moment there is no specific overall program. The program must vary to reflect specific situations.

A left-center program in the auto union, for instance, is different than in the steel union. Why? Because there is an economic crisis in the steel industry, a crisis of overproduction.

In Youngstown, Ohio, Youngstown Sheet and Tube is closing the big plant.

The right wing of the union leadership is sending a delegation to Tokyo to convince Japanese corporations to buy and operate the plant in Youngstown as their solution.

The left-center forces in steel are ready for a much higher level of program; they are ready to discuss taking over the plants. There are broad forces in Youngstown, Buffalo and Bethlehem who, because of

the crisis and the critical nature of the problems it poses for the steel cities as a whole are discussing takeover by the city, state or federal governments . . .

The program for each industry must reflect its specific problems. This does not mean that an overall left-center program will not emerge. For instance, it is possible that a left-center program for political independence in the steel towns will emerge at an earlier date.

To conclude, the struggle to build left-center unity is to concretize, to give expression to the new level of political and ideological currents in the ranks of the working class and the trade union movement. It is a guide to building a broad-based unity of struggle.

Abridged from *Political Affairs*, January 1978

THREAT TO AFRICA

Yuri Zhukov

Political Observer of Pravda

The situation in Africa is one of the most pressing international issues today. It was not until fairly recently that by far most of the peoples of the "Black Continent" won independence at the cost of years-long grim struggle and set out to solve complicated economic and social problems left from colonial days. One would expect the peoples and countries that have begun a new life to concentrate on this. Yet it is no longer the south of the continent alone but also other areas of Africa that have become hot spots.

There is no denying that the situation in Africa is generally more tense now even in comparison with the recent past — say, the early 70s.

DANGEROUS SCHEME

This dramatic trend in Africa, whose countries united in support of non-alignment immediately after defeating the colonialists and founded the Organization of African Unity (OAU), is an obvious consequence of crude imperialist intrigues.

The imperialists are working, bluntly and cynically, to aggravate the political situation, incite African countries against one another and brew territorial and border conflicts, not to speak of a number of

other collisions between states occurring in spite of the fundamental provision of the OAU Charter, which stipulates the inviolability of the existing frontiers.

To provoke such conflicts, the imperialists use the most refined methods. They foment nationalist sentiments, look for pliable feudal lords, tribal chiefs and members of the comprador bourgeoisie, use bribery and lavish promises of support on those who lend ear to their ill-intentioned suggestions. The main stake is, of course, on the African countries where power is in the hands of anti-communist leaders, as the *Associated Press* worded it.

It is becoming more and more evident that there is a dangerous imperialist plan to "make Africans fight Africans." The policy of forming new military-political alignments of countries cooperating with the neo-colonialists and opposing progressive regimes — a policy inspired by the neo-colonialists and implemented through anti-communist leaders who collaborate with them — makes itself felt only too strongly.

Some time ago *Pravda* told the story of the imperialists' far-reaching schemes for the area lying "to the south of the Tropic of Cancer." It revealed a plan to form a South Atlantic NATO, a military bloc comprising racist South Africa and certain reactionary South American regimes, including Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay and Chile. The journal *African Report* wrote that the proposed bloc was aimed not so much at establishing military control over the sea routes skirting southern Africa and South America, as at controlling the vast African territories south of the Tropic of Cancer.

This treacherous plan for a South Atlantic pact that would serve as a NATO subsidiary in Africa is still among the imperialists' long-term designs.

"MINIBLOCS"

Furthermore, increasingly frank efforts have lately been made to set up what the Western press describes as "miniblocs" in Africa:

A military-political alignment is in the making in West Africa; it is expected to have united armed forces and a joint military command for a number of states known in NATO as "moderate";

— preparations are under way in Northeast Africa for the formation of a military alignment in the area close to the highly strategic Red Sea;

— plans are being laid for establishing a "minibloc" in Central Africa — a hint to this effect was dropped by Belgian Foreign Minis-

ter Simonet in his address to the Royal African Society on March 4.

It follows that certain circles in the West are hatching a vast and dangerous conspiracy. They are trying to form military-political blocs that could be used against the progressive states situated in these immense regions and against the forces fighting for national liberation, and to unite them behind certain outspokenly reactionary African and Arab regimes. The manifest purpose is to split and destroy the OAU and thus to rob the African peoples of an important gain — their unity against imperialism.

If these schemes were to materialize, the idea of collective security of the African countries underlying the OAU Charter would be scrapped. There would begin an unlimited arms race claiming the already limited material resources of African peoples, whom the colonialists plundered for centuries in the most ruthless manner.

Such a situation would certainly increase tensions in the relations between states and thus the danger of any conflict immediately becoming an armed clash between groups of African countries, and then the sinister logic of blocs would begin to operate.

PEKING'S VOICE

It is clear that China has a hand in the implementation of the criminal plan to divide Africa and set up military-political alignments there. Its leaders still guide themselves by Mao Tse-tung's sinister ideas about an "inevitable" new world war and the allegedly beneficial impact of the "great chaos" in the world, whose spread they regard as an "excellent situation."

Mao's truly insane theory of the importance of an alliance between the "third world," or the developing countries, and the "second world," or the capitalist countries, against the "superpowers," or the Soviet Union to be exact, since Peking finds that there is a community of interests between China and the United States, serves the Peking leaders as an excuse for an active rapprochement with Africa's most reactionary regimes under the banner of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

The Chinese leaders see their key task on the African continent in bringing its countries under their sway and using them as tools in intrigues against the Soviet Union. Needless to say, these intentions are resisted by the progressive states, which see the Soviet Union and other countries of existing socialism as their trustworthy friends.

In meddling more and more importunately in African affairs under the guise of concern for the vital interests of the peoples of the

continent, the Peking leaders proceed in reality from a cold and cynical calculation. As Africa is far from Peking, they consider that they can safely kindle the flames of war there to turn the African peoples against the countries of existing socialism and torpedo détente.

THE FATE OF THE CONTINENT IS AT STAKE

These are the facts showing that Africa is seriously threatened. The point at issue is whether or not the continent is to be united in the struggle to consolidate its freedom and independence; whether the African states will remain loyal to the principles of the UN and OAU, whose underlying concern is peace and international cooperation; whether the fundamental principle of inviolability of the existing frontiers will be maintained in Africa or whether the continent will be plunged into a bloody morass of struggles to recarve it; whether Africa will strive for greater collective security, an effort in which it would, of course, be backed by the socialist and non-aligned countries, or whether it will split into "miniblocs" to its own misfortune and to the joy of the neo-colonialists.

There is enough food for thought but little time to do the thinking. The enemies of détente are in a hurry to execute their plans. What this may lead to was indicated by the tragic events in the Horn of Africa. One trusts that African statesmen will show the circumspection, courage and resolve needed to say a firm "no" to those who want them to take the dangerous path of dividing the peoples of that great continent.

Abridged from *Pravda*, March 24, 1978

