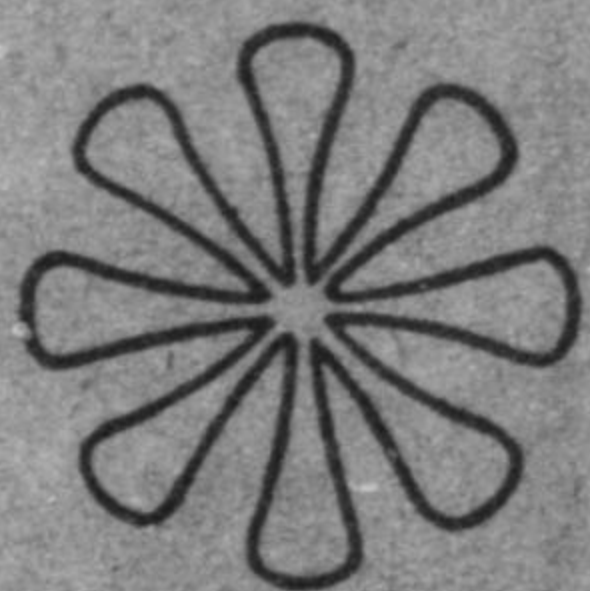


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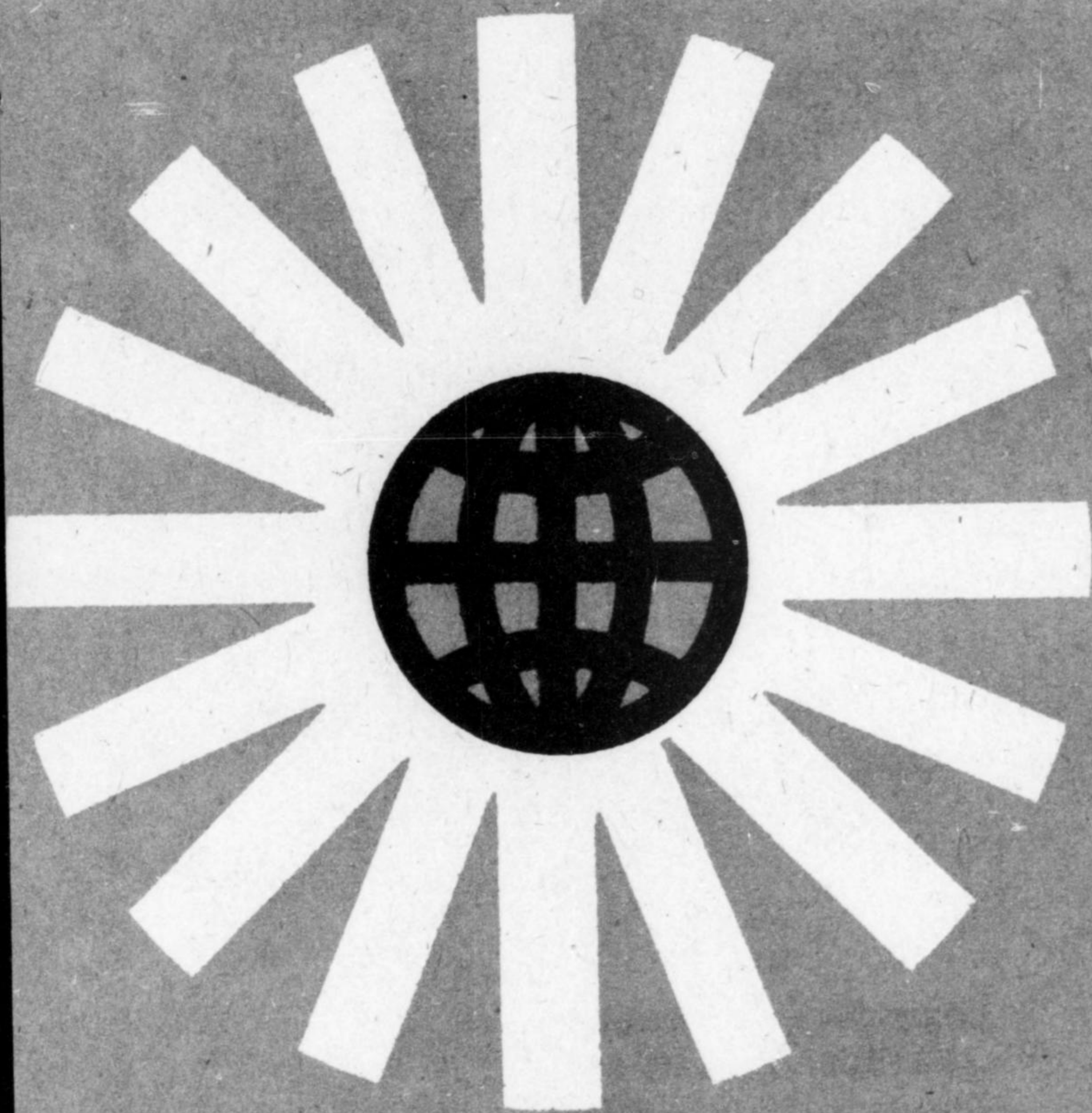


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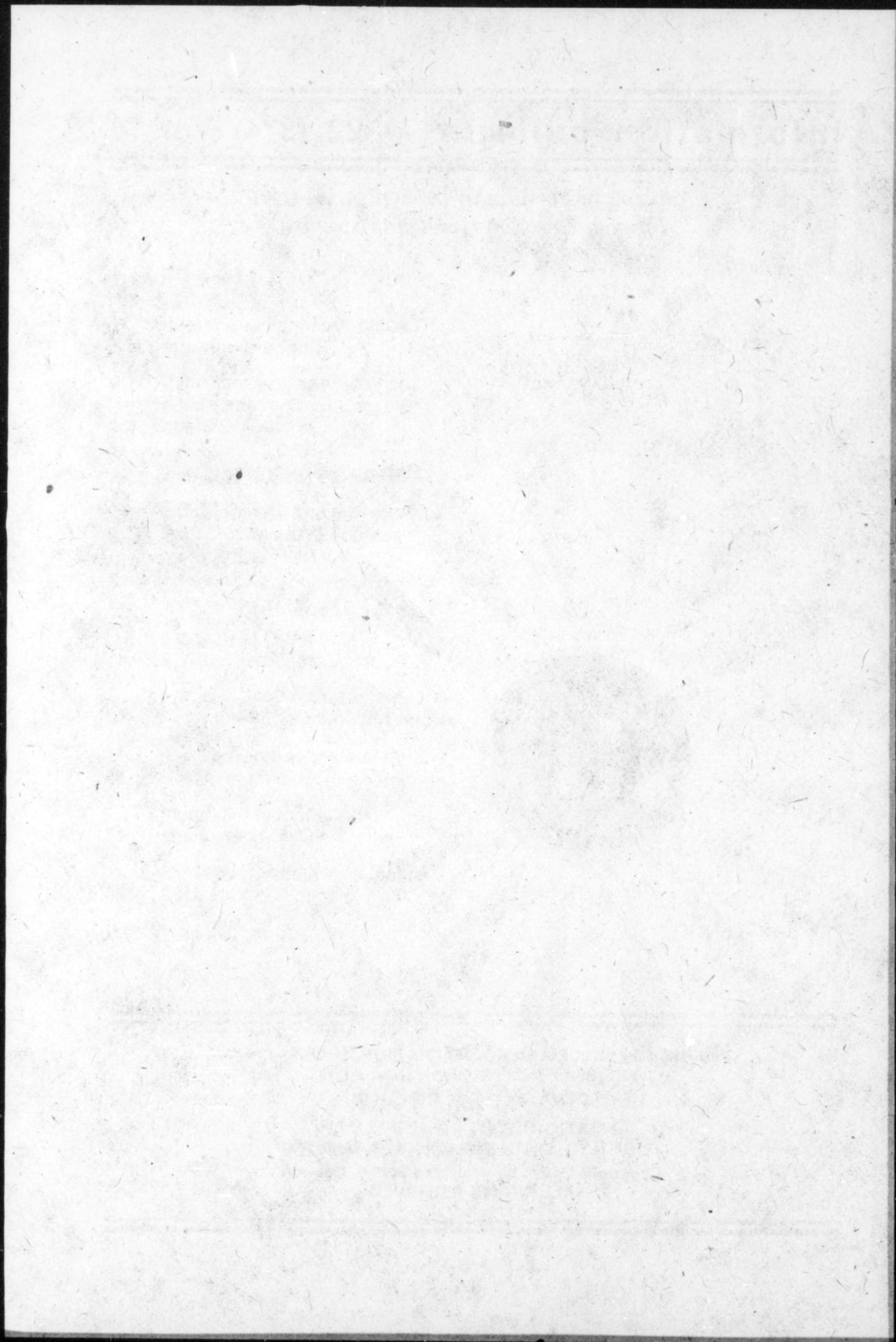
**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
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**FOR A JUST AND
ALL-EMBRACING
SOLUTION OF THE
MIDDLE EAST
PROBLEM**

22

(374) • 1978



information bulletin — 22 (374) Vol. 16

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

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

PROGRESS BOOKS

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

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PRINTED IN CANADA
NOVEMBER 30, 1978
PRICE: 10 CENTS



LEONID BREZHNEV MEETS WITH ENRICO BERLINGUER

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium met with Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, in the Kremlin on October 9. They exchanged views on the events that have taken place since their previous meeting last year. Taking part in the meeting were Mikhail Suslov, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU and CC CPSU Secretary, and Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and CC CPSU Secretary.

Leonid Brezhnev spoke about fulfillment of the 25th CPSU Congress decisions and the tenth five-year plan targets over the first two and a half years, implementation of the provisions of the new Soviet Constitution and about how the problems appearing in the course of communist construction are being solved. He informed Berlinguer on the activity of the CPSU on the international arena, the struggle the Soviet Union is waging to consolidate détente and to curb the arms race.

Enrico Berlinguer on his part spoke of the Italian Communist Party's activity aimed at resolving the problems now facing the country, the struggle waged by the Italian communists to ensure the vital rights and interests of the working masses, for the country's democratic development. He informed Brezhnev of the efforts exerted by the Italian communists in the interests of strengthening peace.

Leonid Brezhnev and Enrico Berlinguer expressed concern over the complication of the international situation and stressed their conviction that the interests of an overall peace and the security of the peoples imperatively demand activation of the struggle to consolidate and deepen international détente and to extend it to the entire world.

They noted with satisfaction the successful development of comradely ties between the CPSU and the ICP and expressed their intention to continue promoting them.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON ENRICO BERLINGUER'S VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION

Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party visited the Soviet Union from October 6 to 9 at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. He was accompanied by ICP Central Committee members Antonio Rubbi and Antonio Tato.

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium received Enrico Berlinguer and had a friendly talk with him.

Enrico Berlinguer, A. Rubbi and A. Tato also met with Mikhail Suslov, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and CC Secretary, Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and CC Secretary, and Vadim Zagladin, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee.

At the conclusion of the talks the following joint communiqué was adopted.

The representatives of the CPSU and the ICP held a broad exchange of views on key problems of the present international situation.

Noted was the joint concern over the obstruction of détente and international cooperation, the result of the activity of certain imperialist, militarist and reactionary quarters, which has increased the danger of triggering a new round of the arms race.

The delegations of the CPSU and the ICP emphasized the urgency of exerting new energetic efforts to give a new impulse to the process of détente and international cooperation, to strengthen in Europe the constructive results achieved at the All-European Conference in Helsinki by fully implementing all provisions of the final Act. In this connection major importance attaches to real measures aimed at averting intensification of the arms race. Both sides hold that a valuable contribution would be made by the early conclusion of the talks on limiting strategic armaments, real advance at the Vienna negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and consistent implementation of the recommendations of the special disarmament session of the UN General Assembly.

The representatives of the CPSU and the ICP stress the imperative need to resolve the still unresolved international problems through political negotiations on the basis of equality and justice and recogni-

tion of the legitimate rights of every people without any outside interference. This would help to ease international tensions, improve the international situation and favor solution of crucial problems of the economic, social and cultural development of all mankind.

Leonid Brezhnev and Enrico Berlinguer reaffirmed the complete solidarity of the Soviet and Italian communists with the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for national and social liberation from any form of oppression and to freely and independently determine the road of their development.

The development of these peoples would be greatly facilitated by a policy of international economic cooperation that would put resources and means at the service of the cause of consistent liberation of thousands of millions of men and women from hunger, backwardness and illiteracy, and create the prerequisites for the organization of a new international economic order.

The leaders of the CPSU and the IC noted that the working-class movement of the West European countries can, on the basis of cooperation between the communists, socialists and other democratic, including the Christian, forces, contribute to the strengthening of détente and cooperation between states with different social systems and ensure success in the struggle for the democratization of international relations and in promoting social progress.

The movement of the non-aligned countries has an important contribution to make in achieving these goals.

The leaders of the CPSU and the ICP reaffirmed the view that certain differences in the positions of parties do not run counter to and should not hamper the strengthening and expansion of cooperation and international solidarity of the communist and workers' parties of all countries and continents. In their efforts to achieve these aims both parties will be inspired by the principles formulated at the June 1976 Berlin Conference of European Communist and Worker's Parties.

The representatives of the CPSU and ICP exchanged extensive information on the situation in their countries and the activity of both parties. The delegation of the Italian Communist Party spoke about the adventuristic activity of the criminal groups, with the aid of which the reactionary forces are seeking, by organizing terroristic acts, to obstruct the development of the democratic gains of the workers and the entire Italian people. The representatives of both parties strongly condemn this terroristic activity as something running totally counter to the interests of the working class and democratic movement.

During the meeting views were exchanged on the prospects of promoting relations between the Soviet Union and Italy. The common viewpoint was expressed by both parties that the development of such relations in all spheres is extremely important and responds to the mutual interests of both countries and peoples.

The representatives of the CPSU and the ICP positively assessed the relations between the two parties and noted that they would continue to facilitate their development.

Pravda, October 10, 1978



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STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

FOR A JUST AND ALL-EMBRACING SOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM

Excerpts from a speech by Leonid Brezhnev

Hafiz al-Assad, General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance (Baath) Party and President of the Syrian Arab Republic made an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union early in October. At a dinner given in his honor, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet addressed those present. In his speech he said in part:

The imperialists and their accomplices in the Middle East have undertaken a series of diplomatic actions with the aim of surmounting the deadlock in the Egyptian-Israeli negotiations through a separate deal while evading a just overall Middle East settlement.

We have repeatedly said and wish to clearly state once again: the road of separate negotiations and concessions to the aggressor will not bring peace any closer. It will only further aggravate the Middle East situation. There will be no stable peace in the Middle East until the causes of the Arab-Israeli conflict are eliminated, until the consequences of the Israeli aggression are liquidated.

The organizers of separate deals are acting as if apart from Egypt, whose leadership is compliant in the face of the U.S.-Israeli diktat, there were no other Arab countries. But the Arabs are not submissive pawns, but the architects of their own fate. Nobody will be able to ensure a stable settlement of the Middle East conflict without them, for them, and against their legitimate rights and interests.

In the present situation the most urgent objective is the cohesion and activization of all forces opposing the capitulatory, anti-Arab line in the Middle East affairs, who stand for peace and the security of the Middle East peoples. The clearly expressed will of all who treasure

the common Arab interests, the cause of a stable and just Middle East settlement should help to bring to their senses those who attempt to solve the problem through devious and dishonorable separate deals. A case in point in expressing this will is the decision of the recent Damascus meeting of heads of a number of Arab states and the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

I wish to stress that objectively the door remains open for a just Middle East settlement. That is the Geneva Conference, specially set up for the solution of cardinal questions of an overall peaceful settlement in the region.

But such a settlement should signify Israeli withdrawal from all the Arab territories it occupied in 1967. The Arab people of Palestine will have the opportunity of creating their own national home, their own state. The most stringent international guarantees must be provided for the security of all states of the region without exception.

In this we are prepared to cooperate with the other participants of the Geneva Conference including, of course, the Palestine Liberation Organization. And while it seems that in Washington they are inclined to forget about the Geneva Conference and that it has two co-chairmen — the Soviet Union and the United States, with all the ensuing rights and responsibilities, we remember this very well and will act accordingly.

We will continue following a consistent line toward eliminating the dangerous seat of war in the Middle East, particularly as that region is located in the direct vicinity of our borders, and of the other Warsaw Treaty countries.

This line of ours is part of the struggle the Soviet Union is unremittingly waging to stop the arms race and for real disarmament, to eliminate the danger of war, to expand détente and to extend it to all regions of the world. . . .

The Soviet Union, Syria and other progressive Arab countries come out hand in hand in the struggle against the plots of imperialism and reaction, for peace, freedom and the independence of the peoples. And this is not just a matter of expediency, but a time-tested identity of basic long-term interests, in short, a strategic policy line forged in common struggles. . . .

STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

On the basis of facts and events preceding the Camp David meeting, an all-round analysis of the reactionary capitulatory course of the Egyptian leadership, and an examination of the content of both documents signed (at Camp David), we, just as other patriotic, national and progressive forces in the Arab countries and the forces of progress throughout the world condemn the deal between U.S. imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. We assess it as a new step that finalizes Egypt's total capitulation in the face of the designs of the enemies of the Arab national-liberation movement, as an open betrayal of the interests of the entire Arab nation, and above all two fraternal Arab peoples: Egyptian and Palestinian. We see this deal as a blow at the struggle of the Arabs for freedom, independence, national sovereignty and social progress, for their just national aims.

The accords signed by Sadat undermine the sovereignty and independence of fraternal Egypt. They trample on the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, particularly their right to self-determination on the territory of their homeland.

This deal was concluded by Sadat with the undoubted, though concealed, support of Arab reaction, as evidenced by the obvious links between this traitorous course and the class essence of the Arab forces and regimes that advocated its realization — the fact which the Iraqi Communist Party had continuously pointed out. On the other hand, it should be noted that the stooges of Egyptian and Arab reaction were able to conclude these shameful accords because the present situation favored it, a situation that is characterized by insufficient militant unity of the progressive Arab forces and regimes and even an aggravation of differences and clashes between them. All this negatively affected the struggle of the Arab popular masses and instigated Arab reaction to continue its capitulatory policy.

A NEW STAGE OF THE PLOT

The Camp David deal marks a new stage in the development of the plot of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, the strings and prerequisites of which had been plaited and laid long ago. The plot, the implications of which go beyond the actual content of the agreement, is aimed at broader goals, first of all to involve Jordan in it, to earn the blessing of Arab reaction, to perpetuate the expansionist aggressive

aspirations of Zionism, strengthen U.S domination of the Arab world in the political, economic and military spheres. All this seriously threatens the Arab national-liberation movement, the progressive regimes and their political and socio-economic gains, as well as world peace.

All progressive forces and regimes are faced with the task of foiling the plot and frustrating achievement of the strategic aims of the enemies of our movement — imperialism, above all that of the U.S., Zionism, and Arab reaction — by unremittingly and resolutely rebuffing them.

FOR A FIGHTING UNITY OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES

An important prerequisite of success in this struggle is a serious, sincere activity that is permeated with a sense of responsibility aimed at uniting the progressive forces in each Arab country and in the framework of the Arab world as a whole, and which would ensure the necessary coordination between the anti-imperialist Arab regimes, as well as strengthen the alliance with those who support us in our struggle — the forces of progress and socialism across the world, and above all with the Soviet Union, a true and unwavering friend of our people, our Arab nation.

The struggle of the fraternal Egyptian people is mounting. The masses are heroically resisting the policy and repressions of the country's reactionary regime. The Palestinian Arabs and their vanguard — the valiant Palestine Resistance Movement — is stepping up the heroic struggle they have been tirelessly waging over the years against the Zionist, racist invaders, for their legitimate national rights.

CONFIDENCE IN VICTORY

... The Iraqi Communist Party is firmly convinced that the Arab national-liberation movement will emerge victorious and calls on its revolutionary forces to unite in the struggle, to release the energy of the masses, strengthen alliance with the friends of the Arab people, step up the common struggle against the plans and plots of the Arab nation's enemies.

Central Committee, Iraqi Communist Party
Baghdad, September 19, 1978

Abridged

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel held a special plenum late in September to discuss the Camp David agreements and adopted a resolution, which says in part:

Throughout the years of the existence of the state of Israel, the CPI has emphasized that the Israeli-Arab conflict cannot be resolved with the participation of the imperialist powers. It is they who, having triggered the conflict, have kept fanning it by their struggle against the independence of the peoples, against social progress in the countries of the region, against communism.

Not with imperialism against the Arab peoples, but together with the Arab peoples against imperialism, for the freedom of Israel and the Arab peoples, for peace and security in our region. Such a policy has been and remains in the supreme interest of the Israeli people.

Expressing the people's aspiration for peace and to avert new wars, the CPI has fought and continues to fight for recognition by the Israeli state of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and setting up an independent state. That is the only way to achieve a just and stable peace, and recognition of Israel as a sovereign Middle East state by the Arab countries and the Arab people of Palestine.

Proceeding from such a realistic policy, the CPI has fought and is fighting against the Israeli government's policy of territorial annexation and expansion, and for the right of the Palestine Arabs to self-determination and to setting up an independent state. At the same time we continue to oppose the extremist positions in the Arab world, whose supporters do not recognize the right of the State of Israel to a sovereign existence.

Proceeding from a profound concern for maintaining peace, the CPI Central Committee states that the Camp David agreements do not bring nearer a general and stable peace, but put it off indefinitely. Far from eliminating the threat of a new war in our region, these agreements serve to increase it. The separate agreement on peace between Israel and Egypt will not resolve the fundamental problems of the Israeli-Arab conflict, nor will it settle the central issue. That is the Palestine question. Begin's plan for autonomy, which Sadat endorsed, represents nothing but a continuation of the policy of Israeli occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip. Thus, Sadat, Begin and Carter agreed not to permit the self-determination of

the Arab people of Palestine and their acquiring national independence; they reached an agreement on destroying the sole representative of that people — the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The refusal to recognize the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and to setting up their own state amounts to a refusal to recognize the right to existence of the State of Israel. Such a refusal cannot serve as a basis for peace. A just and stable peace implies above all peace with the Arab people of Palestine, which is the principal side in the conflict with Israel. Without taking account of the rights of this people, without recognition of its representative, the PLO, there can be no overall, just and stable peace. Any attempt to bring to power someone who will cooperate with the invaders is simply a dangerous venture that is doomed to failure.

The Camp David agreement, the resolution further notes, can lead to the aggravation of tension in the region. The Israeli invaders, seeking to force the Arabs to agree to "self-government," are stepping up terror and repression in the Palestine territories. The U.S. imperialists in turn bring pressure to bear on certain Arab countries with the aim of forcing them to join in the agreements signed in Camp David. There is a real danger that under cover of the Camp David agreement the Begin government will step up its interference in Lebanon and launch a new incursion into that country, that it will undertake direct acts of aggression against Syria.

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's trip to the Middle East is accompanied by pressure and direct threats to the Arab countries which refuse to undersign the Camp David agreements.

The CPI Central Committee stresses that the aim of the Egyptian-Israeli agreement reached under the direction of the U.S. strategists does not constitute progress in achieving a just and stable peace, nor concern for the genuine interests of the peoples, but strengthens the strategic, economic, political and military interests of U.S. imperialism. The Camp David agreement is aimed against the national-liberation movement of the Arab countries. It is designed to assure the power of U.S. monopolies over the oil reserves. Another aim of the agreement is the creation of an alliance between the pro-imperialist Israeli and Arab forces, an alliance that is designed to serve the global strategy of U.S. imperialism, an alliance aimed against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The real aim of the Camp David agreement is to set up, under the auspices of the U.S., a military bloc that would include Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Jordan and other countries. Prime Minister Begin already proposed

that the USA set up a naval base in Haifa, military and air bases in Negev and Sinai.

The CPI warns of the serious threat to peace, to the independence of Israel and all peoples of the region ensuing from the creation of an aggressive imperialist bloc, the groundwork for which was laid in Camp David. Only by conducting a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, while preserving its national independence, can Israel implement its aims. A Middle East peace settlement can be reached only in the framework of international détente, on the basis of cooperation between the USSR, the USA and other countries.

The Geneva Peace Conference, in which all sides involved in the conflict must take part, including the PLO — the legitimate representatives of the Arab people of Palestine — as well as the USSR and the USA as co-chairmen, remains the acceptable forum for reaching an overall and just peace.

Proceeding from its concern for the genuine interests of the Israeli people, the CPI is waging a struggle for the liquidation of all existing settlements in the Sinai, on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip, for a policy of peace.

The Communist Party of Israel appeals to all peace-loving forces standing on positions of political realism to join in the struggle for an overall, just and stable peace, a peace that will ensure the rights of Israel and the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and all other countries of the region.

TASS

STATEMENT OF THE JORDANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Jordanian Communist Party issued a statement on the Camp David meeting, which says in part:

The results of the Camp David meeting show that the imperialist-Zionist onslaught against the Middle East peoples is being stepped up. This intensifies the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction in all the Arab countries. For the struggle to be victorious it is essential for all the patriotic and loyal forces of the Arab world to be imbued with a sense of responsibility and to rally their ranks with the aim of foiling the Sadat-Begin-Carter plot. It is necessary also to come out resolutely in defense of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and the legitimate rights of all the Arab peoples.

The agreements undersigned by President Sadat at Camp David show that he has totally capitulated in the face of Israeli demands and that in response to Israel's promises of withdrawing its troops from the Sinai he conceded to its demands, which ignore the Palestinian problem and the rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

Sadat's capitulation was the result of pressure by U.S. imperialism, which seeks to strengthen its positions in the region by setting up an alliance or front between Israel and Egypt and, possibly, also with other reactionary Arab regimes under U.S. tutelage. The alliance would inevitably be directed against the African and Arab national-liberation movements, against the socialist community countries.

The "Camp David plotters" have usurped the right to decide the fate of the Palestinian people without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization and Jordan.

The criminal accords signed at Camp David signify Egypt's total withdrawal from the front of countries opposing the Zionist enemy and provides the U.S. with an opportunity of extending increasing support to the Israeli aggressors, whom they are using as a reliable weapon in the struggle against the national-liberation movements in the region. After the Camp David deal the illusions spread by the capitulators in the Arab countries as to the "neutrality" of the USA and its ability to settle the Middle East conflict have disappeared. U.S. policy in the region is designed to implement their imperialist interests and to continue the plunder of the natural resources of the Arab peoples.

The JCP calls on all Arab countries to isolate the Sadat regime and to support the Egyptian people in ridding themselves of this traitorous regime, to strengthen relations of friendship and cooperation with all liberation movements and the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union in the van.

The JCP also calls on all Palestinians to rally around the Palestine Liberation Organization. This is particularly important now that the Israeli rulers, instigated by U.S. imperialism and the Sadat regime, have already begun implementing the Camp David decisions on granting "self-rule" to the Palestinian people, exploiting for the purpose various renegades and traitors, who are ready to collaborate with the invaders.

Al Nida, October 1, 1978

STATEMENT OF THE SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Camp David agreements represent Sadat's signing an act of total capitulation to Israel, by which he relinquished the country's right to sovereignty. These accords amount to a betrayal of the cause of Arab national liberation and the Palestinian Arabs. Sadat thereby not only prejudiced Egypt's independence and its people's gains, he not only sold out the cause of the Arab people of Palestine, imposing a tutelage on them, but also exposed the other Arab peoples to a serious danger ensuing from the attempt to impose such decisions on them, even by force, and to establish and expand colonial domination over the riches of the Arab peoples, above all, over oil.

These agreements serve to entangle the Middle East crisis even more, increase tension in the region, hamper the establishment of a just peace there and create an additional threat of an armed conflict. All talk of establishing peace with their aid is a fraud and a lie. They run counter to the UN resolutions and norms of international law, which point out the impermissibility of occupying foreign territories by force, demand complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, respect for the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as their representative, as various international organizations have already done.

These agreements respond to the interests of U.S. imperialism, which is out to strengthen its domination in this strategically important region, to imperiously determine its political and economic fate. They are designed to throttle the Arab national-liberation and social movement, deal a blow at the relations of cooperation and friendship existing between many countries of the region, its progressive and patriotic movements, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, on the other. All the above-mentioned represents a part of U.S. global imperialist policy, which is aimed at putting an end to détente, reviving the cold war atmosphere and exposing humanity to the threat of a new destructive conflict.

These accords not only facilitate the expansionist designs of Israel. With their aid the USA and Israel are also seeking to achieve their major goal after the June 1967 aggression, that is to deal a blow at the progressive patriotic regimes and, if possible, to liquidate them.

The Camp David deal is aimed at the materialization and actual

formation of a bloc which U.S. imperialism sought to set up between Egypt and Israel after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. This bloc is directed against the Arab and African liberation movements. Its objective is to totally isolate the Arab countries from their great and powerful friend and ally, the Soviet Union and the socialist-community countries.

The points of the Camp David agreements pose a challenge to the international organizations, to the Arab states participating in the confrontation, to the gains of the Arab people of Palestine and the decisions of Arab summit meetings. They contain insolent demands for their recognition by the Arab countries, for their endorsement by the member states of the Security Council. Thus, far from serving as a road to a just peace in the region they undermine it and seriously threaten the cause of world peace. U.S. imperialism bears the main and direct responsibility for the Camp David deal and its consequences. Nor should we ignore the role of the Chinese leadership, which facilitates the conclusion of such agreements by entering into an alliance with imperialism and reaction, by supporting Sadat's policy and, particularly, his visit to Jerusalem, by encouraging Israel and extending aid to the rabidly anti-popular forces, by steps directed at aggravating the international situation. . . .

U.S. imperialism, Zionism and their prop, Israel, the rulers of that country and Sadat who supports them were frightened by the powerful surge of the national-liberation movement in Africa, in a number of Arab and other states in the Middle East, the revolutionary changes in Afghanistan, the staunchness of Democratic Yemen, the progress of the Ethiopian revolution and the powerful mass movement in Iran. They attempted to set up a puppet Israeli-Sadatist bloc, seeking to change the balance of forces and to crush the movement of the peoples. But their designs and aims are doomed to failure. The popular masses which were capable of wiping out colonial occupation, its agents and blocs, are capable now too of defeating neo-colonialism, its new agents and new blocs. . . .

To counter and foil the onslaught of the imperialists and Zionists, concrete, practical measures must be taken to raise the fighting ability of each Arab country and the entire Arab world, each party and each movement. It is absolutely impermissible for any Arab force to hide behind phrases, speeches or meaningless boasting.

Strengthening of the front of staunchness and counteraction is the basic aim at the present stage. It is extremely important to take practical steps in various spheres in order to forcefully rebuff these agreements, to boldly face the dangers they are fraught with. The

strengthening of Syria's staunch position is of crucial importance in this connection. Bearing in mind that the military-political and economic pressure on Syria will grow, increasing importance today attaches to solidarity of the front of staunchness and counteraction with Syria, the front's practical support for this country. Crucial importance attaches also to the staunchness of the Palestine Resistance and its alliance with Syria.

Aggravation of the situation in Lebanon has been from the outset linked with the designs of imperialism and Zionism, with the traitorous Sinai agreement. Undoubtedly imperialism, Israel and Sadat will urgently attempt to fan up tensions in that fraternal country to bring pressure to bear on Syria and the Palestine Resistance in order to prevent them from playing their role in foiling the U.S. and Zionist plans. A stronger alliance between Syria and the Palestine Resistance, on the one hand, and the national Lebanese movement, on the other, is undeniably the necessary answer to these schemes.

The Soviet Union invariably comes out on the side of the Arabs and their patriotic struggle for national independence, against aggressive blocs and for the liberation of occupied territories, and will always be a sincere and true friend. To strengthen relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist system and raise them to a new and higher level, that is the basic condition for successful struggle against the plot of the imperialists and Zionists. . . .

It is essential to invigorate the mass movement in various forms against the Camp David agreements. Today more than ever before the successful struggle of the Arab peoples for freedom depends on reliance on the masses, on their progressive forces, expansion of their democratic freedoms, on granting them the opportunity to freely express their patriotic and progressive will.

The objective of raising the fighting ability of the Syrian army is determined by the developments in the region and around Syria. U.S. imperialism and Israel constantly resorted to a threat of military aggression, seeing it as a means of subordinating the peoples to their interests and wishes. Syria could become the target of such an aggression either directly or through Lebanon. This aggression must be firmly rebuffed.

Not only the progressive gains and changes won by the forward-looking forces of Syria are being threatened, but its national independence. A lofty and imperative task to day is to organize the broadest

possible mass campaign and adoption of essential measures in accordance with the needs of the present crucial stage.

The battle-tested Arab peoples are capable of liquidating the Carter-Begin-Sadat plot. They will defend their freedom and independence, regain their lands, win back the rights for the Palestine people.

The future in our Arab world does not belong to colonialism, or Zionism, or figures such as Sadat, but to independence, freedom and social progress.

Such is the irreversible judgment of history. In the Arab world U.S. imperialism will suffer as devastating a defeat as it did in Vietnam and other countries. . . .

Syrian Communist Party

Damascus, September 1978

Tariq al-Shaab, September 20, 1978

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY USA

The Communist Party, USA released a statement on the Camp David summit, signed by Henry Winston, National Chairman, and Gus Hall, General Secretary, on behalf of the Central Committee, CPUSA:

President Carter's Camp David summit is the culmination of U.S. imperialism's attempt to split and weaken the Arab national-liberation movement and to impose a neo-colonialist version of a peace settlement, initiated by Henry Kissinger's "step by step" diplomacy following the 1973 war. This policy has prolonged the conflict, enabled Israel to invade southern Lebanon (with the attendant genocidal results), caused increased oppression and bloodshed by Israel in the West Bank and Gaza, escalated the dangerous and costly arms race, and undermined the quality of living and endangered the lives of all peoples in the area. The victors are the oil corporations; the losers are the peoples of the Middle East.

The separate agreements signed by Carter, President Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Begin of Israel are not a step toward peace because they do not resolve any of the basic issues: Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, self-determination for the Palestinian Arab people and the establishment of secure and recognized boundaries within which all states can live in peace.

Events over the last five years have proven conclusively that the conflict cannot be resolved outside the framework of the Geneva Conference, co-chaired by the Soviet Union and the U.S. In Security Council Resolution 338, which called for such a conference, the UN recognized that peace can be achieved only with the participation of all parties to the conflict — especially the PLO and Syria.

In the joint communiqué signed last October by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, both countries agreed on the basic principles that should govern the peace process: recognition of the central role of the UN, of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians, and of the need for a comprehensive, as opposed to a separate, solution of the conflict, that will address the interests of all parties. The Carter Administration's actions in defiance of the communiqué can only be characterized as hypocritical.

By excluding certain countries and the PLO, and by holding the meeting under the aegis of U.S. imperialism rather than the UN, Carter and his disciples demonstrated their desire, not for a just and lasting peace, but for a peace that would benefit imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. And Carter has followed the usual pattern of reactionary politicians, including Hitler, by trying to cover his actions with anti-communism.

The agreements do not provide for Israeli withdrawal from occupied territory, but for a "legalized" occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights. They do not call for removal of the colonialist Israeli settlements, even in Sinai. They do not provide for the security of any state in the region.

For years, Israel has established itself as U.S. imperialism's gendarme in the Middle East. The latest agreements are dangerous for the Israeli people because they legalize the occupation, keep Begin in power and maintain the war economy. Now, U.S. imperialism is using Egypt's economic and financial difficulties (including an \$18 billion foreign debt) — brought about by Sadat's "open door" policy — to force Egypt into submission to imperialism's plans. But Sadat's accommodation to imperialism and Zionism has met only rejection in the Arab world. The heroic people of the West Bank are demonstrating their rejection through a general strike. The PLO, Syria, Algeria, Libya and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen have severed their ties with Egypt.

The almost unanimous support from Democrats and Republicans for Carter's "victory" demonstrates even further the bankruptcy of the two-party system. When the basic interests of U.S. imperialism

are at stake, the two parties of big business fall in line. U.S. imperialism is attempting to reverse the course of development in the Middle East, to the advantage of the oil monopolies, the armaments industry and the Pentagon. It is fighting for strategic ground from which to attack the Soviet Union and split the anti-imperialist movement. The interests of working people, however, are just the opposite.

Although Administration officials have denied it, indications are that the U.S. has backed the summit agreements with provisions for increased U.S. military interference in the Middle East. Begin has already stated that the U.S. will build two military airfields at a cost of \$1 billion, and has invited the Pentagon to open naval bases in Israel. Congress has just passed a bill that allocates \$1.7 billion in mostly military aid to Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Syria, "to help promote peace in the Middle East," as some newspapers have reported.

The stationing of U.S. military technicians and personnel, not to speak of U.S. military bases, in the center of the conflict can only threaten world peace. Such actions are in direct opposition to détente and the relaxation of tensions, and reflect the cold-war influence of Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's national security advisor, on U.S. foreign policy. U.S. imperialism's historic objective of using the Middle East as a base for military aggression against the national-liberation movements, the independent states and the Soviet Union is dramatically exposed in the summit agreements.

The \$1 billion price tag for the two airfields, and the added military aid package, are an outrage in the face of the high unemployment here at home and the dire financial needs of our cities. These plans must be met with the most resolute opposition by the working people of our country. We will have no more Vietnams!

Peace cannot be achieved without total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied territory. Occupation of "strategic pockets" on the West Bank — called for in the agreements — is still occupation and an obstacle to peace. Giving the Palestinians, in Carter's words, "the right to participate in determining their future" is not self-determination. Only the Palestinians themselves can determine their future, and only the PLO can speak for them. The imperative of peace through justice requires recognition of their right to self-determination, including their right to an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza, and their

right to return to their homeland. Any other proposal leads only to conflict.

These agreements heighten tension and will not lead to peace. The progressive forces in the Middle East, in the first place the Palestinians, will not stand for these agreements. Even Jordan and Saudi Arabia have rejected them. The progressive forces in the world will not condone them. It is more urgent than ever for the progressive and peace-loving forces in the U.S. to expose Carter's maneuvering, to force him to abrogate these agreements, and to demand that the U.S. work with the Soviet Union for the immediate implementation of the joint U.S.-Soviet communiqué of October, 1977.

Daily World, September 28, 1978

UNITY OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES IS THE EARNEST OF DEMOCRACY

Excerpts from the speech by Alvaro Cunhal at "Avante!" Fête

THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS AND THE NEED FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES

The *Avante!* fête is being held in conditions of a complex and unstable political situation. . . .

But it is our duty in any case to inform you: a democratic alternative, that is, a proposal on forming a democratic government on the basis of parties and with parliamentary support has not yet ripened, has not yet been prepared and cannot yet be submitted to the President of the Republic.

From the outset of the crisis, the result of the activities of the Center Democratic Party (CDS), our party did everything in its power for the realization of the opportunities of a democratic alternative.

For this it is essential to observe certain conditions, one of which — of fundamental importance — is mutual understanding between the communists and the socialists.

Together, the communists and socialists continue to possess a

substantial majority in the Assembly of the Republic. Without prejudicing agreements with the other democrats, this majority is sufficiently large to support a government.

From the onset of the crisis we have insisted almost daily on the need for a joint analysis of the existing situation through the efforts of both parties and to seek an alternative, mutual understanding, coordination of forces and common actions. . . .

In view of the repeated postponements and procrastination, we proposed holding a meeting between the two parties in a letter addressed to the Socialist Party leadership on August 28.

This meeting was finally held on September 5. And what were its results? We will answer this question by making three observations.

First. We consider that the meeting responds to the aspiration for unity of the broad masses of communist and socialist activists and voters. We sincerely hope that new meetings will be held and that it will be possible to reach mutual understanding, cooperation and united action of the two parties, as well as mutual understanding, cooperation and joint action of action of all Portuguese democrats and patriots.

Second. In the sense of providing a way out of the present crisis (already during the tenure of the present government) this meeting was held too late to adopt an alternative before the assessment of the government program by the Assembly of the Republic.

The *third* circumstance consists in the fact that the meeting with the Communist Party was held against the background of a meeting of the Socialist Party (SP) with the People's Democratic Party (PPD) and the Center Democratic Party, which raises the legitimate apprehension that the SP leadership is continuing its strategy of balancing, obviously between the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) and the reactionary parties, in which it leans not toward an alliance with the PCP but with the rightists, as was the case with the actual alliance of the one-party SP government and of the SP-CDS coalition government.

I believe, comrades, that we are all agreed that the CDS's attempt at blackmailing which brought on the government crisis, as a result of which the SP withdrew from the government, shows conclusively that *coalitions and alliances with reactionary parties can only bring a democratic party maneuvers and provocations aimed against democracy, attempts at destabilizing the situation, pressure and blackmail, ultimatums, deception and betrayal.*

The SP's praising of the CDS at the time the coalition was set up was incapable of whitewashing the CDS. The CDS's aim both in and

outside the government is to liquidate the democratic regime. *And this party's claims of aspiring to democratic aims are unconvincing while it throws bombs with one hand and with the other writes denunciations, as happened at Funchal.*

An "independent" Nobre da Costa government is not the solution in the present crisis. *Such a government should not, however, be based on agreement or alliance between the SP and the CDS or between the SP, the CDS and the PPD.*

We are firmly convinced that *not only the communists but the overwhelming majority of democrats, including the socialists, hold that the SP policy should no longer serve the restoration of capitalism, latifundium and imperialism, but the interests of the people and the country, and that the SP should in future enter into an alliance not with the reactionary parties — the CDS and the PPD — but with the great party of the workers, the people as a whole, of democracy and socialism: the Portuguese Communist Party.*

THE NOBRE DE COSTA GOVERNMENT AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE PCP

The recently-formed government, as far as its composition and its program are concerned, as well as the foreseeable direction of its political course, is not the kind of government the country needs.

The Nobre da Costa government styles itself a government of "independents." But what kind of "independents" are they? Undeniably there are individuals in it who are not linked with any party, who are distinguished by objectivity and selflessness and a striving to find a solution in the national interests.

However, as a whole the "independents" are not as independent as they claim to be. We cannot see much *difference between a member of the CDS or the PPD and an "independent" who serves the interests of big capital and the latifundists.*

On Wednesday, Barreto and another deputy (defecting once again, as they did a few years ago from another party) left the SP and declared themselves "independents."

But who can vouch that by doing so these gentlemen will ever become independent? Is it not obvious that by flitting all their lives at the speed of a meteorite from left to right and back again, continuously surrounding themselves with yes-men, the more these gentlemen stress their "independence," the closer to and the more dependent on big capital and the ultra-right forces they become?

To be a statesman requires something more than the capability of a weathervane, of holding one's nose to the wind, or gaining entrance to the corridors of power.

The recently-formed government consists of "independents" from the People's Democratic Party. There are also "independents" from the People's Monarchic Party (PPM), an ultra-conservative micro-party. Yet another variety of "independents" in it consists of former employees of big capital.

Among the "independents" there are also expropriated agrarians to whom restrictions no longer apply.

You will, I believe, agree with me that the Portuguese people have often had to be content with "bird's milk" instead of bread, but in this affair of the "independents" they have no intention of eating hay instead of pie.

Regarding other aspects of the government's composition, our party expresses *its protest and indignation in connection with the fact that among the aides in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fishing there are individuals who have a direct and personal interest in taking land away from the cooperatives. Government posts must serve the interests of the country and not permit the ministers or those holding responsible posts to serve themselves, their relatives and friends.*

Therefore it might at first glance seem strange that the CDS is waging a campaign against the government of Nobre da Costa.

Mr. Amaro da Costa¹ has alleged that there are individuals in the government who are "linked" with the Communist Party. That the present government leans more toward the left than the preceding one. That the government committed a crime in recognizing the CNA² which comprises more than 200 agricultural organizations, while it should have recognized only the CAP³ of the Casqueiro region. That the government declares that it is occupied with solving the problems of the agrarian reform through negotiations and that the lack of understanding of this on the part of the CDS leaders is criminal. He was so upset that he resembled Korchnoi playing against Karpov. It is fair to ask whether there is not some clandestine parapsychologist from the PCP among the deputies of the Assembly?

The fact is that the CDS was extremely irritated on seeing its rival — the PPD — exultantly rubbing its hands on having managed to plant its people everywhere, and that the PPM, a micro-party of the expropriated and the not yet expropriated agrarians is exulting in the fact that it was able to set up one of its leaders in a high post in the Ministry of Agriculture, whereas the CDS itself, which brought about

the crisis and which applauded the newly-elected Prime Minister, did not get the portfolios and posts it so badly desired.

We are not saying that there is not a single serious and capable functionary in the present composition. There are some. *However, the composition of the government, which has already been announced, strengthens the apprehension already expressed by our party during the nomination of the Prime Minister.*

Nor is the government *programs* satisfactory. Both the program and the Prime Minister's statements, while they contain certain positive points, also contain points that are disquieting.

The government has announced a policy of privileges for the big capital and austerity measures for the workers and working classes.

The government has announced a policy of *privileges for the big capitalist enterprises and of attacking the nationalized sector and enterprises.*

The government has announced that it will pay hundreds of millions of escudos in compensation to the big capitalists and its intention to make the nationalized enterprises pay interest for the right to own them, which implies the Quimigal enterprise, for instance, would annually transfer a substantial part of its profits to the coffers of the Mellos clan.⁴ It is fair to ask: is it true that the purchase of the Mondex textile mills by the Mellos clan will be concluded, as it is claimed, and not on the money of the Mellos clan, but on the compensation the country is paying to the clan? . . .

The government has announced the illegal confiscation of enterprises working with government participation, dismissals at the nationalized enterprises, the handing over of port facilities to unknown individuals, the *creation of financial institutions* which will be turned into genuine banks, in violation of the fundamental principles of nationalization of the banks, according to which nationalization must extend to the entire sector and not only to one or another institution.

The government envisages a *speedier handing over of reserves by the collective production units and cooperatives*, that is, a speedy liquidation of the results of the agrarian reform.

The government has announced an *economic, financial and social policy subordinated to the diktat of the International Monetary Fund*, that is, to foreign imperialism.

In relation to such a program our position is clear: *the PCP comes out firmly against a policy clearly serving the interests of the big*

capitalists and big agrarians, and not the interests of the Portuguese people and Portugal.

The PCP firmly opposes a policy which calls in question the great gains of the revolution, which are part of the democratic system, and will not solve a single big and serious problem of the country, can provoke grave tensions and big conflicts that will drag Portugal still further into the bog of a monetary deficit, economic stagnation, inflation, deterioration of living standards of the Portuguese, and into foreign debt. The policy of restoring capitalism, latifundism and imperialism was a total failure and led to the defeat of the one-party SP government and the SP-CDS government. *If a new government (whether the present one or some other) not only repeats the same mistakes but aggravates them still more, it will be also doomed to failure.*

... We have every right to affirm that *the government, in its present composition, includes individuals and puts forward program points which make it unacceptable for the working people and popular masses.*

THE PARTY IS WITH THE PEOPLE IN DEFENDING DEMOCRACY

Some politicians think that they can change the course of historical events through shady political maneuvers, intrigues and secret deals behind the backs of and against the people.

The experience of Portuguese democracy, of which the great gains of April (freedom, agrarian reform, nationalization, control over management) are an integral part and which has to constantly defend itself against attacks, acts of economic blockade and sabotage, various alliances, coalitions and deals — this experience shows that a decisive role in the transformation of society *is played by the working people and popular masses.*

In the present crucial moment, fraught with danger for Portuguese democracy, we must say that the SP leadership would do much better if it sought to contribute to achieving unity of the working people and their class organizations, and in particular if it examined, together with our party, questions of the trade unions (as we have repeatedly proposed), instead of seeking an accord with the People's Democratic Union (UDP) and the PPD, aimed against the GCTP-Intersindical, and launching a new divisive campaign through the authors of the notorious Carta Aberta-Madisca (Open Letter of Madisca), notorious

for their constant actions on the side of the reactionary employers and in favor of the restoration of capitalism and latifundism.

The new shameful divisive maneuvers are doomed to failure. The working people are fully aware that unity is an essential condition in defending freedoms and Portuguese democracy and they are capable of strengthening their large and powerful, united, democratic and independent trade union center, the GCTP-Intersindical ...

Unity which can save democracy should be reached not with the rightist parties which are out to liquidate it, but with those who seek to defend it. ...

The *Avante!* fête clearly showed that *the Communist Party, the working class and popular masses are inseparable. The party's force is inseparable from the struggle, the work, the life and experience of the working people. The political ability of the working people and popular masses to influence events are in turn inseparable from the political activity, experience, initiative and example of the party.*

That is why a growing number of people of the most diverse political trends are drawing closer to the communists, are finding a common language with the communists, are uniting with the communists, and also with all those who have finally come to see that the *Communist Party is a party toward which they have consciously striven, that the PCP is their party.*

At the first *Avante!* fête, held in September 1976, our party's membership amounted to 100,000. By the second fête in September 1977, it had risen to 115,000. At this third fête we can say that the number of 142,512 members that had been registered by this January has been surpassed considerably and is growing apace. ...

In these difficult hours experienced by the country at the height of the political crisis, gathered together here on this huge square, which now seems too small for such a numerous meeting, I believe that we feel confident in our hearts that reaction will not pass, the struggle goes on. April 25 and its gains will be defended, whatever the obstacles. Portugal will go ahead, thanks to the resolve and will of its sons and daughters, along the road to freedom, national independence and democracy, along the road leading to socialism. ...

Abridged from *Avante!*, September 14, 1978

¹ Deputy Chairman of the CDS. — Ed.

² National Confederation of Agricultural Producers, consisting of small and medium farmers. — Ed.

³ Conference of Portuguese Agrarians (made up of big latifundists). — Ed.

⁴ An extremely wealthy monopoly family. — Ed.

STOP THE DECLINE IN WORKERS' LIVING STANDARDS, PREVENT FURTHER ECONOMIC DEFORMATION

The following memorandum on economic policy was recently transmitted to President Jose Lopez Portillo by the Mexican Communist Party.

INTRODUCTION

This memorandum contains only proposals that can be carried out immediately; measures which in a short time can contain the decline of the working people's living standards and prevent continued economic deformation. Consequently, the memorandum does not contain recommendations of a structural nature dealing with property.

The decline of wages and of incomes of small manufacturers and traders have caused grave difficulties in industries producing consumer essentials. On the other hand, profits continue to grow, and at a high rate, in industries producing goods for the capitalists and other people in high income brackets. This is part of the present crisis and it intensifies the deformation of the Mexican economy, strengthens the power of the monopolies, that is, of the industrial or financial groups that exert a decisive influence on the process of price formation.

The roots of the crisis should be sought in the industrial sphere. Consequently, the problem cannot be solved without bolstering economic activity, that is, expanding the production of goods. But it is not simply a matter of enlarging the volume of production. What we need is greater production of goods, of commodities for the market. The relative decline in the production of consumer essentials as against other goods is one of the principal factors in cutting back real wages and increasing unemployment by facilitating the disproportionately rapid growth of industries requiring less labor power.

The logical conclusion, therefore, is that the crisis cannot be resolved without increasing the purchasing capacity of the people, small

producers and traders, and also without expanding the labor-consuming branches of the economy.

WAGES POLICY AS AN ECONOMIC LEVER

Depressing real wages does not tend to heighten economic activity. On the contrary, while industries catering to the capitalists and people in the high income brackets receive high profits, there is recession in agriculture and in industries producing consumer essentials for the working people.

Inflation will not be held back by reducing demand among the working people, because this would cut into production.

A general rise in wages to compensate, at least partially, for the losses caused by the crisis, and the use of a sliding wage scale, would not breed more inflation, but only if this is accompanied by a series of measures designed to expand production of consumer essentials, including food, for low-income sections of the population. The scale of capital accumulation will remain unchanged, but it will be used differently. At first, however, some industries will earn less profit.

On the other hand, the wage freeze policy, besides cutting into worker consumption, is to the advantage of some and to the disadvantage of other industries. In the highly monopolized branches it would mean extra profits for the monopolies because, despite higher labor productivity, wage rises will be, percentage-wise, the same as in smaller enterprises.

And so, the wage freeze comes as a blow to the working people and as a blessing to the monopolies, helping their further expansion. In contrast, a sliding wage scale, as distinct from the wage freeze, would have altogether different results, namely, would create the conditions for a wages review every three months to adjust, but not lower, wages.

A policy based on higher real wages would thus stimulate economic development.

PRICE CONTROL ON CONSUMER ESSENTIALS

In the monopoly-controlled branches of the economy liberalization of price formation would only strengthen the monopolies. It will be recalled that some of the price-control proposals adopted in the late 60s have not been carried out. No price-formation policy can prove effective within a few months. Nor can the state pursue its policy on the basis of agreements that are dependent on the rapidly changing conditions.

Price control on consumer essentials is necessary, especially at a time when wages policy is being changed and when attempts are being made to make wage rises dependent on higher productivity and not on higher prices.

Given the present economic structure, with the monopolies operating not only in production, but also in trade, "liberalization" of price formation would only help the big monopoly enterprises.

Price controls are all the more necessary since the big firms are strengthening their influence on the market and, consequently, on the formation of prices. That being the case, the state should, especially in a crisis period, have a say in fixing prices so as to influence the practical decisions of firms concerning volume of production.

What is necessary is effective price controls, primarily on consumer essentials and their base materials. In this context, output of goods that come under the heading of "consumer essentials" should be based on a close study of the real requirements of the working people.

Commercial advertising must be excluded as a price-forming factor. First, all privileges now extended to commercial advertising should be rescinded, for as things stand, the consumer overpays heavily just for the privilege of buying a certain "brand." The least the state can do is "freeze" advertising of consumer essentials.

In present conditions the government can take a number of measures, through its economic policy, to annul extra charges on consumer essentials.

CONASUPO (National Farm-Produce Corporation, — *Ed.*) composed of different agencies for the purchase of farm produce, and with its own trademark and marketing outlets, should be further developed and its volume of business increased. It should make it its policy openly and consciously to compete with the trade monopolies. Operating on a definite social basis, it should make it impossible for them to encroach on its positions. This requires a more democratic structure and administration. By bringing in the maximum number of small producers, selling their product through its marketing network and getting the shops run by the trade unions to buy from the small producer, CONASUPO would prove immensely more effective.

On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that increasing operating capital without allocating part of it on an appropriate increase in investment capital can lead to higher prices, as has been the case on several occasions.

**TAX REFORM:
MORE SOCIAL-SERVICE EXPENDITURES;
MORE STATE INVESTMENTS IN INDUSTRY;
FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROL**

In solving the question of the tax reform, now being held in abeyance, two main aims should be pursued: more social-service expenditure, and more state investment in production. Both are feasible, first, by increasing taxes through more stringent revelation of incomes and, second, through overhauling the tax system.

This should be followed by a revision of income-tax rates, so taxes paid by wage and salary earners would not include the extra inflation bonus which does not reflect any real rise in incomes. This should be paralleled by a more efficient system of progressive taxation which, with effective control of incomes, would restrict the growth of unearned incomes such as dividends, excessive interest, etc. This requires a system that would ensure higher taxes on big capitalist incomes and, in addition, would end all manner of tax evasion.

It is necessary to regulate and consistently tax the "additional volume of interest and superprofits," and review all tax legislation that plays into the hands of big business and which they should not enjoy, for it turns out that the capitalists, on the pretext of making new investments, get all sorts of loopholes for themselves such as "tax-free credit," etc.

Big business is actively penetrating trade and the service industry for economic reasons: frequent price fluctuations are an attraction, and so is tax legislation designed to stimulate investment — a veritable government "gift" to the capitalists.

It is likewise necessary to make a thorough study of the import duties system. Its reform should lead to a new tariff scale that would effectively prevent camouflaging contraband. And one can certainly not accept the argument that lower tariffs on imported luxury goods would reduce contraband. This would only mean the government's admission that it cannot put an end to corruption.

Another problem that requires careful re-examination is taxation of big fortunes. And here the government should act in two directions. First, tax all assets over and above a fixed property ceiling and, second, tax all personal wealth invested in the non-productive sphere.

There has to be more stringent control and systematic progressive taxation of foreign-exchange operations. Otherwise all the above-mentioned measures would only tend to increase the export of capi-

tal. Foreign-exchange control can assume different forms, and we should take into consideration that Mexico borders on the United States. But control has to be instituted now, without any delay. One preliminary measure could be financial reform that would include progressive taxation aimed at achieving stability of the deposits. Still another measure would be to separate liquidity from investment operations.

STATE INVESTMENTS TO BOOST PRODUCTION AND LOWER UNEMPLOYMENT

The Mexican Communist Party proposes increasing expenditure on the social services and implementing a program of state investments to meet the essential social needs of the population and stimulate production. This involves a reform of the taxation system that would restrict consumption expenditure of high income groups and re-direct sources of revenue.

A substantial increase of expenditure on public services would include a number of measures designed to change government economic policy. In a crisis period one cannot proceed from the assumption that such measures are impossible or inadmissible.

The recommendations of the International Monetary Fund, in accordance with which expenditure was cut on education, public health and welfare, have meant more hardship for the working people.

A state investment program should be aimed at increasing output and lowering unemployment, and this would require changing the present production structure. The purpose of this program would be to satisfy social requirements and stimulate the production of means of production, which is the very foundation of all economic development. The state investment program should rule out domination of private Mexican and foreign monopolies in the more dynamic branches of the economy and also in the production of consumer essentials.

A crucial aspect of economic policy is who controls investments. For it will largely determine how available financial resources are used for the production of goods and services for the majority of the population. The government must therefore refrain from concluding direct agreements with finance capital thereby preventing the latter from acquiring control over more enterprises. The main direction of government policy should be state control over new investments in basic branches of the economy. A large part of government revenue from state agencies of the PEMEX (State Oil and Oil Products Coop-

eration. — *Ed.*) type should be invested in existing or projected state enterprises. An investment fund made up of oil export revenues should in no way be linked to the private banking system or in any other way serve the interests of big business.

Mexico has a good basis for developing state enterprises in industry, trade and the services. The policy of state subsidies to private industry, therefore, should be thoroughly reviewed, as well as the terms on which concessions are granted to private persons, and overhead expenses sharply reduced.

To this should be added effective planning of state investments, carried out not only by technical experts from the various ministries (secretariats) and state enterprises, but also by the people.

LAND DISTRIBUTION. COOPERATIVE REORGANIZATION OF THE EJIDO* STATE FARMS

The Mexican Communist Party proposes a new agrarian policy based on the following three principles:

- (a) accelerated land distribution;
- (b) more direct investments in agriculture, both in production and in the infra-structure;
- (c) reorganization of agriculture by founding, in accordance with technical and administrative conditions, producer cooperatives and also state farms and enterprises based on economic association of the peasant farmers with the state, and not with private banks of capitalists.

Land distribution does not necessarily imply declining production. Everything will depend on the forms in which it is carried out and also on the supply of machinery, credits and other assistance to the new owners of the land. We appreciate, of course, that land distribution alone will not solve the basic problems of agriculture. But it does not follow from this that land distribution should be restricted or stopped altogether. For this would further strengthen the big landowning bourgeoisie, which already controls vast areas of our most fertile land.

The difficult problems raised by renting out plots, leaving plots untilled, low productivity, speculation, lack of timely credits, inadequate use of machinery, fertilizer, etc., problems caused by the anarchy of production and poor use of the land, along with many others, have placed the *ejido* and the small peasant farmer in an

**Ejido* — rural commune in Mexico. — *Tr.*

extremely difficult position. And all these problems are of a social and not only of a production character. The Communist Party believes that the *ejidos* can be reorganized into modern productive units based on cooperative principles. But this can only be done if agricultural policy is fundamentally revised.

There is no need to apply extra-economic measures to bring the *ejidos* into the cooperatives. This can be done by employing a number of different measures: credits, state investments, technical assistance, etc. And of vast importance in this context is the following: the cooperatives cannot function if there is no genuine democracy within the *ejidos*, and if they are not backed by the necessary financial, technical and administrative assistance.

The cooperatives should be complemented by state enterprises that will become part of the semi-state sector and will deal not only with distribution and credits, but also directly with agricultural production and, naturally, the organization of "agro-industrial" enterprises.

The reorganized *ejidos* and (genuine) small peasant farms would make possible a regional production plan that would ensure proper utilization of the land to meet the country's basic requirements without lowering peasant incomes.

More money must go into agriculture without, however, *direct* interference by private banks or big capitalists. The state is in a position to put more into agriculture, and its appropriations should be supervised jointly by government agencies and the peasant cooperatives.

Investment in agriculture must first of all accord with the interests of those who need it most, the peasant and the small landowner.

Farm-produce prices are still another major aspect of the agrarian question. They must be under strict control, and this will tend to increase demand and, consequently, peasant income.

Concentrating the land in the cooperatives would enable the state to open machine depots and in this way raise the technical level of our farming.

It is also necessary to enlarge CONASUPO and ANDCA (National Storage and Credit Corporation. — *Ed.*) to end unfair practices of the middleman and speculator. Agricultural exports should also be regulated so as not to disturb domestic consumption.

The agro-industrial enterprises set up through association of the state with the peasants, can operate as cooperatives and this will extend the cooperative *ejidos* and their amalgamation. In other words, the state can become the sole owner of this type of enter-

prise, depending on how they operate or on the branch of industry in which they are organized.

Executive Commission, CC,
Mexican Communist Party
Opposicion, August 24-30, 1978

FIVE YEARS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP, FOR DEMOCRACY

*Statement by the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Uruguay*

Five years have passed since the 1973 coup, which abolished the Constitution and democratic institutes. These years have been marked not only by pain and suffering, but by a struggle for democracy triggered by the historic general strike.¹ They were years of anti-fascist resistance, of relentless struggle against the dictatorship.

Not for a single day have our people stopped fighting for their rights and freedoms. The dictatorship responded to the struggle by continuous arrests, dismissals, torture and death.

The dictatorship's social "peace" is nothing but the "peace of prisons and graveyards." During these years more than 100 people have been murdered or have disappeared without a trace, while 60,000 have been detained. More than 5,500 people are now being held in prison and 600,000 have emigrated from the country. The number of unemployed is now running at more than 100,000. It is the "peace" of the employers' arbitrary actions against the working people, the "peace" of illegal dismissals. The country's foreign debt now amounts to 1,700 million U.S. dollars. The educational system is deteriorating, culture is being throttled, press organs are being shut down or subjected to censorship. These years will go down in our history as the darkest period since liberation from the Spanish and Portuguese yoke.

In the history of every country there are periods when its destiny is

at stake: whether it is to live in freedom, fearlessly facing the vicissitudes of fate, or whether it will fall victim to the arbitrariness and violence of hangmen. Our people have earned the right to freedom. The dictatorship brought with it death and suffering, with people disappearing without a trace and thousands flung into jails. But despite its atrocities it is unable to check the resistance of the democratic forces and to avoid the destruction it is bringing upon itself.

The people are waging a struggle, using forms corresponding to the present historical moment, while manifesting a spirit of self-sacrifice and patriotic selflessness inspired by the best traditions of the heroes who gave us our freedom.

The personality of Artigas continues to illumine the path of our hopes and aspirations. His words resound powerfully: "Love of freedom is inherent in rational beings and only cowards can deny it." We Uruguayans have not forgotten our sacred duty. Because we love freedom, because we do not want our beloved Uruguay to fall totally into fascist slavery, to become the victim of arrogant despotism, of the gorillas' brutality. Therefore we are prepared to do everything so that the sun of freedom, democracy, a dignified life and national sovereignty will shine for us once again.

WHAT IS THE BALANCE SHEET OF THESE FIVE YEARS?

The tyranny — born of the most obscurantist forces of our society, the fruit of the policy of U.S. imperialism in the region of the Southern Horn of America and the creation of the rightist generals — sought to eliminate the trade unions, destroy democratic principles, throttle education and culture and to impose a regime responding to the interests of foreign and mixed capital, imperialist transnational corporations, the reactionary big landowners and the meat-packing capitalist clan.

Instead of national well-being we see national disaster.

The logic of fascism has manifested itself once again. The false formula created in the interests of big capital with the intention of "abolishing the class struggle" and "reconciling capital and labor" resulted in an unprecedented aggravation of all social contradictions.

The trade union organizations, despite the ban imposed on them or their official dissolution, are continuing their activity. The regime was unable to destroy the political parties or to undermine their influence.

After reigning for five years, the dictatorship is being rent by internal contradictions and finds itself in isolation. There are mount-

ing signs of the tyranny's disintegration. There exists a possibility of its early downfall. In any case, everything points to the extreme instability of the situation, to the appearance of cracks and to some prerequisites for change and even for a more radical defeat of the regime. New contradictions are building up, and new internal crises are ready to break out. Added to this is the growing hatred of the working class and the broad masses toward the regime, which finds expression in continuous actions and protests of the working people. These actions will become even more widespread with the appearance of a real opportunity of achieving a democratic unity of the broadest strata of the people.

PROFOUND POLITICAL CRISIS

The profound economic crisis and its social consequences are closely linked with the grave political crisis, which is eroding the ruling clique today.

In response to the growing protests, various proposals are being made for overcoming the crisis. The ultra-right forces, which have been in power over these five years and which are gradually losing their positions owing to the failure of the regime's plans, are calling for the intensification of repressions. However, there exist antagonistic contradictions within the top echelon of the military. The fascist tabloids call for "throwing out the traitors," including even some generals who refuse to go along with the fascists. Characteristic of these forces is a diehard anti-communism, fierce hatred toward political parties and a frenzied propaganda campaign. Bearing the main responsibility for the grave crimes committed by the dictatorship over these years, and for the scandalous instances of corruption which are covered up thanks to the harsh censorship and the dependent character of the legislative power and legal bodies, these forces are seeking by every means to block even the most timid process of democratization that would reveal their unsavory affairs for the whole world to see.

These internal contradictions are being continually aggravated. They are particularly noticeable after the replacement and arrest of General Amaury Prantl, head of the Information and Defense Service (SID). This long-standing agent of the CIA acquired notoriety as the "general of torture." All this shows that the process of internal differentiation in the armed forces has reached a higher level.

In the light of these facts there is no room for temporizing, illusions or indifference. *The basic problem consists and will continue to*

consist in the following: the internal contradictions can result in the disintegration of the regime if the fighting people take part in the process and if all political and social forces not linked with the dictatorship act in common.

The regime and its mouthpieces *La Mañana* and *El País* assert that elections will be held in 1981, to be preceded by a constitutional plebiscite in 1980. None of the old parties will agree to this, because both the elections and the plebiscite will be conducted on an anti-democratic basis and in conditions of violence. There are also reports that the Blanco and Colorado² parties will take part in these elections. However, even the most conciliatory quarters of these parties were forced to reject the plans of an amicable agreement with the regime in view of the crudity of such a proposal. It is simply a political maneuver. The regime is seeking, unsuccessfully, to use the political leaders of these parties as actors in supporting roles in the national tragedy brought about by the dictatorship.

The "institutionalist" plan³ is nothing but a farce, with the aid of which it is sought to neutralize and compromise certain opposition leaders and, in the final count, to split the Blanco and Colorado parties, which the regime is seeking to undermine by implanting its agents in them.

The only way for the country to extricate itself from this abyss is to take the road of complete democratization. In this sense there is no denial of the role of a broad, forward-looking and democratic movement, which is being brutally suppressed today, but despite everything, has represented the main force of resistance over the past years. Any proposal leading to changes, if it envisages total restoration of democracy for all, without any arbitrary exceptions, can proceed from the minimum demands: release of all political prisoners and trade union functionaries, a popular referendum, providing the people with freedoms and rights without any discrimination whatsoever, taking all essential measures to ensure them a dignified life.

On a more profound plane, when assessing any proposal for changes, it is essential to ascertain whether it is aimed at the destruction of the fascist structures and ensures the expression of the people's will, or whether it is simply a trap, an attempt to maintain the present situation with the aid of minor changes.

A movement demanding *political amnesty* is mounting in all parts of the country. From the depths of the prison dungeons the voices are heard of thousands of men and women, youths and old men, who are suffering from outrageous indignities. The exile has brought closer

together all political parties, the Blanco, Colorado, as well as the Broad Front.⁴ The people are demanding an amnesty which should be extended to all parties and exiled citizens, an amnesty that will restore political life and open up a dialogue aimed at finding a way out of the present situation. The broad strata of society can no longer be reconciled with the present system of persecution for political ideological motives, a system which has dealt brutally with thousands of prisoners and trade union members.

Political amnesty or isolation of the army — that is the dilemma facing the regime.

It is being actively discussed in military quarters and has already led to a series of negative and callous statements:

“We will create a more worthy and independent Uruguay not through clemency and amnesty, and not by giving up criminals and releasing prisoners from jail.”

“... human rights are actually defended with the aid of an iron force and a harsh doctrine.”

These statements are dictated by panic in face of the people and are ultra-reactionary in content.

THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP

Despite the obscurantists' and imperialists' attempts to bring the world to the brink of a “cold” or “cool” war and the preaching of certain madmen on the “inevitability of a new world war,” the forces of peace, social progress, peaceful coexistence, socialism, democracy, disarmament and national independence will create an impasse for imperialism and the dictatorial regimes, and then destroy them.

Latin America has reached a new stage of struggle for independence. Cuba is growing stronger. Panama is advancing along the road of liberation. The Pinochet dictatorship in Chile is suffering defeat, while Brazilian fascism is experiencing a series of shocks. The resistance of the Bolivian people has forced dictator Banzer to resign. In Central America the long-suffering Nicaraguan people and the guerilla movement are coming out jointly against the Somoza empire.

The winds of courage and solidarity are sweeping across the world. That is why fascism, which has covered our land with blood, trampled our best traditions, liquidated our freedoms, something we took great pride in and a source of our greatness on the international arena, which oppressed culture, dispersed or banned political parties, denied citizenship to 15,000 political functionaries, has come up against the

heroic resistance of the masses, the working people and the entire people.

In this resistance the Communist Party proved to be a political organization which made the biggest sacrifices, the most militant and best organized force capable of withstanding the most brutal repressions and of strengthening its political and ideological unity. In these difficult years our party grew even closer to the working class and the people. Such are the fruits of our sacrifices.

The historical battle for the overthrow of the dictatorship and the restoration of democracy is entering its highest stage. For this it is essential to resolve the following tasks: (a) to open up and expand opportunities for achieving genuine democratic aims through increasing popular actions; (b) to seek as before to unite all democratic forces on the basis of the Broad Front; (c) to isolate the fascist quarters, creating opportunities for the democratic differentiation of the armed forces.

Our sacrifices and the selflessness of our people will not be in vain and will result in the restoration of democracy. In General Seregni's words we proclaim:

In the struggle for freedom after the night the dawn awaits us.

Toward it we are moving relentlessly. Nothing and nobody can stop us.

Central Committee
Communist Party of Uruguay
Montevideo, July 1978
Abridged

¹ Begun on June 27, 1978 in answer to the coup. — *Ed.*

² Blanco, a major bourgeois opposition party. Colorado, the ruling bourgeois party. — *Ed.*

³ A plan for a way out of the existing political situation, which does not take into consideration the Communist Party and the progressive forces of the Broad Front. — *Ed.*

⁴ Broad Front, an anti-imperialist coalition uniting the democratic and patriotic forces of Uruguay. — *Ed.*



FROM THE PRESS

WHY ARE WE BEING ATTACKED?

*Article by Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary
of the Italian Communist Party*

The attack against us goes on. And the target ranges from the innovatory aims of our national solidarity policy, popular and democratic unity, to the virtue and fruitfulness of the communists' ideological heritage, particularly that of the Italian communists, to the basic characteristic features of our party. Some have even descended to Philistine mockery and slander. Others resort to acts of violence against the communists and their supporters.

This onslaught does not surprise us and, of course, does not frighten us in the least. On the contrary, we are convinced that these attacks not only do not weaken our party but rather tend to strengthen it, helping to steel those of our members who have not gone through the hard battles and have not experienced the events of the past.

However the direct attacks against our party arouses anxiety because of the enormous harm that it is obviously causing the entire country. The time-worn provocative accusations, which serve to intensify contradictions and lack of understanding between the parties, weaken and undermine the badly needed solidarity in the new parliamentary majority and the government's effectiveness, particularly when the demand for solution of the problems of job opportunities, the economy and its planning, education, law and order, defense of democracy is becoming more acute.

Nothing can be more misleading for the country than the illusion that a way out of the emergency situation is near at hand or that it can be found with the aid of traditional expediency measures, without a serious reform and programming policy. Such a road is unrealistic for Italy and for the capitalist world as a whole, which is in the throes of a structural and spiritual crisis, with no solution in sight, as evidenced in particular by the recent session of the International Monetary Fund.

Paradoxically, however, it is long since such praise as now has

been lavished on capitalism, the virtues of its spontaneously acting mechanisms and free enterprise. It sounds all the more absurd in a country like Italy, which is experiencing, and paying for, the economic, financial, social and moral consequences of the government's class policy, which in the final count amounts to defense of the direct interests of the ruling capitalist groups.

As we have already noted, not only were we able to avoid a speedy deterioration of the situation over the past two years, which could have led to catastrophic results, but some steps have been taken to improve it. We owe this primarily to the atmosphere of growing solidarity between the democratic parties and the sense of national responsibility demonstrated by the workers, the working people as a whole and by their trade unions and political organizations.

But the way out of the emergency situation will be a lengthy and arduous one, since the results achieved are only partial and precarious, and the persisting grave crisis affects the very structures of our society. The crisis can be overcome only by implementing a deep-going policy of renovation.

This demand helped to bring about the new parliamentary majority and explains the need for the Communist Party to take part in it. Solidarity is the principle on which the present parliamentary majority rests. This does not exclude autonomy of opinion and action of the forces composing the majority, but the basic rule that is binding for all should be consistency in meeting commitments and set targets, and a free exchange of views without bickering or insults.

These demands are not met, of course, by the stance recently adopted by some Christian Democrats, socialists, and their actions (for instance, the arrogant demands that we publicly renounce our convictions or the irresponsible statements in connection with the tragic fate of Aldo Moro). Whom does all this serve? Certainly not the country.

That is why the Communist Party considers it its duty to say to the other parliamentary majority parties that it is not enough to pursue the aims of the elections or one's own interests, to be exacting in words while actually pandering to nepotism, corporativism, parasitism and defending these phenomena.

Many attacks against the ICP are to be explained by the fact that our presence, our weight and proposals are upsetting the old balance and exposing the double-dealing and contradictory behavior. But whoever thinks that their attacks can force us to take the defensive, to

draw into our shells and to restrict ourselves to conducting our own affairs, is greatly mistaken.

Of course, it is essential above all for the communists to display staunchness, to realistically analyze events and to firmly follow their line in the face of such a broad and varied campaign which is partially orchestrated and directed at turning back the process of development of democratic unity, splitting the parliamentary majority and thus to deal a blow at the Communist Party and to isolate it. At the same time we must tirelessly conduct a serious and concrete search in the sphere of theory and practice, while both these aspects must be inseparably linked in order to develop mass initiative and party policy in accordance with the new situation and complexity of the problems and tasks facing us. The fate of the policy of national solidarity, democratic unity and transformation of society cannot be entrusted simply to the top echelons and be determined only by relations between ruling groups of parties, since they depend primarily on how this policy affects the masses and on relations between the democratic forces throughout the country. The ICP has a substantial role to play in advancing the essential initiatives to develop this process. This has always been of crucial importance in our party and its activity; however, I believe it is clear, not only in view of the new aspects emerging in social life, but also as a result of the political turn with our joining the parliamentary majority that it is now essential to carefully analyze the concrete orientation, methods of work and organizational structure of the party at all levels.

Finally, we are well aware that the concrete manifestation of what is new in policy as a result of the ICP's inclusion in the parliamentary majority comes up against the resistance, overt and covert opposition obstructing the progressive renewal of the state and social life. But that is what the broad popular masses are demanding. And that is what we must fight for. It is to this difficult and serious cause that the 15th Congress of our party should make the biggest contribution.

L'Unita, October 1, 1978

THE QUEBEC REFERENDUM

Sam Walsh

President, Communist Party of Québec

Today, the dilemma of the Parti Québécois government with regard to the aspirations of Quebecers for self-determination is making headlines. Cabinet ministers, and even Rene Levesque himself feel obliged to be publicly evasive in the face of the dilemma. On the other hand the irreconcilable independantist activists of the PQ have become jittery and are striving to force the government to refuse any "association" with English Canada which would not be that of an independent state.

It must be said, the Communist Party of Québec (PCQ) was the first and most consistent in revealing this dilemma of the PQ government.

On the day after the election of November 15, 1976, the National Committee of the PCQ pointed to the contradiction between the main purpose of the PQ (the independence of Québec) on the one hand and the aspirations and interests of Quebecers on the other who did not see political independence as being a good way of realizing their aspirations for national self-determination and defending their interests.

First, the PQ proclaimed itself in favor of "sovereignty-association," in order to calm down those, particularly the workers, who sensed the serious economic dangers for them of economic separation from English Canada. But the irreconcilable separatists in the party had reservations about the abandonment of "independen-tism."

Levesque's opportunism serves badly the interests of Quebecers. He explained, in an irritated enough tone, that for the PQ, sovereignty means independence — but that he prefers the word sovereignty. This definition (false moreover) of sovereignty has brought about a rapid fall in the popularity of the "sovereignty-association," option in the Gallup polls.

In the face of the PQ government's impotence in meeting the economic crisis, and the growing rejection by Quebecers of the PQ option for solving the constitutional crisis, its declarations and gestures more and more indicate a desire for compromises with the big bourgeoisie of English Canada and the United States, while defending itself against attacks from petty-bourgeois nationalists, PQ "independ-

dantists" by repeating their "basic" loyalty to "sovereignty-association."

But the referendum is coming, probably in 1979. There is a great danger that Quebeckers will be frustrated by this political game which obsesses the PQ, because they are unable to use the referendum to express their true choice for self-determination. It appears that we will be called to favor the PQ option. To vote against would be interpreted as a vote for the status quo or for Trudeau's superficial window-dressing of the Canadian constitution.

To vote for "sovereignty-association" can be interpreted as a vote for political independence (with, or as a preliminary to, some economic association with the rest of Canada), and for this reason this option has little chance of passing.

But everybody now knows that the Québec people almost unanimously are ardently for self-determination, which means in political terms, for Québec's sovereignty and equality at all levels — political, economic, cultural, linguistic — with English Canada without *political separation*. The Québec people must have the chance to proclaim themselves for or against the elaboration (on an equal footing between Québec and English Canada) of a new Canadian constitution which would declare Québec and English Canada as sovereign, which gives the two nations in Canada the right to self-determination up to and including the right of secession if the majority of either one or the other so desires, and the right to equality and the means to achieve it in a democratic Canadian republic.

To refuse to include such a question in the referendum means to reject the right of self-determination, to impose the option of the narrowly nationalistic petty-bourgeoisie who are disdainful of the workers' interests, grovelling before the multinationals of U.S. imperialism, or the option of the big bourgeoisie which means continuing with the oppression of the French-Canadian nation in Québec.

History will not forgive the PQ government if it imposes its dilemma on our people, and so sets back the cause of national self-determination in order to please the chauvinists within our society or in English Canada.

The PQ, if it wants to keep its term "sovereignty-association," would have to drop the definition (a very inadequate one in any case) of "political sovereignty and economic association" and frankly and openly present the content of a new Canadian constitution guaranteeing the sovereignty of Québec and English Canada in an equal, freely negotiated and agreed upon association. That would not make either

the narrow nationalists of the PQ or the Anglo-Saxon chauvinists of the big bourgeoisie happy. But from all evidence, that would be a worthy solution acceptable not only to the majority of Québec but even of English Canada, coming out of a victory for this option in a referendum in Québec.

If the PQ government will not or cannot support such an option, it should at least let Quebeckers express their opinion on it. The Communist Party of Québec, for its part, is ready to campaign for such a democratic solution and to unite with all who are already to work for an fight for its realization.

Canadian Tribune, September 18, 1978

PEKING'S ACTS OF PROVOCATION

On the eve of the 33rd UN General Assembly session, the main item on whose agenda was devoted to urgent problems of strengthening peace and international security, consolidation and expansion of détente, disarmament and curbing the arms race, Peking once again attacked the efforts of the peace-loving states.

In yet another anti-Soviet article in *Jenminjihpao* "New Aspects of the Soviet Union's Global Strategy," the Peking instigators call on the United States, the West European countries and Japan to counter the "Soviet offensive." The Peking leaders are not in the least embarrassed by the fact that it was the Soviet Union that proposed including such important and urgent questions on the session's agenda as "Conclusion of an International Convention on Stronger Guarantees of the Security of the Non-Nuclear States," on concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and on convening a world disarmament conference.

The recent special UN disarmament session is still fresh in people's minds. At this session Chinese diplomacy appeared in the role of an open proponent of aggravating relations between states and of the arms race. The Chinese representatives displayed immense resourcefulness. Seeking to obstruct the adoption of constructive disarmament proposals and evade any commitments in that direction, they at the same time tried to pose as "active" champions of disarmament. As the saying goes, kindling flames under the Heavens with the pious look of Buddha.

Some foreign newspapers which approve of Peking's militarist policy, began to comment on the "constructive" and "positive changes" in the policy of the new hosts of the Forbidden City. What this "constructivity" is worth was clearly seen during the discussion of the Final Document of the special session. The Chinese delegation introduced some 60 amendments, all of them aimed at nullifying the main content of the Final Document—the demand for disarmament—and at adapting it to their concepts, which run counter to the interests of world peace. As we know, the special UN session rejected Peking's "constructivity" as directed against all disarmament measures.

Their serious moral and political defeat did not daunt the Maoists. They launched a new round of struggle against détente and disarmament.

Indicative in this respect is the speech of Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua at the current UN session. It was preceded by publication of the *Jenminjhpao* article which served as a kind of instruction for the Chinese delegation. Huang Hua's speech was virulently anti-Soviet. It depicts the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in a distorted and slanderous manner. The Peking leaders totally ignore the achievements of the peace-loving peoples, smearing everything that has been done over the recent years in developing good-neighbor relations, establishing mutually beneficial ties between states, and the results of the Helsinki accords.

Seeking to aggravate the international situation in Europe and throughout the world, the Chinese delegate once again sought to frighten the European peoples with "a Soviet threat." He openly called on the NATO countries to intensify their "self-defense," inferring that Peking would side with this bloc in the event of a military conflict.

Jenminjhpao, and after it the Foreign Minister from the UN rostrum slandered the USSR's policy in Africa and the Middle East. While distorting the Soviet policy of support for the national-liberation movement, Peking never denounced, not by a single word, the unsavory role of the ruling quarters of Israel, the USA and Egypt in deciding the fate of the Arab peoples, particularly the Arab people of Palestine. As reported by information agencies, Peking supports the "trilateral compact" of U.S. imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, which is turning the Middle East into a powder keg. Thus the Chinese Minister's words to the effect that China is "seriously concerned" in connection with the Middle East situation, are nothing but verbal camouflage for an inflammatory policy. Peking is on the

side of the enemies of Angola, Ethiopia and other independent African countries, and is seeking to halt the historic process of the peoples' liberation from colonialism and reaction.

The Chinese hegemonists display special hatred toward Cuba, the first socialist country on the American continent, and toward Vietnam, the first socialist state in Southeast Asia. They would like — and are exerting enormous efforts to this end — to undermine the socialist gains of the peoples of these countries. They are infuriated at the successes of socialist Vietnam, its growing prestige in the world, its unwillingness to submit to Peking's diktat.

In accusing the Soviet Union of "expansionism" and "hegemonism," Peking is laying the blame at the door of the innocent: the world is well aware that Peking looks upon the countries of Southeast Asia as its "lost territories." Peking's great-power hegemonistic contentions represent an enormous danger above all to the peoples of Asia.

The Chinese Foreign Minister implied in his UN speech that in visiting other countries the Chinese leaders are "seeking to establish friendship, peace, mutual understanding and cooperation." Actually, the "search" is in a very different direction. Their efforts, in these visits, are aimed at undermining peace, at driving a wedge between the developing countries, at aggravating the international situation, and at opposing détente in every possible way.

The Peking leaders are seeking to carry out their hegemonistic designs by every possible means, including military means. Hence, the armed provocations on the borders of neighboring states. Hence, the propaganda of war, the stepped up preparations for war. "War is an absolutely normal phenomenon, and therefore is inevitable." These words are not from Hitler's "Mein Kampf" but from the speech of the PRC "Defense" Minister. Guided by these "principles," Peking is now frenziedly arming itself, searching for a key to the NATO arsenals, wants to become an ally of NATO, and is literally demanding its military strengthening as a weapon against world socialism. Peking is fraternizing with representatives of ultra-reactionary groups, from the advocates of a military confrontation in Europe to the United States "hawks," Chilean fascists and South African racists. And without being in the least disconcerted, they are saying in Peking that they have no intention of ignoring the reactionary regimes if these regimes are the enemies of their enemies. And the Soviet Union has officially been declared in Peking China's enemy "number one."

The Peking leaders, being aware that the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries represents the main obstacle to their hegemonistic plans are mobilizing the reactionary forces against it. The Chinese Minister insolently opposed the Soviet proposal on concluding an International Convention on Stronger Guarantees of the Security of the Non-Nuclear States. He inferred that this proposal "is aimed at tying numerous medium and small countries hand and foot and denying them the opportunity to defend themselves." Such are the absurdities that are mouthed when the course of frustrating détente, aggravating the international situation, the course of an overall militarization and preparation for war becomes the cornerstone of foreign policy. With maniacal stubbornness the Peking hegemonists are calling for the stockpiling of armaments and for war preparations.

They reject nuclear disarmament, calling the decisions on the non-use of force "meaningless words," the proposals on prohibiting the development and production of new types of mass destruction weapons "futile illusions," and the proposal that the permanent members of the UN Security Council refrain from increasing their armies and stockpiling nuclear armaments, a "new fraud."

The aims of the Peking rulers are fundamentally inimical to the vital interests of the peoples, including the Chinese people. Their policy of prodding humanity toward war is most dangerous. And here no one should harbor any illusions.

The interests of peace, the interests of all the peoples speak of the need to expose Peking's provocative calls, to firmly rebuff the chauvinistic, expansionist proclivities of the Maoists.

I. Alexandrov

Pravda, October 10, 1978



IN BRIEF

BELGIUM

In a resolution adopted at its recent plenum the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium notes that the present government is attacking the working people's living standards through the so-called "law on countering the economic crisis." It has substantially raised public transport fares, the cost of tuition at the institutions of higher learning, and reduced a number of social benefits. The draft budget endorsed by Parliament for the 1979 fiscal year cuts expenditures for cultural and social needs.

The Communist Party reaffirms its demands for a shorter working day and its plan for the urgent creation of 100,000 jobs. The CPB Central Committee calls on the communists to redouble their efforts in the struggle for genuine structural reforms, which would substantively restrict monopoly power.

The CPB Central Committee calls on the communists and all party organizations to step up their efforts in defense of peace, against the mounting military budgets and to work for the unity of all progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces in achieving these aims.

BRITAIN

Addressing a meeting in Aberdeen, Gordon McLennan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain said in particular that the British oil monopolies' violation of UN decisions on Rhodesia constitutes a betrayal of the interests of the African national-liberation movement. It is essential, McLennan also noted, to introduce all-embracing political, economic and military sanctions against South Africa, through which oil deliveries are made to the Smith regime in Rhodesia.

Touching on the contemplated "single monetary system" of the European Economic Community, McLennan pointed out that Britain's joining it would be yet another step on the road to the integration of capitalist Europe, increasingly threatening British sovereignty.

Gordon McLennan also dealt with the recent congress of the British Trade Union and the conference of the ruling Labour Party. The fact, he said, that the government policy of restricting the growth of wages and salaries was rejected at them creates conditions for expanding the struggle of the working class for its interests. The communists, McLennan said, are waging a consistent struggle

against the "social contract," according to which the trade unions agreed to limit the growth of wages and salaries of the blue-and white-collar workers in exchange for the government promises to ensure maintenance of the working people's living standards which were never fulfilled.

ITALY

The Leadership of the Italian Communist Party met in Rome to examine problems of the domestic political situation. ICP General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer spoke at the meeting.

It was noted during the discussion that the resistance of the conservative forces further complicates the difficult task of solving the country's vital problems. The communists, ICP Secretariat member Luca Pavolini, said at the conclusion of the meeting, are the most consistent supporters of the policy of national unity and democratic solidarity.

Notable results were achieved in the course of the struggle to "improve" society, Pavolini went on to say. However, many important problems remain unsolved, above all that of unemployment, the economic difficulties of the youth, the problems of education and of upholding democratic order. Therefore, he emphasized, the communists will continue to energetically expose subversive activities aimed at undermining unity and inconsistent positions in relation to jointly adopted commitments.

PERU

PCP General Secretary Jorge del Prado made a report at the jubilee meeting of the Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party devoted to its 50th anniversary. Since its foundation, he said, the Peruvian Communist Party has considered itself an inalienable part of the working class of its country and the world proletariat, an active participant in the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle waged by the peoples of Peru and the whole of Latin America for national and social liberation. In this struggle the peoples enjoy the support of the Soviet Union.

Jorge del Prado stressed in particular the outstanding role of Leonid Brezhnev in the struggle for détente and peace between the peoples. We Peruvian communists, just as the communists of the whole world, he said, highly assess the personal contribution of Leonid Brezhnev, a firm Leninist, to the cause of consolidating universal peace.

Science and Marxism

Lenin and Modern Natural Science. Ed M.E.

Omelyanovsky.

Articles by Soviet and Western writers, stimulated by Lenin's philosophical ideas, on modern physics, astronomy, cybernetics, genetics etc., as well as on the history and prospects of the natural sciences.

Cloth 1978 420 pages \$5.95

Science Policy: Problems and Trends. Y. Sheinen.

Comparative policy in USSR, USA, France, Britain, Germany, etc.

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This Amazing, Amazing but Knowable Universe. V. Gott.

Philosophical issues showing that modern science cannot exist in isolation from other disciplines — philosophy, politics, etc.

Cloth 1977 253 pages \$2.95

R & D In Social Reproduction. A. Nikolayev.

A study of the U.S. model, the economics and planning of research. Criticism of the theoretical conclusions of U.S. economists.

Cloth 1977 355 pages \$3.85

This Fascinating Astronomy. V. Komarov.

Background of modern astronomy, dialectics of the development of a science, new hypotheses and debates.

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