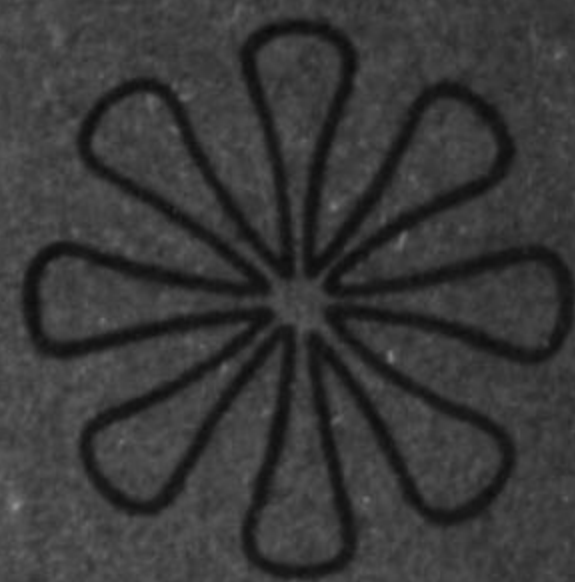


# INFORMA



# 102

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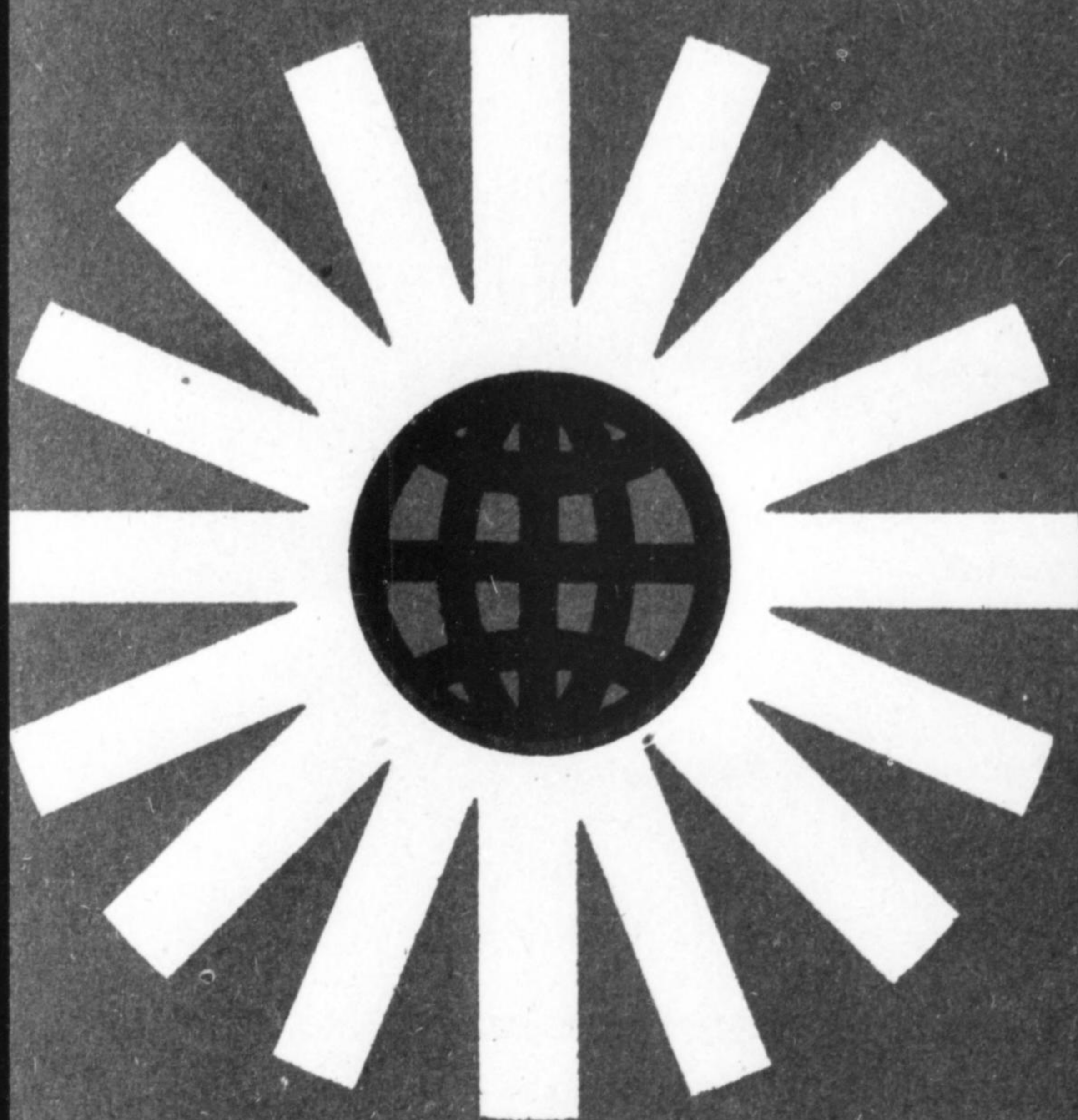
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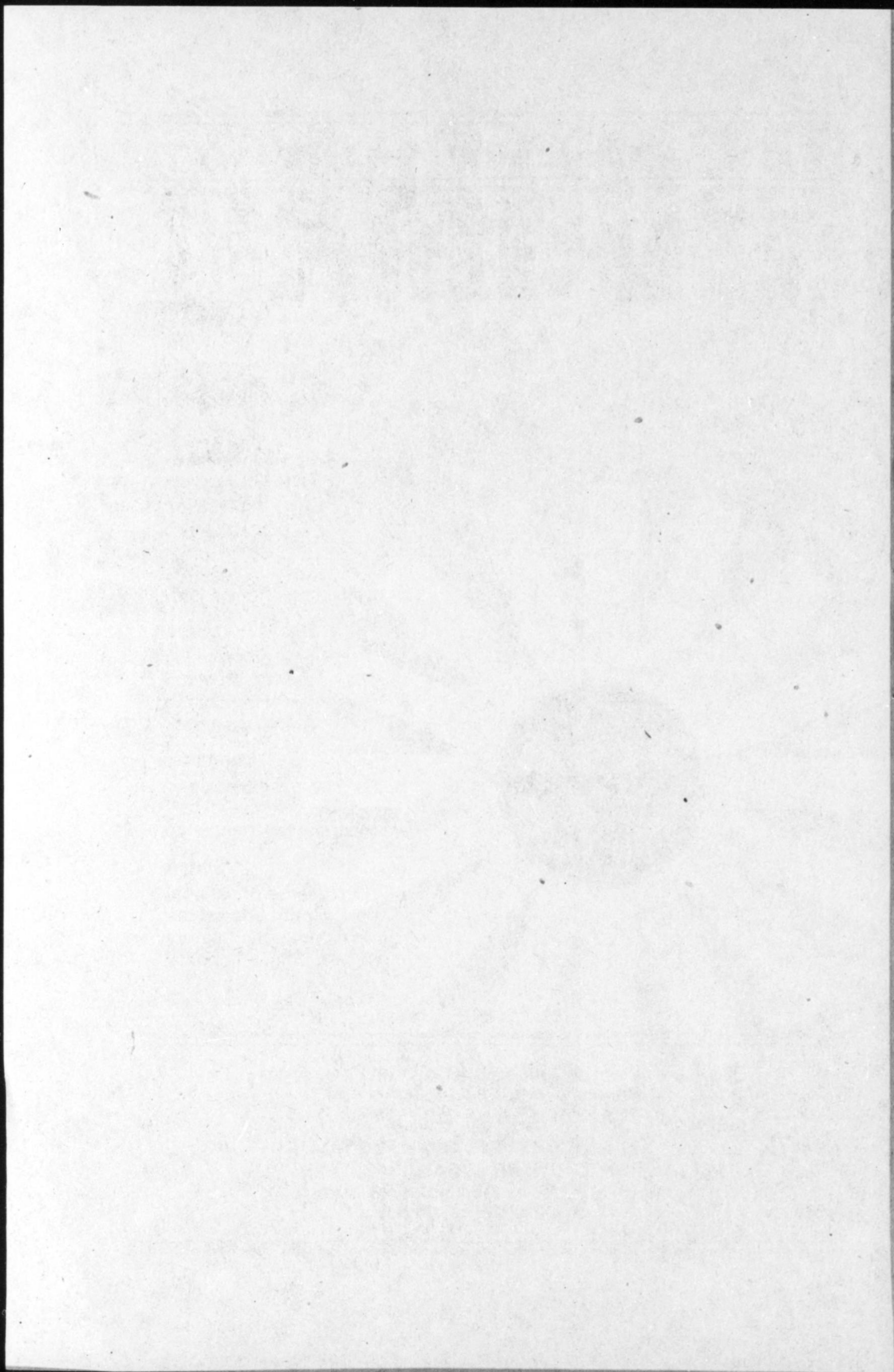
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## FOR PEACE AND BROTHERHOOD AMONG NATIONS

*Statement by Seven South American Communist Parties*

The Latin American peoples are extremely concerned over the growing threat of a military conflict between Chile and Argentina in connection with the Beagle Channel territorial dispute. Such a conflict would run counter to the traditional fraternity between the two peoples forged in the battles for their independence, as symbolically reflected in the strong handshake of solidarity of San Martin and O'Higgins, the heroes of our liberation struggles.

The threat hangs not only over the peoples of these two countries. It may extend to all countries of the southern cone of the American continent and is fraught with dire consequences. In the name of their national, social and political interests all our peoples must come out together against this danger and insistently demand a settlement to the conflict.

War would be catastrophic for our countries and peoples. The threat of war creates yet another seat of military tension at a time when the peace forces are fighting to strengthen and expand détente, to put an end to the arms race and ensure a stable peace. The struggle and solidarity of the peoples of Latin America and of the whole world should help to create a healthy climate that would eliminate the threat of an unjust war and provide conditions for the peaceful settlement of the conflict.

U.S. imperialism stands behind all these territorial disputes. It is intent on strengthening its domination there and ultimately to lay its hands on the areas rich in oil, ore and sea products and the strategically important areas stretching to the Antarctic.

By resorting to repression, setting peoples against one another and inciting armed conflicts between them, the most reactionary forces of the imperialist monopolies and the forces of reaction and fascism connected with them attempt to halt the upsurge of our peoples' struggle, liquidate their democratic gains and hamper social progress in a number of Latin American states.

At the same time they are fanning chauvinism, instigating anti-national, anti-popular coups or creating new seats of military tension.



These forces are the enemies of our peoples. They seek to revive disputes between Bolivia and Chile, Peru and Ecuador, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Argentina, etc.

In this uncertain time the communist parties of the southern cone of the American continent urge all the peoples of the region, all champions of peace, democracy and national independence to raise their voice in protest and to join in the struggle to avert a military catastrophe with its inevitable toll of lives, destruction of the fruit of the people's labor, imperilling the very existence of our nations.

It is essential to launch a struggle against the chauvinist instigators of war, against the preparations for a military conflict. In these circumstances, U.S. imperialism, the forces of fascism and reaction intend to hamper the peoples' struggle for democracy and social progress and to establish or impose regimes that trample on liberties, to strengthen the domination of imperialism and the most reactionary forces.

The struggle for peace is thus closely linked with the struggle for democracy, national sovereignty and the social progress of our peoples.

Luis Corvalan,  
General Secretary, Communist Party of Chile  
Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez,  
General Secretary, Communist Party of Argentina  
Luis Carlos Prestes,  
General Secretary, CC Brazilian Communist Party  
Rodney Arismendi,  
First Secretary, CC Communist Party of Uruguay  
Jorge del Prado,  
General Secretary, CC Peruvian Communist Party  
Jorge Kolle Cueto,  
First Secretary, CC Communist Party of Bolivia  
Antonio Maidana,  
First Secretary, CC Paraguayan Communist Party

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## LEONID BREZHNEV'S FRIENDLY VISIT TO BULGARIA

At the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Konstantin Chernenko, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau made a short friendly visit to Bulgaria from January 13 to 17.

On January 13, a meeting was held in Sofia between Leonid Brezhnev, Konstantin Chernenko and Todor Zhivkov, members of the CC BCP Political Bureau and other party and state functionaries.

Comrades Leonid Brezhnev and Todor Zhivkov emphasized that the CPSU and the BCP are fully resolved to continue promoting the stable development of the process of drawing together in the political, economic and spiritual spheres of the life of both countries. They expressed their common conviction that this process meets both the interests of the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples, as well as the interests of the entire socialist community.

Special attention during the meeting was devoted to promoting all-round Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation. In dealing with interaction in the economic sphere, the participants discussed measures for the further stimulation of Bulgarian exports to the Soviet Union, including agricultural products and manufactured goods, as well as encouragement of Soviet tourism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. They also mapped out solutions to some other practical problems of expanding ties between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.

While discussing the international situation, the participants' attention centered on the practical implementation of the ideas and proposals contained in the declaration adopted at the November session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, held in Moscow.

The Soviet Union and Bulgaria will in future too do everything in their power to strengthen peaceful equitable cooperation in Europe and in other regions of the world. Emphasized was the importance of efforts by the fraternal socialist countries aimed at establishing friendly and good-neighbor relations in the Balkans.

During the exchange of views Leonid Brezhnev and Todor Zhivkov noted the immense importance of the victory of the patriotic



forces of Kampuchea in stabilizing the situation in Southeast Asia. The USSR and the PRB express their solidarity with the Kampuchean people in their work to build a peaceful, independent, democratic, non-aligned Kampuchea that is advancing toward socialism.

Todor Zhivkov and Leonid Brezhnev spoke at the supper following the meeting.

In his speech, Todor Zhivkov said in part: Your approach to socialist Bulgaria's problems at the present stage serves as a vivid affirmation of the conclusions reached long since by the Bulgarian Communist Party: the invariable internationalism, not just in words but in deeds, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the decisive role of the Soviet state as the support of the successful development of the fraternal socialist countries, world socialism and the world revolutionary process.

At the CC BCP Political Bureau's meeting with you we spoke frankly of our difficulties in fulfilling the socio-economic development plans in the seventh five-year period and the unresolved problems of our development. But the main thing, however, is the continuous development of socialist Bulgaria, the main thing is the support of the communists, members of the Agrarian Union and our entire people for the policy of the Central Committee of our party. We are doing and will continue to do everything for the fullest mobilization of our forces and resources in the struggle to increase the national income, to more fully meet the material and spiritual requirements of the people, for the construction of a mature socialist society. . . .

As for our foreign policy activity, it, as you know, is based completely on the Peace Program and the decisions of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee. Bulgaria seeks in every way to contribute to stronger universal peace. We steadfastly follow this line also in the Balkans, at the center of which our country lies. The policy of good-neighborliness and cooperation conducted by the Bulgarian government meets with the full understanding of the Balkan peoples and is bearing good fruit in our mutual relations with the Balkan states.

We cannot ignore certain negative trends in the international scene. This is, above all, the line aimed at stepping up the arms race, which the USA and NATO have recently adopted, as well as China's intensified activities and its turning into a strike force of world reaction.



That is why we consider the struggle for stronger unity of all revolutionary and peace-loving forces, for the reduction of armaments and for disarmament, for easing tensions in international relations, and for averting a new world war as our supreme patriotic and internationalist duty. A world without wars — that is our communist ideal, our communist slogan.

In his speech, Leonid Brezhnev emphasized: This year is a decisive one for our country. An important political campaign, the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, is now at its height. The conclusion of the five-year period is also drawing near. No little effort will be needed to translate into reality the goals charted by the 25th Party Congress.

It is gratifying to note that in recent years Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation has become even more intensive and broad.

During our meeting with Comrade Zhivkov in the Crimea we spoke at length about the tasks emerging in the course of our countries' drawing together. This is something quite new, which requires substantiation, and a stage-by-stage advance. We must, as the saying goes, plough deeply.

The chief difficulty lies in the uniqueness and scale of the problems we have to deal with. And it is essential for our economic departments to always be equal to the situation and not to follow stereotyped patterns. And that, unfortunately, is sometimes still the case. On the whole, the results of our joint work are substantial.

Soviet-Bulgarian relations have always served as an example of socialist internationalism in action. This is true of all spheres of our cooperation: politics, economy, ideology, defense. That is how it should be in future too. And it is most heartening that this is what the efforts of the CPSU and the BCP, the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples are aimed at.

Speaking at the friendly dinner given in honor of Todor Zhivkov on January 16 Leonid Brezhnev noted:

The conclusions and assessments made by the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Moscow are being fully confirmed by recent events. Despite the sharp zigzags of the international situation, in one or another way the main thing is discernible — the confident advance of the forces of peace, progress and national emancipation.

As communists we have always held that it could not be otherwise. This was mentioned, in particular, here in Sofia, at the recent theoretical conference of communists from some 70 countries. Important



also in our view is the fact that the Sofia meeting demonstrated the growing tendency of the communist parties toward contacts, toward mutual solidarity. And this, of course, will raise still higher the role of the communist movement in world development.

*Pravda*, January 14 and 17, 1978

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LEONID BREZHNEV,  
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CC  
CPSU AND PRESIDENT OF THE  
USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM,  
REPLIES TO  
QUESTIONS OF *TIME* MAGAZINE

The editors of *Time* magazine put a number of questions to Leonid Brezhnev, the answers to which are reproduced below.

*Q.* How do you evaluate the state of Soviet-U.S. relations in view of the progress toward SALT-2 and a possible summit meeting?

*A.* To begin with I should like to convey through your magazine good wishes to the American people for the New Year. The extent to which this year and the years to come will be truly good and, above all, peaceful depends in many ways on our two countries. For my part, I can say that the Soviet Union will continue, as before, to act unswervingly in a spirit of cooperation and honest partnership.

You and we have entered the year 1979 with a positive head start, so to say. Work on a new agreement on the limitation of offensive strategic arms is drawing to a close, although it will obviously take some more time for the positions to be finally agreed. We trust that the principle of equality and equal security, which the USSR and the USA recognize as the starting point, will prompt correct decisions and that President Carter and I will be able in the near future to affix our signatures to the accord. The task set by life itself — to put an end to the unrestrained arms race, to ensure security for our nations and to consolidate international peace at a lower level of military confrontation — is worth the effort.

On the whole, over the last couple of years there have been few



encouraging moments, to be frank, in Soviet-American relations. Speaking quite candidly, I will tell you that very often we are hard put even to understand Washington's persistent desire to seek advantage for itself in the disadvantages of others. All this has, indeed, been tried — on more than one occasion — by American politicians in the cold war period. However, objective reality led the United States to conclude that it was necessary to cooperate with the Soviet Union, particularly in preventing nuclear war and in settling conflict situations in various parts of the world. Our reciprocal will to act precisely along these lines was then recorded in the relevant documents which we in the Soviet Union highly value and in which we continue to see a good basis for a durable and lasting turn for the better in relations between the USSR and the USA.

Yet, if one looks at the other side only as an "adversary" — and this is something which is not infrequently discussed in Washington — it is, of course, difficult to work for systematically deepening and expanding areas of cooperation. Not only does such an approach make it agonizingly long and complicated for new agreements to be born, but the relations as a whole also mark time or reverse their course, as has, in fact, been the case in the past two years. Whereas, given an attitude of respect for each other's sovereign rights and interests, our two countries will not be worse but better off. Indeed, the world at large will gain if there is agreement between them.

Personally, I am convinced by my entire life experience that good-neighborliness — regardless of differences in political systems and views — is the best line in international relations. And I am deeply convinced that Soviet-American relations really can be not just normal, but truly good. This is not a utopia. A while ago, a foundation for achieving this goal was laid, but then artificial obstacles were erected in its way which can and must be removed.

*Q.* Many Americans, including many who favor improved relations with the Soviet Union, are concerned over the large number of forces maintained by the Warsaw Pact along its Western borders. This is often referred to as "the Soviet threat." What do you think of such concerns and about the state of détente in Europe?

*A.* Fabrications about a "Soviet threat" are nothing new. There was much trumpeting about it in the West when, following October of 1917, Soviet Russia was invaded by some 15 countries, including the United States, in order to strangle the Revolution and restore the old order. British Prime Minister Chamberlain expatiated about it when concluding a deal with Hitler in Munich aimed at directing his aggres-



sive intentions against the Soviet Union. The nazis covered up their rapacious attack on the USSR with cries about a "Soviet threat." It was also invoked by those who set up the NATO military bloc spearheaded against the Soviet Union which lost 20 million people in the struggle against the aggressor. The same pretext was used when Washington proclaimed a policy of "brinkmanship" directed against us.

And again today, when détente has become fairly tangible on the European continent, when the European Conference in Helsinki has charted paths toward broader peaceful cooperation and when talks are under way in Vienna to reduce the level of military confrontation, there is a hullabaloo about "the Soviet military threat to Western Europe!" Apparently, some in the West have found it very difficult to stomach both political détente and especially the intention to reinforce it by lessening the concentration of the military forces of the two sides in the center of Europe.

It so happened historically that large numbers of troops and armaments of the two military-political blocs are concentrated here facing each other. Different in their structure, in sum total the forces of either side approximately equal each other. Such a military balance has existed in Europe for several decades now.

But a huge concentration of armies and armaments is dangerous in itself. Peaceful ties will be far easier to build if this concentration is reduced on both sides without upsetting the existing balance of forces. This is precisely what we are seeking to achieve in Vienna.

Yet, we are being told in reply that a reduction is possible only if the USSR and other members of the Warsaw Treaty cut down their forces by a significantly greater degree than the NATO countries. Otherwise, there will allegedly be a "Soviet military threat!" And it is to the tune of these incessantly repeated allegations that military budgets are frantically growing and NATO forces in Europe are built up.

What has happened? Why has the balance that existed for many years suddenly become a "threat?" and come to think of it, whom are we "threatening?" Are we really claiming a single square kilometre of the territory of any state? Does not the USSR have normal and even good peaceful relations with practically all countries of Western Europe? Is not the Soviet Union a major sponsor of, and active participant in, all actions to strengthen peace and develop peaceful cooperation in Europe?



Why then mislead people, scaring them with "the Soviet military threat?"

I should like to emphasize once again what I have repeatedly said of late: we are not seeking military superiority over the West, we do not need it. All we need is reliable security. And the security of both sides will no doubt be greater with the arms race curbed, war preparations curtailed and the political climate of international intercourse made healthier.

*Q.* Since the announcement of normalization between Washington and Peking, there has been much talk in the U.S. of "playing the China card" and presumably some Chinese hope to play the American card. What do you think of such concepts and what is the probable future of Soviet relations with China?

*A.* There are some in the U.S. and in other Western countries who have found the course hostile toward the Soviet Union followed by the present Chinese leadership so much to their liking that they are tempted to turn Peking into an instrument of pressure on the world of socialism. Such a policy appears to me to be adventurous and highly dangerous for the cause of universal peace.

The point is not at all the establishment of diplomatic relations. The point is that attempts are being made to encourage in every way and to stimulate with economic baits and now, gradually, also with deliveries of modern weapons, material and military technology those who, while heading one of the biggest countries in the world, have openly declared their hostility to the cause of détente, disarmament and stability in the world, those who lay claims to the territories of many countries and stage provocations against them, those who have proclaimed war inevitable and mounted active preparations for war.

Is it really difficult to understand that this means playing with fire?

As for plans to use the Peking regime, which has gained in strength, as an instrument of NATO policy, to channel its belligerent cravings in the direction that suits the West — they are, pardon me, nothing more than presumptuous naiveté. It is sufficient to recall what the Munich policy brought upon the Western powers. Can it be that the lessons of history are so quickly forgotten?

As to relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, we have neither territorial nor any other claims to that country and we see no objective obstacles to re-establishing not merely good, but also friendly relations — provided, naturally, the stand of the PRC becomes more reasonable and peaceful.

Now and again statements are heard from Peking alleging that the



Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance concluded in 1950 "has lost all significance," has become a "mere sheet of paper," and so on. Apparently, the Chinese leaders are provoking us to abrogate this Treaty. I can say that we shall not give in to provocation. We shall never tear up of our own will a document which epitomizes friendship between the peoples of the USSR and China. But should the Peking leaders take such a step, they would have to bear the entire onus of responsibility before the people of their country, before the forces of peace and progress all over the world.

*Q.* Many Americans remain confused by the word "détente," or "razryadka." How do you understand its meaning in concrete policy terms, and as it applies to regional problems such as those in Africa and the Middle East?

*A.* When we say "relaxation of tension," or simply "détente" for short, we mean a state of international relations opposite to a state which is commonly termed "cold war" and which was characterized by permanent tension threatening to develop at any moment into open conflicts. In other words, détente means, above all, the overcoming of the cold war and transitions to normal, smooth relations among states. Détente means a willingness to resolve differences and disputes not by force, by threats or saber-rattling, but by peaceful means, at the negotiating table. Détente means a certain degree of trust and ability to reckon with each other's legitimate interests. Such, briefly, is our understanding of détente.

We, on our part, actively work toward strengthening the process of détente in every possible way and extending it to all regions of the world, including, naturally, Africa and the Middle East. But it would be unfair and unrealistic to expect the peoples of those or any other regions to give up the struggle for their legitimate rights in the name of a concept of détente that some people falsely interpret.

If we speak, for example, of the Middle East, the interests of détente are in no way contradicted by the struggle of the Arab peoples for the return of lands which belong to them but have been seized by Israel and for the right of the Palestinians to set up a state of their own, or by the actions of those who support these legitimate demands of the Arabs. It is those who support the aggressor, encouraging his expansionist cravings, that are acting contrary to the interests of détente in the Middle East.

The same applies to the situation in southern Africa as well. The source of the threat to the relaxation of international tension is to be found in the policy directed against the peoples struggling there for



liberation from colonial and racist domination, against neo-colonialism, for independence and social progress and not in the struggle, as such, of the peoples for their rights.

*Q.* The Carter Administration has cited the Helsinki Final Act as a reference point for criticism of Soviet domestic policy. What is your view of the Helsinki document's applicability to Soviet internal policies?

*A.* Our view of the document signed in Helsinki can be expressed very briefly and categorically: the Soviet Union stands for full implementation of all parts of the Final Act. Incidentally, the Soviet Union is the only country in the world whose Constitution enforces all the ten principles of inter-state relations recorded in the Final Act.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the Final Act is a document governing precisely interstate relations. None of its provisions gives any states the right to interfere in the domestic life of others, to meddle with other people's affairs. Moreover, the states signatories of the Final Act assumed an obligation to "respect each other's right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems as well as its right to determine its laws and regulations."

I would not like to go into polemics concerning the line of the American Administration on this matter, although, believe me, one could say a great deal and pose a lot of questions on this score, taking into account, in particular, the interference of the United States in the internal affairs of other nations in full view of the entire world.

*Pravda*, January 16, 1979





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## **DOCUMENTS**

### **AVERT THE THREAT OF WAR**

On December 28, 1978, William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, made the following statement:

The information media in Canada have been derelict in their duty in not fully reporting on the recently held international theoretical conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Sofia, Bulgaria. Those views which were advanced on the Conference such as Mark Gayn's in the *Toronto Star* and the brief story in the *Globe and Mail*, do nothing to clarify the aims of the Conference. The story in the *Globe and Mail* infers that the main purpose of the Conference was to condemn Maoism, while Mark Gayn's column suggests its main aim was to attack Eurocommunism.

Neither is correct. The essential thrust of the Conference was directed at rallying world public opinion to prevent a return to cold war, stop the arms drive and the real threat of world nuclear war. Both the American and Canadian contributions to the discussion drew attention to the very dangerous "strike first" and "limited nuclear war" strategy being evolved by the Pentagon in the USA with all its disastrous consequences for the very future of civilization.

What the Conference emphasized from its view of world development is that while war is not inevitable, neither is peace yet guaranteed. The crucial issue of peace and war was therefore at the center of attention of this international theoretical conference. All other issues were related to this central issue, that of strengthening the forces of peace and preventing world nuclear war by curbing and stopping the arms race.

It is in this light that estimates were made of the positions of the Maoist leadership in Peking and of the Eurocommunists and above all, of the place of the Soviet Union and of the socialist countries in the struggle for world peace. In the reality of today the Soviet Union and the socialist countries stand out as the decisive bulwark against the threat of world nuclear war. The Maoists in Peking have cast in their lot with imperialism and have, in effect, formed some kind of



alliance with it and NATO against socialism and the national-liberation movement.

The Eurocommunists objectively weaken the peace front by sapping and undermining the forces of international solidarity. No one concerned with the future of his or her country, indeed the future of the world, should be blind to these facts and the need to act on them. It is these facts and this need that the Conference stressed in the form of the statements made by the majority of parties present at it. True enough, there were other views advanced. No one was thrown out of the Conference as a result, all views were listened to. Nor was any document advanced or adopted by the Conference. It was in truth a wide-ranging discussion with each party drawing its own conclusions from the exchange. How wide and extensive the discussion was is to be seen in the fact that 102 delegates addressed the Conference and its Committees in the course of its five days.

The Conference gave considerable attention to the struggles of the peoples for their national and social liberation. A goodly number of those present came from newly liberated countries, as well as from areas where liberation is today the central question, such as Southern Africa. Their views and those of other participants focussed on the need to end the policy of neo-colonialism and win policies which would open the door to the establishment of a new international economic order. This was seen as an integral part of the effort to achieve a peaceful world.

Not least the Conference examined various views which had been advanced in the recent period whose essence was that Marxism-Leninism is obsolete, or variations of that theme. In arguing against such false concepts due account was taken of the various roads to socialism and the responsibility, indeed the duty of each communist and workers' party, to work out its own strategy and tactics in conformity with the conditions and traditions of its country while always taking due account of international experience. The discussion made evident that far from being obsolete Marxism-Leninism had shown its validity and vitality as an ever-developing science of social change. How true this is can be seen in the fast changing world we live in.

In his column Mark Gayn stated that the Conference was "badly unreported" and "really deserved notice." This is the only part of his column I can agree with. Unfortunately the mass media, caught as they are in their own web of cold war prejudices, can't see the forest for the trees. Unfortunately this blindness also does great harm to the



future of mankind that the media pretend to defend. Is it too much to hope that the media, particularly after the unanimously adopted UN-ESCO resolution, which urged the media to play a responsible role for peace, will do exactly that, and give due account to events of great consequence for mankind's future?

As a participant in the international theoretical conference I hope this will be the case.

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## FOR A GENUINE, VIABLE AND OVERALL SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IN THE UN FRAMEWORK

*Statement of the CC and CCC of AKEL*

An extraordinary plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee of AKEL held on December 4, 1978 discussed a Political Bureau document on the subject "The Developments of the Cyprus Problem Since the Second Plenum of the Central Committee and the Position of AKEL" and taking into consideration the report of the General Secretary of the CC Ezekias Papaioannou, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The most important developments of the Cyprus problem since the Second Plenum of the CC of AKEL in October 1978 are:

- (a) The resolution of the UN General Assembly.
- (b) The discussion by the Security Council and the adoption of the relevant resolution.
- (c) The "Framework for a Cyprus Settlement" submitted by the governments of USA, Britain and Canada.

### THE RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The resolution adopted by the 33rd Session of the UN General Assembly on Cyprus is the best and strongest resolution ever adopted till today. In addition to the stronger wording used in it, for the first time a resolution of the UN General Assembly describes the action of



Turkey in Cyprus as "occupation," and "Recommends that the Security Council examine the question of the implementation, within a time frame, of its relevant resolutions and consider and adopt thereafter, if necessary, all appropriate and practical measures, under the Charter for ensuring the implementation of the United Nations Resolutions on Cyprus."

The basic factors that contributed to our important success at the 33rd General Assembly of the United Nations are:

(a) The struggles and resolution of the Cypriot people headed by its patriotic forces who repel firmly and vigorously the imperialist conspiracies and intrigues.

(b) The correct tactics of struggle for the promotion of the Cyprus problem and especially the correct handling of our issue at the United Nations and the activities of the government as well as of the inter-party delegations.

(c) The international support and solidarity with the fighting Cypriot people, that contribute to further internationalization of the Cyprus problem. This increasing international support and solidarity was manifested at international conferences under the auspices of the International Committee of Solidarity with Cyprus and others, like the special session of the Bureau of WFTU, etc.

(d) The decisive support of the socialist countries headed by the vanguard Soviet Union. The firm support of Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community is expressed not only by their advocacy at the UN in favor of Cyprus, but also at their bilateral and other contacts and talks with leaders of other countries.

(e) The warm support of the non-aligned countries and the decisive role played by the Contact Committee of these countries.

(f) The consistent support of democratic Greece and other friendly countries.

All those factors exercise pressure upon Turkey and the imperialist factor and contributed decisively to our achievement at the 33rd Session of the UN General Assembly.

### **THE RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL**

The recourse to the Security Council immediately after the UN General Assembly was decided upon by the National and Ministerial Councils before the departure of the delegation to the United Nations.

From the very first day of our recourse to the Security Council we met with difficulties and faced the danger of having no resolution at all



or of getting a weak resolution compared with the resolution of the General Assembly.

This was due to the present composition of the Security Council, which is dominated by the Western countries.

The American imperialist factor, as well as the Western NATO one, fought against our recourse to the Security Council and asked for postponement of the meeting for 2-3 weeks. Using procedural matters they applied a slow-down tactic with repeated postponements of the meeting of the Council.

Besides, the Americans also made known their initiative to submit a "framework for a Cyprus settlement" in an effort to prevent the Security Council from adopting any decision. The resolution finally approved by the Security Council, although it does not include all the provisions of the United Nations General Assembly and the draft submitted by the Cyprus delegation, should be considered as the best we could expect to achieve, taking into consideration the present composition of the Security Council. And this success is the result of the constant and persistent support of our friends and mainly the support of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and India.

The specific provision of the resolution by which the UN Secretary General is asked to submit, by the end of May 1979, a report "on the efforts made concerning the intercommunal talks and on the progress toward the implementation of the Security Council's decisions" must be interpreted as meaning that the Cyprus problem has become an issue for the Security Council, which is obliged to consider again the question of implementing its decisions as well as the progress toward the resumption of the intercommunal talks. The resolution calls, also, on the UN Secretary General to find, in consultation with the two sides, "an agreed basis" for the resumption of the intercommunal talks. This extends the existing terms of reference of the UN Secretary General concerning the Cyprus question.

#### **"THE FRAMEWORK FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT"**

"The Framework for a Cyprus Settlement," as already announced, originates from the governments of the USA, Great Britain and Canada. The role of American imperialism was predominant.

This "Framework" is proposed by those countries which have either stood against Cyprus' recourse to the United Nations, or have abstained from voting on the resolution of the international organization. It is the work of those countries which continue to oppose the proposals of the Soviet Union and Cyprus to convene an



international conference, within the framework of UN, for discussing the international aspects of the Cyprus problem.

These countries, together with other NATO members, are also opposing every resolution or UN action for adopting measures or means for the implementation of UN resolutions. The USA have repeatedly rejected proposals of the Soviet Union for joint action for implementing the resolutions on Cyprus. The representatives of USA, Britain and other NATO countries are mainly concerned with a solution of the Cyprus problem which would serve the interests of NATO. The imperialist and NATO forces are in a hurry to solve the Cyprus problem because in the first place, they want to serve their own interests and to restore the unity of the southeastern flank of NATO and, secondly, because they feel extremely pressed and exposed in the United Nations whenever the Cyprus problem is discussed there.

The motives of these countries are not absolutely genuine, taking also into consideration the time chosen for submitting these "ideas," when the Cyprus problem was already under consideration before the Security Council. They obviously were attempting to undermine and eliminate all that Cyprus had achieved by the resolution of the 33rd Session of the United Nations General Assembly. But there is yet another reason which the imperialists cannot overlook. The struggles of the people of Cyprus as well as the pressures exerted on an international scale by our friends, compel the imperialist circles of NATO to seek a solution of the Cyprus problem.

The solution they would like to enforce is outside the United Nations framework, to the detriment of Cyprus and especially to the detriment of the interests of the progressive and democratic forces of our people.

We must have this in mind when we consider a "framework" or "ideas" for a Cyprus settlement, which emanate from these countries. We have every reason to see with distrust everything which comes from the imperialist NATO forces, who have proved to be our most irreconcilable enemies.

The plenary session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee of AKEL, being conscious of the dangers created by the intervention of the imperialist factor in our internal affairs and from its attempt to drive astray the Cyprus issue from the United Nations, reject any "initiative" or activity aiming at removing the Cyprus problem from the United Nations framework and its resolutions. AKEL unreservedly rejects any discussions of the Cyprus



problem outside the United Nations, at a Camp-David-type conference.

AKEL rejects any discussion with the U.S. or any other foreign factors on any internal aspect of the Cyprus problem. AKEL rejects any open or disguised foreign intervention in the intercommunal talks.

AKEL firmly and unyieldingly maintains its position that the internal aspects of the Cyprus problem are clearly and exclusively matters which must be resolved by the Cypriots themselves — Greeks and Turks — and not by anybody else.

AKEL believes that the UN Secretary General can help by taking the necessary initiatives toward resumption of the intercommunal talks, as referred to in the recent resolution of the Security Council. The return of the town of Famagusta to the Cyprus government, through the UN, will create favorable conditions to start and carry out intercommunal talks.

AKEL decisively says *no* to any foreign interference by any means in our internal affairs. It decisively answers *yes* to intercommunal talks based on the decisions of UN and on the four guiding lines agreed upon by Makarios and Denktas, or on the basis of a framework that the Secretary General of UN will propose responsibly, or even without any agenda.

AKEL firmly insists on convening an international conference within the framework of UN which will discuss and decide upon the international aspect of the Cyprus problem. So, the American as other international factors can contribute to resolving the Cyprus problem, according to the decisions of UN, by supporting the convening of such a conference within the framework of UN.

AKEL seriously takes into consideration the danger which the imposed stagnation entails for the future of Cyprus and generally for the peace in the area, emphasizes the necessity to drive the Cyprus problem out of the impasse and find a just and viable solution of this problem, based on the decisions of UN.

The comprehensive position of AKEL, as it has been adopted by the extraordinary plenum of the party's Central Committee and Central Control Committee is as follows:

- (1) The Cyprus problem must firmly remain within the framework of UN and be solved in accordance with the decisions of UN. Any "initiative" or activity which aims at removing the Cyprus problem out of this framework is rejected as unacceptable.

- (2) The internal aspects of Cyprus problem must be discussed and resolved by the Cypriots themselves, Greeks and Turks, without any



foreign interference or involvement, by intercommunal talks, under the auspices and the personal guidance of the UN Secretary General.

Our correct position on the intercommunal talks contributes to the elimination of new dangers and responds to the vital interests of the Cypriot people as a whole — Greek and Turkish. It also serves the common struggle for a correct, just and mutually acceptable solution of the Cyprus problem and generally for rapprochement between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, for restoration of mutual trust, friendship and cooperation between them.

(3) The international aspects of the Cyprus problem must be discussed and settled at a special international conference within the framework of UN. The main target of this conference must be withdrawal of all foreign troops and complete demilitarization of Cyprus, securing independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Cyprus Republic with strong and reliable international guarantees through UN. AKEL believes that the time has come for the Secretary General of UN to take relevant initiatives in this direction as well. The Cyprus government should also take active initiatives.

(4) With the recent decision of the Security Council as a basis and particularly paragraph 3, the Secretary General of UN should be asked to take the initiative to secure "agreed basis" for the resumption of the intercommunal talks.

AKEL believes that we must support any initiative which will be taken by the UN Secretary General for the resumption of intercommunal talks within the framework that the Secretary General himself will propose and which will be based on the decisions of UN and on the Makarios-Denktaş agreement. Furthermore, AKEL believes that in case the Secretary General of UN invites a new round of talks even without any framework or even with an open agenda which will aim at finding an agreed basis for resumption of intercommunal talks, the Greek-Cypriot side must respond positively and be ready to participate and contribute to a just and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. The plenum of CC and CCC of AKEL once again calls upon Greeks and Turks of Cyprus to shake hands and restore conditions of mutual trust and in a spirit of good will to solve the internal aspects of the Cyprus problem and thus to cut the ground from under the feet of our common enemies.

The plenum of CC and CCC of AKEL addresses once again a warm, patriotic appeal to all patriotic and democratic forces of the Cypriot people, irrespective of ideological differences and beliefs, to



forge their unbreakable and militant unity to enable Cyprus to face successfully all maneuvers and subversive activities of imperialism and its agents, opening the road toward a really independent, sovereign, territorially integrated, non-aligned, demilitarized and prosperous Cyprus. A Cyprus which will be not a bridge of NATO and war adventures, but a bridge of peace, friendship and co-operation, among all the peoples in the area.

*The CC and CCC of AKEL*

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## FOR FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS, FOR SOVEREIGNTY AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

*Statement by the Communist Party of Honduras*

In connection with the preparations for the April 1980 general elections, the Communist Party of Honduras issued the following statement (abridged).

The accession to power by the present military junta took place in a situation of an aggravated nationwide political crisis. The situation grew worse in the months preceding the August 7 coup: the popular masses were indignant over the scandalous narcotics trafficking and the crimes linked with it, involving ranking army officers.

The new government sought to justify the coup, alleging that it was essential to impede General Melgar's legitimizing his regime and at the same time to guarantee democratic freedoms, defense of the people's gains and human rights, and to hold free elections within the time limit set by the armed forces. Indeed, the setting up of the triumvirate is nothing but an attempt to surmount the contradictions within the army and to find a temporary solution to the country's crisis by ousting the reformist wing of the bourgeoisie which was in power and replacing it by representatives of the traditional oligarchy.

On the political plane, replacing one group of dominant classes by another merely strengthened the ties between the most reactionary military circles and the Zuniguists\* dominating the National Party.

\*Ricardo Zuniga Augustinus, a leading functionary of the National Party. — Ed.



This is borne out by the fact that the notorious representatives of the National Party were installed in the government, the Supreme Court and the municipalities.

The new government's demagogic statements were merely intended to curry favor with the U.S. State Department and to serve President Carter's demagogic policy in relation to the Latin American continent. The open alliance with Zuniguist nationalism reflects the real intentions of the present regime: to impose through the elections a reactionary "solution" to the crisis, thereby eventually serving the interests of the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy and imperialism. Moreover, the army would remain the decisive force in the country's political life, even if this entails maneuvering, machinations and repressions.

We Honduran communists have already stated that since the military regime has exhausted its political potential and interrupted the implementation of social reforms, which it conducted with popular support in 1972-1975, and since it does not seek a fundamental solution to the social, economic and political problems, its chances of remaining in power are slight. As an alternative it was proposed to hold a *referendum* to elect a Constituent Assembly as the sole viable and immediate way out of the political crisis, although this would not solve the country's structural crisis.

We urge the holding of free, democratic elections that will result in the establishment of constitutional order, guarantee the social gains of the popular masses, as well as a way out of the political crisis: this would also leave no room for maneuvering by the fascist groups which seek to impose a dictatorial regime so as to continue the policy of terror and repressions.

The existing electoral law is discriminatory and anti-democratic in character. Some of its provisions are apparently designed to sow discord in the traditional parties, and in effect undermine the independence of political organizations, while others embody all the reactionary content of former legislation that is designed to obstruct the working class' participation in the elections and to hamper their free participation in the election campaign.

That is why our efforts to avert the threat of arbitrary actions during the elections are concentrated on the need to reform the electoral law.

The initial refusal by the national electoral tribunal to permit the Christian Democratic Party to take part in the election campaign shows that despite the assertions by the chairman of the military junta



to the effect that the armed forces would uphold democratic freedoms and that the elections would be free, they will actually be held in conditions of repression and machinations.

During elections in the Liberal and National parties, many of their members refrained from voting. This is an indication of the popular masses' indifference and apathy toward elections in general. The people instinctively sense the fraudulency of the elections. They are disenchanted with the political organizations and their slogans: the latter no longer express the vital aspirations of the popular masses, and the *revolutionary forces* are not advancing a *democratic alternative* capable of arousing the people, mobilizing their enthusiasm, selflessness and fighting capacity.

The Communist Party of Honduras considers it essential that agreement be reached by all political parties and public organizations which have a stake in holding free and democratic elections, in isolating and thwarting the attempts of the most reactionary circles in the army and the oligarchy to "win a victory" at the elections through machinations and violence in order to maintain the present regime, which is opposed by the popular masses and is doomed to failure.

We consider it essential to form a bloc of public and political forces to rule out the establishment of a fascist regime in the country. The formation of such a bloc is taking place in conditions of the popular masses' struggle in defense of their gains, for the liquidation of the consequences of the economic crisis and repeal of the repressive laws, which serve as a "legal" cover for anti-popular actions.

The Communist Party of Honduras is convinced that any democratic solution to the crisis must take account of the role of the army, which over the past 15 years has turned into a political arbiter in the country. It is also essential to take into account the contradictions in the army between those who seek to use the armed forces as an instrument of repression and those who share the patriotic aspirations of the people: those who are using their power to enrich themselves and exploit their position in the military hierarchy to obstruct the promotion of democratic-minded officers and those who as before feel an affinity with the basic provisions of the 1974 social reforms.

We communists fully support the struggle for democracy, sovereignty and national independence of our homeland. We hold that it is impermissible at the present time to leave in the hands of the ruling classes the key to the solution of the political crisis through elections. In order to obstruct the machinations and to mobilize the masses for participation in the elections, elections that are totally free



of any violence and arbitrary actions, we must call on all *democratic and popular forces* to overcome their disinclination to go to the polls, their passivity and defeatist sentiments, which play into the hands of the rightist forces.

In conclusion the party urges the working people of town and country to overcome all obstructions on the way to realizing their civic right and to *go to the polls*. Participation in the forthcoming *elections* is the immediate and important objective on the road to mobilizing the popular forces for the struggle against arbitrariness, electoral machinations and against the election of anti-popular representatives.

Political Commission,  
Central Committee, CPH  
Tegucigalpa, November 22, 1978

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## IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT'S CAPITULATORY POLICY

*Statement by the Central Committee,  
Sudanese Communist Party*

Contrary to the will of our people and their entire history, Nimeiri issued a foolhardy statement on October 20, 1978, which shamelessly supports Sadat's separate peace agreement and unconditional capitulation to the Zionist enemy.

Following in Sadat's footsteps, Nimeiri is praising the U.S. role in the Arab-Zionist conflict. He ignores the fact that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of our peoples and that it is intent on dominating our country in order to plunder our wealth and exploit our strategic position. It is using Israel as a strike force in achieving this aim. The U.S. imperialists set the stage for the June 1967 aggression and then obstructed every attempt, whether peaceful or military, to liquidate its consequences. They used every opportunity to split the Arab ranks and to ensure the enemy's military superiority, so as to turn the occupation into an instrument of blatant blackmail, to subjugate the Arabs and inflict on them a military and political defeat.



Therefore, any U.S. "settlement" is inevitably aimed at legitimizing the results of the June aggression and perpetuating the present military and political balance of forces. It is designed to nullify the results of the Arab peoples' struggle and their enormous sacrifices, to "abolish" the Palestine people and liquidate their struggle. It is aimed at perpetuating the Zionists' occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, infringing on Egyptian sovereignty in the Sinai Peninsula while maintaining for an unlimited period the Zionist and foreign occupation of parts of its territory, to remove Egypt completely from the struggle and force it to stop hostilities with the enemy, recognize Israel, establish diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with it, and to build new U.S. military bases on Arab soil. The U.S. "settlement" provides for imperialism's enormous superiority over the Arab peoples, gives it an opportunity to completely dominate our region, opens the way to the formation of a U.S.-Zionist-Iranian-Saudi-Egyptian bloc directed against the liberation movement of the Arab and African peoples, against the socialist system and universal peace.

Such is the content and substance of the Camp David accords which Nimeiri so enthusiastically approves. This approval, which not a single Arab leader has so far dared to express, is a logical continuation of Nimeiri's favorable attitude to Sadat's visit to occupied Jerusalem; it accords not only with the entire policy of the Sudanese government after the July 22, 1971 reactionary putsch, but also with the U.S.-Saudi plans in the Horn of Africa, the Red Sea, the Arab and African countries. Those who were deceived by the farcical Arab "solidarity" committee and expected Nimeiri to adopt a "new," "moderate" stand, have miscalculated. They forget that the Nimeiri government exists primarily thanks to the military, financial and political support of the Washington-El-Riyadh-Cairo "architects of the settlement," and also thanks to the direct military support provided for in the joint defense treaty. Nimeiri clearly said in his statement on this question that he will not accept a position that runs counter to Sadat's policy, confirming thereby his government's adherence to Sadat's policy of treachery and capitulation, as well as the fact that he has joined the reactionary imperialist bloc under the patronage of the El-Riyadh-Cairo axis.

Nimeiri's statement is yet another step infringing on our national sovereignty. It is a total denial of our people's staunch struggle against the Zionist-imperialist aggression and their invariable solidarity with the Palestine people. It runs counter to the popular masses'



repeatedly expressed condemnation of Sadat's capitulatory policy and the shameful Camp David deal. This statement once again exposes the absolute personal power, and the blatantly dictatorial character of the presidential regime and its clearly anti-popular nature.

Nimeiri's statement has reduced to nought the propaganda apparatus' attempts to depict the Sudanese ruler as a defender of Arab solidarity. It is impossible to conceal from the people the fact that this statement was made after his visit to the USA and his meeting with the U.S. President. The people are also aware that it is the touchstone of all the political forces in the country, including the leaders of the National Front who, as a result of a compromise entered the government, though while in opposition they had made quite different statements and adhered to different positions.

We urge all Sudanese patriots, irrespective of party affiliation and political orientation, to join in the glorious struggle of the Arab forces of staunchness and confrontation. We call on them to consolidate their ranks in order to defend our national sovereignty, and to raise their voices in condemnation and protest against Nimeiri's statement and against his capitulatory policy.

Secretariat of the Central Committee,  
Sudanese Communist Party  
October 23, 1978

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## **FROM THE PRESS**

# **EMBODIMENT OF THE IDEAS OF INTERNATIONALISM**

### *Thirtieth Anniversary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance*

Shortly before the Great October Socialist Revolution V.I. Lenin wrote: "To the old world, the world of national oppression, national bickering, and national isolation the workers counterpose a new world, a world of the unity of the working people of all nations. . . ." The new world has become a reality. The great community of socialist countries is now characterized by an increasing interconnection of the fraternal states and the emergence of more and more common elements in their policy, economy and social life.

Socialist economic integration is a feature of this historical all-round drawing together. Founded in 1949, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance laid the groundwork for integration and is now expanding and deepening it.

For 30 years the CMEA has applied in practice the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism. The road traversed by the Council states clearly shows that along with national efforts, fraternal interaction and readiness to take account of each other's interests is a crucial condition of their successes. Comradely concern for the successful development of not only one's own country, but the other community states — this is the supreme expression of internationalism.

The CMEA is now composed of ten socialist states of Europe, Asia and America with a population of more than 430 million. Following the behests of Lenin and displaying exemplary international fraternity, the peoples of Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Vietnam have, under the leadership of their communist and workers' parties, accumulated vast experience in equitable cooperation in the sphere of material production. Relations between the Council member-states have been tested in practice and proved their effectiveness. They are



based on respect for sovereignty, independence and national interests, non-interference in internal affairs, complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance.

Over the 30 years, the CMEA partners have increased their economic potential many times over. For instance, in comparison with 1948 the national income of the member-states has increased 10-fold in 1978, while industrial output showed a 17-fold increase. Accounting for 19 per cent of world territory and 10 per cent of the population, the CMEA states have moved into leading positions in the world economy. They account for approximately one-third of world industrial output and for more than half of the growth of industrial output, their industrial potential is greater than that of the USA, or of the West European states taken together.

National income growth rates of the fraternal countries amounted to three times and industrial output to four times that of the capitalist world. The socialist community is the most dynamic economic force in the world.

The CMEA states' successes in economic construction, their advance to a prominent place among the major industrial states is all the more striking since most of the CMEA countries had served in the past as agrarian and raw material appendages of the capitalist powers. By eliminating the exploitation of man by man, socialism created conditions for the gradual approximation and levelling of the socio-economic development of countries and nations. Here, too, the new social formation has demonstrated its fundamental distinction from capitalism, which is characterized by uneven economic and political development.

Interaction in the CMEA framework has helped the formerly backward countries to make rapid progress. Promoting the growth and enhancing the effectiveness of the economies of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia occupies a special place in the common plans and measures of the fraternal states.

"Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man" is the slogan inscribed on the banner of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries. The growing economic potential of the CMEA states, their achievements in developing science and technology enable them to set and fulfill ever more challenging tasks in raising the working people's material and cultural standards.

The historic achievements of the community are closely tied in with the extensive work of the communist and workers' parties aimed at



improving the all-round interaction of the fraternal countries. The indestructible militant unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties is the basis of close cooperation of the socialist states and its guiding and organizing force.

Ties and contacts between the leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries are becoming more intensive. Bilateral and multilateral meetings and joint discussion of fundamental home and foreign policy questions are helpful in evolving effective ways of resolving the tasks of economic and cultural development and in working out a common line in the international arena. Important problems are discussed at meetings of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states and at the sessions of the Council of Mutual Economic assistance. A big role in the system of mutual relations is played by the friendly meetings and talks in the Crimea between Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the party and state leaders of the other countries of the community.

Armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU and the other ruling parties of the socialist countries are working on problems related to the development of the community. The 24th and 25th CPSU congresses scientifically substantiated the need to promote socialist economic integration. The congresses of the other fraternal parties, too, have profoundly analyzed this problem and submitted their proposals for its solution.

The transition from separate integrational measures to comprehensive long-term economic integration had been prepared by the CMEA states' previous experience of economic interaction. The summit level special 23rd CMEA session, held in Moscow in April 1969, defined the fundamental long-term goals which formed the basis of the Comprehensive Program for the further extension and improvement of cooperation and development of socialist economic integration of the CMEA member-states, adopted in 1971.

The Comprehensive Program concretely reflects the objectives and corresponding methods and forms of interaction of the fraternal countries in the economic sphere at the present stage. As noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, this program "raises cooperation among socialist countries to a much higher level than ordinary promotion of trade. For example, it means joint development of natural resources for common benefit, joint construction of large industrial complexes to meet the needs of all the partners, and cooperation between our



countries' enterprises and whole industries planned for many years ahead."

The CMEA states are vigorously implementing the Comprehensive Program. Its translation into reality is the highroad to improving the international socialist division of labor, a powerful means of stepping up social production and the speedy introduction of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. Successful realization of the Comprehensive Program will help to expand the economic interaction of the community countries, enhancing thereby the complementary character of their economies to the substantial benefit of each of them.

The past decade has been characteristic in this respect. The CMEA states have doubled their industrial potential. Trade between them has increased more than threefold during this period. This dynamism stems not only from national efforts, but also from the integration factor and the rational and mutually beneficial division of labor.

The integration process is making steady headway, it is expanding and acquiring a new content. One of the most important results of the collective work of the fraternal parties and the CMEA's 30-year activity is the creation and practical implementation of the economic mechanism of integration. The key method of cooperation and promotion of the international socialist division of labor is the joint drafting of plans by the CMEA states. Practice has evolved such effective forms as consultation on fundamental questions of economic policy, coordination of national economic plans, etc.

Recent years have seen the emergence of many new elements in the joint planning activity. For the first time in CMEA practice a common plan of multilateral integrational measures of the CMEA states for 1976-1980 has been drawn up. The plan envisages joint construction of huge industrial complexes. The implementation of this plan benefits each of its participants.

The CMEA countries have done much in the sphere of the international socialist division of labor, above all in specialization and cooperation of production. The fraternal states' efforts in this field are pooled and coordinated by more than a hundred multilateral and about a thousand bilateral agreements. Some 80 multilateral agreements on specialization and cooperation of production are in force in machine-building alone. They cover more than 8,000 items.

The CMEA states are successfully implementing the measures of scientific and technical cooperation envisaged by the Comprehensive Program. More than 3,000 research and design organizations and



schools of higher learning, including about 200 institutions of the academies of sciences are now taking part in this work. Fifty-six coordinating centers in major fields of science and technology have been set up and over 14,000 theoretical and applied projects have been completed by joint efforts. Many of these have been put into practice and with good results. Transition from separate subjects to comprehensive problems is increasingly characteristic of the interaction in the sphere of science and technology.

A graphic illustration of the effective pooling of efforts by the CMEA member states is cooperation in the field of computer technology. A single system of third generation computers has been set up within a short period of time. The socialist community countries have registered remarkable successes in the implementation of the Inter-cosmos program. The year 1978 saw the first ever near-earth space flights of international crews including citizens of the socialist states.

The all-round cooperation has acquired today such an immense scope that it directly involves many millions of builders of a new world. A vivid page in the history of our peoples' brotherhood has been written by the personnel of the Cepel metallurgical and engineering works in Hungary and advanced industrial plants in other fraternal states. To mark the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution they launched socialist emulation to fulfill Soviet orders on schedule and with high quality products. The new form of competition in work was a manifestation of truly internationalist solidarity.

To mark the 30th anniversary of the CMEA the staff of the Volzhski Motor Works have pledged to fulfill their export targets and called for stronger fraternal cooperation. This initiative has been enthusiastically taken up in our country and abroad.

The CPSU and other communist parties are doing much to promote integration activities. Analyzing the results achieved and setting forth new tasks in the field of economic cooperation, the 25th CPSU Congress substantiated the necessity of working out special long-term programs of cooperation in the main fields of material production. "On the basis of what has been achieved we can now take the next step. The present priority is to work out and fulfill special long-term programs. Their purpose is to meet by common effort the rapidly growing needs in energy, fuel, and basic primary materials, and to satisfy more fully the demand in food products and manufactured consumer goods, to raise the level of engineering, and expedite development of transport. Those are our immediate common objectives," Leonid Brezhnev said at the Congress.



All CMEA states have shown a profound interest in tackling these problems. In the summer of 1978 the 32nd CMEA session endorsed three out of the five projected special long-term programs of cooperation, covering energy, fuel and raw materials, agriculture and the food industry, and engineering. The elaboration of cooperation programs to increase the output of manufactured consumer goods and to develop transport is now being completed.

Long-term special programs of cooperation are an entirely new form of the CMEA countries' joint activities in planning. Specifying and developing the Comprehensive Program, they determine the coordinated strategy of collaboration for a long period to come. Their elaboration and implementation illustrate the socialist method of solving pressing economic development tasks which concern virtually all mankind.

A case in point is the CMEA countries' approach to the fuel and energy problem. The relevant long-term program is aimed at ensuring the most thrifty and rational use of the CMEA countries' energy resources, considerable changes in the pattern of their fuel and energy production and consumption, and the accelerated growth of nuclear electricity generation. Atomic power stations with an aggregate capacity of nearly 37 million kw will be built in CMEA countries by 1990. It is planned to construct collaboratively on Soviet territory two atomic power plants, each with a capacity of four million kw, to support electricity to CMEA states. It is envisaged to organize specialization and cooperation in the production of equipment for atomic power stations. The common task now is to carry out these far-reaching plans in the shortest possible time.

Integration also proceeds in other directions. The strategy includes both multilateral and bilateral cooperation. Bilateral programs of specialization and cooperation in production for 1981-1990 are being worked out. The communist parties are fully resolved to turn the CMEA countries' next two five-year plans into a period of intensive in-depth growth of specialization and cooperation in production.

The economic integration of the CMEA countries, coordination of their plans and efforts protect to a considerable degree their economies against the negative influence of the capitalist world, which is in the throes of currency, energy and raw materials crises. The CMEA countries satisfy the bulk of their requirements in equipment and machinery, crude products and fuel through domestic production and reciprocal commodity exchanges. Reciprocal trade



accounts for the bulk of their overall foreign trade, about 60 per cent today.

The experience of socialist construction and the affirmation of a new type of inter-state relations arouse the hatred of capitalism's advocates who are doing everything to distort the essence of integration processes under socialism, the character of the fraternal states' relations, and CMEA activities. The Chinese leaders act in unison with reactionary bourgeois politicians and propaganda experts. The slanderers allege that socialist economic integration is not dictated by the objective requirements of the development of productive forces and the relations of production, that it infringes upon the sovereignty of the socialist states and their independence in managing their internal affairs and in carrying out their foreign policy. Yet the CMEA has not had, nor has it now any supranational bodies. The organization guarantees full equality of its member-states.

The fraternal parties are countering imperialist policy — which is supported by the Peking leaders and is aimed at undermining the socialist community and driving a wedge between its members — by a course toward strengthening and developing their cooperation in all fields. This found a new expression in the Declaration adopted by the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee which met in Moscow in November 1978.

The economic integration of the socialist countries is a complicated process. The CMEA countries are blazing a new trail. They have to overcome difficulties connected, above all, with the uniqueness of this phenomenon. Marking the 30th anniversary of the CMEA, the communists, all working people of the CMEA countries recall Lenin's words to the effect that the best way to celebrate an anniversary is to concentrate one's attention on unresolved tasks.

The scope of joint work and the new level of cooperation pose some far from easy problems. The main thing is to enhance the effectiveness of ties, to take into account not only present-day requirements, but also long-term prospects, and to work for the utmost smoothness in operations. The elaboration and implementation of long-term programs of specialization and cooperation in production should be speeded up. The exchange of progressive experience in management should occupy an important place. The CMEA countries agree that it is essential to improve the performance of the entire mechanism of interaction and to raise the efficiency of the Council's work. The forthcoming 33rd CMEA session will sum up



the results of its work over the past 30 years, and will assess the progress made in implementing the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration. It will become an important landmark in the fraternal countries' cooperation.

The steady growth of the economic, scientific and technical potential of the socialist community, and the democratism of the CMEA, in which genuine equality of the partners has been effected in practice, have enhanced its international prestige. The example of the socialist economic ties between the CMEA countries is making ever greater impact on world economic relations. It is helping to remove the discrimination and inequality engendered by imperialist and neo-colonialist policies. Interest in cooperation with CMEA is growing in various parts of the globe.

A major event in the life of the community was the entry of Vietnam into CMEA in 1978. Yugoslavia is cooperating actively with CMEA. Representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Laos, and also of Angola and Ethiopia are participating in its work as observers.

The CMEA countries actively support equitable mutually beneficial economic cooperation of states belonging to different social systems. This principled line stems from their adherence to the cause of peace, and it is an integral part of the policy of relaxation of tension. A proof of this is the signing of the agreement on cooperation between CMEA and Finland. Agreements on cooperation have been concluded between CMEA and Iraq and between CMEA and Mexico.

The CMEA member countries promote their foreign economic policy in the spirit of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Everyone knows about the initiative of the Council, which, on behalf of the governments of the CMEA member countries, submitted a proposal to the European Economic Community on the establishment of official relations. The draft provides for the conclusion of a framework agreement between CMEA and the CMEA member countries, on the one hand, and the EEC and the EEC member countries, on the other, which would create favorable conditions and possibilities for equitable mutually advantageous cooperation between the two organizations and the states belonging to them.

CMEA's activities, and the principles on which they rest meet with due recognition in the developing countries. Upholding the legitimate right to use their natural resources as they see fit, and working to



overcome the diktat of the monopolies and to assert economic independence, these countries are cooperating ever more closely with CMEA and its members, whose internationalist policy they know very well and which they highly appreciate. The community countries are rendering comprehensive economic and technical assistance on mutually beneficial terms to 78 independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As many as 2,685 industrial projects and various installations have been put into operation in these states with the participation of the CMEA member countries, while 875 more enterprises are being built or are earmarked for construction. Higher and polytechnical schools in the CMEA countries have trained 43,000 specialists for these states. A special CMEA scholarship fund has been set up for citizens of the developing countries.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has established relations with 60 international organizations. The United Nations' granting of official status to CMEA attests to its high prestige.

The CPSU and other communist parties of the fraternal countries, guided by the decisions of their respective congresses, devote primary attention to the development of the CMEA member countries' economic ties and to the successful implementation of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration.

The CPSU Central Committee and its Political Bureau never lose sight of the expansion and improvement of the Soviet Union's relations with the other community countries. They effect systematic control over the work of the organizations connected with the implementation of plans of economic cooperation. Much attention was paid to the deepening of these business relations at the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee last November and at the recent session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The party organizations and the work collectives of our country guide themselves in their work by the instructions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU to the effect that the strict and precise implementation of undertakings collectively drawn up by the fraternal states is the sacred duty of the State Planning Committee, ministries, departments, associations and enterprises, the sacred duty of everyone involved in this work. Our Leninist party and its Central Committee are doing everything to strengthen the material foundation of the community and the positions of world socialism.

The historic drawing together of the socialist states is gaining momentum, and their influence on the course of international



developments is expanding. The CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the community countries are working tirelessly so that the positions of world socialism will grow stronger, and that the morrow will bring fresh proof of its unlimited possibilities, and of its superiority over capitalism.

*Pravda*, January 5, 1979

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## BEFORE THE CRUCIAL DECISION

“After the November 1968 plenum the right wing began to realize that it would increasingly lose foothold and that the whole tissue of its conspiratorial machinations and intrigues would be gradually exposed which would lead to the liquidation of its positions and its influence in our public life. It therefore used all levers in order to delay as much as possible its downfall and condemnation by the Czechoslovak people.”

That is how the document “Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Communist Party and Society of Czechoslovakia after the 13th CPCz Congress” assessed the events of several weeks in December 1968 and January 1969. The activity of the right wing and avowedly counter-revolutionary forces was characterized by a desperate gamble — with the fate of our peoples at stake — to which they resorted after the November 1968 CC CPCz plenum had defined the rightist threat as the main danger in the coming stage of consolidation.

Indeed, the situation remained very alarming after the November plenum. It became increasingly clear that after the August events the rightist forces had learned no lessons from their mistakes and had no intention to help overcome the existing difficulties. On the contrary, they sought continuously to aggravate the situation, to cause a new crisis. After the uncertainty and alarm in their ranks owing to their fear of having to answer for their hostile activity, after they saw that they had survived, the rightists renewed their activities. But now their actions became even more dangerous, more purposeful, insolent and aggressive than before the August events. They had plenty of opportunities for this. They were still in the majority in the party leadership, still dominated the mass media as well as some organs of power.

The dangerous developments at the turn of 1968-1969 and during the following weeks were due to the fact that despite the clearly formulated resolution of the November plenum against the rightist danger, no significant ideological and political measures were



adopted. On the contrary, the rightists used every opportunity to organize pressure campaigns and to maintain a permanent crisis situation both in the country and in relations with our socialist allies.

To achieve their aims, the rightists indiscriminately jeopardized everything that was vital for the republic, for its people and what should have formed the basis of consolidating the socialist state. This applied also to the just regulation of national relations in the framework of a federation which created the basis for a genuinely equal existence of the Czechs and Slovaks. The hazardous intentions of the rightists were evidenced by the noisy campaign at the time around the elections of the chairman of the new Federal Assembly.

As is known, in December 1968 the National Assembly ceased to exist. On January 1, 1969, the Federal Assembly was formed, consisting of two houses: the House of the People and the House of Nations. The Slovak comrades justifiably upheld their right to proportional representation in the highest bodies of power and with full justification demanded that the chairman of the federal Assembly should be a Slovak. In violation of the resolution of the CC CPCz Presidium Smrkovsky together with his camarilla began a campaign to maintain his political position.\* This campaign, or as the rightists called it, "battle for Smrkovsky" grew into a serious nationwide crisis. Late at night, on January 3, a session of the CPCz Central Committee Presidium was convened to deal with this artificially created crisis. During an extremely sharp debate a statement was adopted . . . rejecting the numerous ultimative demands set forth in the resolutions drafted by Smrkovsky's headquarters, which on his instructions were approved at enterprises. The statement called attention to the dangers of the situation that had emerged. It condemned the campaign around the post of Chairman of the Federal Assembly and warned that the campaign was growing into a declaration of the aims of the extremist forces and opened the way for them to exploit the good intentions of honest people. The CC CPCz Presidium statement further emphasized that all institutions, bodies and public organizations bear the responsibility for strengthening unity.

It goes without saying that the statement was the result of the uncompromising position of a group of Presidium members representing the Marxist-Leninist line. In the course of extensive work in developing the process of consolidation, their words were at one with their deeds.

\*Smrkovsky, who was chairman of the National Assembly, laid claim to the post of Chairman of the Federal Assembly. — Ed.



Every honest citizen of our republic realized that the situation was extremely dangerous, and that it was necessary to begin a real battle, an ideological and political struggle. This was a time when not only the honest communists, but honest non-party citizens, members of the other National Front parties as well began to ask themselves: What is the way out of the existing situation? The way out was proposed by the communists, who were fighting to create in the party, in all its organizations a sound, strong Bolshevik core.

The statement of the CC CPCz Presidium helped to quiet the situation to a certain extent. The decisive word on the situation in the tense political atmosphere, and above all on finding a solution, had to be pronounced by the CPCz Central Committee plenum that was scheduled to be held on January 16-17. At the session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, held a few days earlier, Gustav Husak characterized the tense atmosphere in this way: "The right opportunist forces are again attempting, as they did after the May CC CPCz plenum, to bypass the resolution of the November plenum or to declare it 'out' and to bring pressure to bear on the leadership of the party and state to retreat from the fundamental positions defined by the November resolution. . . . Moreover, they are using the methods employed by right opportunist forces during the August events. Without the party's sanction, a campaign is again being conducted that runs counter to the aims set by its leadership. . . . All kinds of slogans are invented pertaining to a cabinet policy, and there are absolutely unfounded cries of a return to the 1950s that are designed to sow fear. The rightists are abusing the people's wrought-up national sentiments, particularly among the youth. These sentiments are also in evidence among a part of the workers."

. . . At this serious moment the rightists decided to minimize the results of the CC CPCz plenum, to distract people's attention, to again incite the people and create new conditions for the realization of their counter-revolutionary designs. They began to carry out the inhuman action they had been planning for some time. Just when there was reason to hope that the political climate was being stabilized as a result of the CC CPCz session and that further prerequisites for normalization and consolidation were being created, reaction and the rightists considered this the most favorable time for realizing their designs. Already during the November 17 student strike a group was formed of five Prague students, designated "the quintet of death." The group's aim was to prepare for extraordinary actions, and, in a



contingency, even for suicide, so as to "arouse the people's consciousness." On January 14, 1969 on orders of the rightist stage managers of the pressure campaign this group decided to carry out on the eve of the CC CPCz meeting an act of self-immolation in the most frequented part of Prague, in front of the National Museum. Lots were drawn to decide who should be the victim. It fell on Jan Palach, a student of the philosophical faculty.

First Palach refused. Only after insistent haranguing by the other members of the group, he finally submitted, on the condition, however, that, as he had been promised, the chemical components of the liquid he was to pour over himself would be such as to cause only a so-called cold flame, with a very low temperature and a minimal danger of mortal burns.

At 9 o'clock in the morning, Thursday, January 16, the members of the CPCz Central Committee began their important discussion. Shortly after 3 p.m., a flaming human torch appeared in front of the National Museum. The impatiently awaited and carefully prepared action served as the signal for the outbreak of a truly unprecedented hysteria. The rightists and the counter-revolutionary underground went into action, the rightist journalists once again rushed to the enterprises, inciting disorders. The crisis, which the rightists needed in order to paralyze the CC CPCz session, was revived.

The representatives of the rightist forces bear the full political and moral responsibility for all the acts of violence and suicide, for the personal tragedy for the students Palach, Nachazelova and Zajic. We recall with horror how one of the chief instigators of the students' hazardous actions, the rabid anti-communist Pachman, shamelessly appeared on television, shedding crocodile tears over the fate of the students who fell into the trap prepared by him and other political adventurers. He shed tears, yet he was the one who organized, prepared and inspired this brutal murder. He, together with some other rightists, bears the direct responsibility for the death of these young people. Pachman showed his true face as a "fighter for renaissance" several years after these events, when he, by then in the Federal Republic of Germany, demonstratively joined the most reactionary circles in West Germany. His moral degradation has been such that even his former pals, like Pelikan for instance, now scorn him.

The January CC CPCz meeting ended in the newly incited tense atmosphere. The rightist and reactionary forces, though they had succeeded in prolonging the crisis, did not, however, achieve their



final goal. The sober, weighty and reasonable words spoken in Prague strengthened the front of all the honest communists, non-party people and members of other parties, who were prepared to put a stop to the catastrophic situation that only served the hostile elements in realizing their designs. Discussed at the meeting were the prerogatives and tasks of the Federal Assembly, cadre questions and other vital measures in constituting and initiating the activity of our federation. In a situation marked by the intensification and aggravation of serious political problems, sparked by the debate over the chairmanship of the Federal parliament, the Central Committee affirmed the conclusions it had made in November and December 1968.

The resolution says that the Central Committee "considers it essential to continue concentrating the forces of the party and the entire society on the practical solution of the tasks set in the resolutions of the November and December CC CPCz plenums. . . . The conclusions of the recent CC CPCz plenums now too constitute the main content of the work of the party at all levels and serve as a guide to action for the communists and non-party bodies and organizations. The decisions of these plenums represent the concrete elaboration of the principal features of the post-January policy of the party and create the basis for party unity."

The January plenum clearly showed that the Marxist-Leninist forces would not tolerate the explosive situation into which the rightist forces and reaction were plunging the country. The rightists dared not pose a single counter-argument in support of their goals, dared not speak out against the well-considered and direct conclusions expressed at the plenum. Yet they continued their plotting secretly, behind the back of the Central Committee, in various organizations and pressure groups which they dominated.

Confirmation at the January session of the CC CPCz of the correctness of the November and December plenum resolutions was undoubtedly of enormous importance, due to the fact that the bulk of the working people accepted them. They saw in them a way out of the situation, a way out which they themselves sought. The January plenum did not try to conceal the fact that the situation in the country remained serious and that the rightists had not laid down their arms. They still believed themselves powerful, though they represented a conglomerate of diverse forces: from the anti-socialist forces and petty-bourgeois elements defeated in January to the right revisionists in the party itself. The only thing they had in common was their anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.



After the January plenum, it was clear to every rational person that in order to normalize the situation it was essential to rally all the sound forces of society for the struggle against the counter-revolution. Every honest person wanted to see order restored in the country, to be able finally to get on with their work, to continue building and improving their country. All honest people rejected the chaos and disorder, they learned from their own experience what the motley alliance of right opportunist and counter-revolutionary forces aimed at. They began to realize that what they had created during the years of socialist construction was now to be destroyed, was to be wrested from the people in the interests of a few adventurers.

It became clear that as long as the rightists and reaction were free to act as they wished, any relaxation of the situation would be merely temporary, and normalization unrealizable. The time was nearing when everyone had to decide whom he would side with, who is a real communist, a citizen loyal to socialism. The January CC CPCz plenum, confirming the resolution adopted in November, showed everyone a way out of the situation, a communist way out which, naturally, presupposed an immediate solution to the situation in the party leadership.

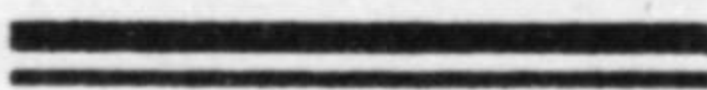
"The notorious events," the "Lessons of the Crisis Development" noted, "proved that the counter-revolution was determined to go to any length in order to prevent the consolidation of the situation in our country, and that it was necessary to finally put an end to a situation in which our society was in the throes of continuous crises developing into catastrophic situations."

"If a basic turn was to be achieved in the whole development, it was first of all necessary to solve the situation in the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia where a start had to be made by a radical change and rectification. The departure of A. Dubcek was an unconditional necessity if the party and the entire society were not to continue to reel in a vicious circle of constant states of crises."

The time for a crucial decision was approaching.

Our future lay in an undeviating advance along the Marxist-Leninist road, which we had followed and continue to follow together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.

*Rude Pravo*, January 13, 1979





## TRIUMPH OF THE KAMPUCHEAN PATRIOTS' JUST CAUSE

*Austria.* "The Kampuchean people side with the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation (KUFNS) and its government. The dictatorial Pol Pot regime is guilty of bloody atrocities. Having exterminated almost one-third of the population, driven away the entire intelligentsia, ruined the country's economy, completely liquidated the educational system, the Pol Pot regime was supported solely by China and no other country in the world.

"The Kampuchean people can once again lead a normal life. In this connection we would like to wish the KUFNS every success in the lofty cause of restoring their country after its tragic experience."

(*Volksstimme*, Vienna)

*Cyprus.* The victory of the KUFNS gladdens millions of progressive and democratic people throughout the world. The overthrow of the anti-popular Pol Pot clique exposes Peking's plot against Vietnam and Kampuchea and will undoubtedly serve to strengthen peace in Southeast Asia."

(*Haravghi*, Nicosia)

*Finland.* "The Political Bureau of the CPF Central Committee expresses solidarity with the activity of the KUFNS, aimed at democratizing the country, stopping the terror and violation of human rights, and improving the living conditions of the popular masses.

"The victory of the Kampuchean people will help bring stability and calm to the whole of Indochina. It has a positive impact not only on peaceful construction in the region, but in a broader sense, on the process of international détente."

(From a statement by the CC CP of Finland)

*Indonesia.* "Embodying the revolutionary traditions of the Kampuchean people, the KUFNS led the struggle of the people against the tyrannical clique of the Peking Maoist puppets, who had betrayed the cause of the revolutionary movement of Indochina, the cause of national liberation, peace and socialism.

"The victory of the Kampuchean people under the leadership of



the KUFNS was a historical necessity. It deeply gladdens the communists and all working people of Indonesia."

(From the Message of the CP of Indonesia  
to the KUFNS Central Committee)

*Japan.* "We are convinced that the restoration and strengthening on the internal political plane of the democratic rights of the entire Kampuchean people and in conducting a foreign policy line aimed at genuine independence, non-alignment, neutrality, peace and friendship with all countries, as stipulated by the political platform of the KUFNS, will guarantee a happy future for the Kampuchean people, as well as contribute to the cause of friendship and peace between the Asian peoples. Proceeding from positions of national self-determination and considering that the problems of Kampuchea must be resolved by the Kampuchean people themselves, we support your struggle against any possible attempts at outside interference.

"As for relations between the Communist Party of Japan and the KUFNS, we wish to develop bilateral relations of solidarity and friendship on the basis of independence, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs."

(from the message of the CC CP of Japan  
to the KUFNS Central Committee)

*Mongolia.* "The Mongolian people warmly hail the striking victory of the KUFNS revolutionary forces and the creation of the People's Revolutionary Council. At the same time, this victory deals a blow at the expansionist plans of Peking, which sought to strengthen its positions in Kampuchea with the aid of its flunkies, who brought the country to the brink of a national catastrophe."

(Unen, Ulan Bator)

*Uruguay.* "This victory signifies the defeat of the counter-revolutionary policy conducted by Peking in Kampuchea.

"The Uruguayan communists and, we are convinced, the entire people, who are fighting for freedom and democracy, express their solidarity with the people of Kampuchea, led by the KUFNS."

(From a statement of the CC CP Uruguay)

*USA.* "The militaristic Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique tried to cover their programs by calling themselves Marxists. They hid their policies of terror behind slogans of building socialism, when, in fact, their



policies had nothing to do with either Marxism or real socialism. They turned all of Kampuchea into a Maoist-like camp and called it a commune.

"Their anti-working class attitude was clearly exposed in their brutal campaign of forcefully driving workers, like cattle, out of their urban homes and work-places. They practised racist genocide against a number of the smaller minorities.

"U.S. imperialism and the leaders of China are carrying on a hysterical campaign against Vietnam. This campaign serves as a smokescreen for China's military mobilizations on Vietnam's borders. Vietnam is not the aggressor. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is not intent on capturing territory. It is interested only in peace and security for its borders.

"Vietnam has made many concrete proposals during the past year which would ensure peace and secure borders between Kampuchea and Vietnam. They have been rejected both by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and the leaders of China.

"The heroic people of Kampuchea did not fight to defeat U.S. imperialist aggression only to be saddled with domination by an insane, militaristic and traitorous clique.

"The democratic working class, revolutionary and all progressive peoples throughout the world welcome and hail the victory of the people of Kampuchea and their National United Front for National Salvation."

(From a statement by Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP USA)

*Socialist Republic of Vietnam.* "The formation of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea after the liberation of Phnom Penh and all Kampuchea from the brutal oppression of the dominant reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was an important historic event in the political life of the Kampuchean people, opening up a new stage in promoting relations of friendship and cooperation between Kampuchea and Vietnam, as well as with the other countries of Southeast Asia, contributing actively to the cause of maintaining peace and stability in the region.

"The people and government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam are gladdened by the victory of the fraternal Kampuchean people and express their confidence that under the banner of the People's Revolutionary Council and the United Front of National Salvation the heroic Kampuchean people will most certainly achieve successes in



building a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral, non-aligned Kampuchea that is advancing toward socialism.”

(From the SRV government's message of greetings to the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea)

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## NO, IT WAS NOT SOCIALISM

*(On the events in Kampuchea)*

For years the United States supported the Lon Nol government. The rotten regime and its morally corrupted leaders remained in power only thanks to support from abroad. This was so obvious that when it crumbled, suffering a military defeat as well, nobody dared to lament its downfall. While Lon Nol lived in luxury in the United States, a new misfortune befell the courageous and freedom-loving Khmer people — they found themselves in the hands of dishonorable leaders who betrayed their struggle, victory and future.

It is sad to speak of this. How happy we would have been to see liberated Cambodia take the socialist road, and the flowers of peaceful labor and human happiness blossoming in that long-suffering country. But this did not happen. The former leaders of Cambodia called their government socialist, but in reality this totalitarian regime was a monstrous caricature of socialism.

Do cities become deserted under socialism, and are their inhabitants driven to forced labor in the countryside? Are families separated, husband and wife permitted to meet only occasionally? Are children forced to work instead of being given the opportunity to attend school? Are people being turned into inhuman robots resembling those we recently saw in a television film, approved — let it be recalled — by Pol Pot and the entire Cambodian clique? No! it is a blatant falsification, a monstrous caricature of the socialist system. This we know because we ourselves are fighting for socialism.

So ought one be surprised at the emergence of a national-liberation movement, a movement that is led by those who were in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist struggle during the U.S. aggression? Surprised that its figures are supported by neighboring Vietnam, just like during the war against the United States and their flunkies? That the United Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea (the national name for Cambodia) is triumphantly entering Phnom Penh? Certainly



not. And when the United States condemns the struggle being waged in Cambodia they are condemning thereby imperialist policies in various countries, including that of French imperialism, which have turned this region into a zone of military and ideological confrontation.

Then there is China, which has repeatedly demonstrated its sympathy toward the Pol Pot regime, apparently seeing it as a reflection of their own image, during the times of the "band of four" and the consequences of the "cultural revolution." Hopefully today their approach will be more reasonable. The Chinese leaders, blinded by their anti-Sovietism and hatred toward Vietnam and its allies, friends of the USSR, should not lose their self-control or the capability of a historical vision of the world.

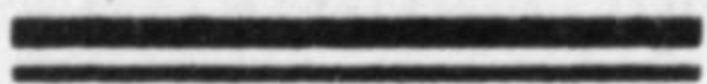
What the Cambodian people will do, having liberated themselves from the tyranny, is their own affair. No one has the right to dictate to them as to their future, their allies, the policy they should follow. They are the masters of their fate. But one thing is certain — the Pol Pot regime is indefensible, and when Prince Norodom Sihanouk attempts to drag in national independence, whatever the pretext for his interference, he is defending the wrong cause.

The Cambodian people have proved that they are ready to make any sacrifices to attain freedom. Hence it is only natural to ask why did they not put up a stronger resistance to the new military actions? Is it not because the KUFNS enjoys their full support, the support that Pol Pot and his flunkies had lost? And is not China, moved solely by its anti-Sovietism, entering on a risky venture, tying itself up with a bankrupt government that is unanimously detested by the entire Cambodian people?

We on our part hope that after the age-long colonial oppression and the horrors of war, peace will at long last come to this people. Peace, and with it, finally, freedom as well.

*Martine Monod*

*L'Humanité Dimanche*, No. 154, January 1979





# A UNITY THAT STOOD THE TEST

*Thirty Years Since the Conference of Unification of  
the Jewish and Arab communists*

*Tawfiq Toubi*

On October 22-23, 1948, the National Conference which restored the Jewish-Arab unity, the internationalist unity, of the Communist Party in the country, was held in Haifa. The Conference was held in accordance with the resolutions of the Central Committee of the League for National Liberation in whose framework the Arab communists were organized, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, in which the Jewish communists were organized. The Jewish and Arab communists in the State of Israel restored their organizational and political unity in the framework of the Communist Party of Israel after five years of separate activity.

This was a very significant event in the history of the communist movement in the country, of the workers' movement and in the history of our two peoples. It was an event that left its impact on the struggle, in Israel as well as in the whole region, against imperialism, for national independence, democracy, social progress and peace.

The restoration of the internationalist unity of the communists has generated enthusiasm through the example it has provided in the hearts of workers, young people, intelligentsia and other circles, Jews and Arabs, in their struggle for better living conditions.

The statement issued by the League for National Liberation on the occasion of restoring the unity of the Jewish and Arab communists, said: "The League for National Liberation appraises this historical decision regarding the re-establishment of the one internationalist Communist Party, and regards it as a blow to the imperialist Anglo-American scheme in the Middle East. This decision practically confirms that Arabs and Jews can live together in cooperation and fraternity and fight together through one united front against the common enemy — imperialism, and for their common aim — political and social liberation. . . . The organizational and political split between the Arab communists, organized in the League for National Liberation and the Jewish communists, organized in the Communist Party of Israel, have benefited the Jewish and Arab reaction which has led astray the masses by its racist propaganda."



The statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel on the occasion of the unification conference emphasized: "The split between the Jewish and Arab communists has caused great damage to the fight of the Communist Party and all the progressive forces in Israel against imperialism and Jewish and Arab reaction. The unification of the vanguard of the working people in the State of Israel is a big achievement in the class struggle of the working class. . . . The idea of peoples' fraternity is celebrating its first and significant victory in the State of Israel. This is an important step toward uprooting the results of the 'Divide and Rule' policy pursued for 30 years by British imperialism."

Motivated by deep feeling of responsibility, Comrade Emile Habibi said in his speech in the unification conference:

"Our two peoples, the Arab and Jewish, were those who taught us the inevitability inherent in the unity of the Arab and Jewish communists, a complete organic unity. The people taught us this truth through the innocent blood that was shed and the loss of thousands of innocent people. . . . The blood of Arabs and Jews which was shed on the soil of our homeland because of the crimes of imperialism and its agents has sealed our organic unity with a seal that cannot be erased and tied us with strong bonds that cannot be severed. In memory of the victims of imperialism, the innocent blood which was shed, and the tragedy that befell our country we Arab communists take the oath upon ourselves to protect the internationalist unity of the party as we protect the apple of our eye."

For 30 years this unity of Jewish and Arab communists has gone through many tests. But the Communist Party of Israel was faithful to its oath to guard it. This unity has enabled the party to stand as a rock against which all the waves of chauvinism and reaction broke. The Communist Party of Israel stands today consolidated and united, and in spite of hard conditions, successfully proceeds in fulfilling its historic mission in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and for securing a just peace and a happy future for both peoples of this country, the Jewish and Arab.

The unification conference of the Jewish and Arab communists in Israel was held in a period of historic importance for the country. It was the period when the State of Israel was established according to UN resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, regarding the termination of the British mandate, the evacuation of the British army from the country and the establishment of two independent and democratic states — a Jewish state and an Arab state. At the same time, these days were



tragic for the Palestinian Arab people, the days of uprooting and eviction of large parts from their homeland, the days of conspiracies carried out by imperialism, Arab reaction and the Zionist leadership of the State of Israel, which aimed at preventing the realization of the right of the Palestinian Arab people to establish their independent state together with the establishment of the State of Israel. In these days of war and flaming hostility between the two peoples of the country, the clear and loud voice of the communists came strong from the unification conference. Comrade Meir Vilner stressed in his speech: "A Jewish-Arab alliance based on the recognition of the right of each people to their own state is the path that leads toward the re-establishment of peace in the country, the securing of national independence, to economic development and social prosperity. There can't be real independence for the State of Israel without independence for the other part of the country. The restoration of the unity between the Jewish and the Arab communists openly proves that the division in the Middle East and in the country is not between Jews and Arabs but between reactionary pro-imperialist and anti-popular forces on the one hand and democratic anti-imperialist forces on the other hand. This division is not a racial, it is a political class division."

We, the united Jewish and Arab communists have always maintained that a foundation for a just and lasting peace and for a happy future for both peoples of this country consists in mutual respect for the right of both peoples to self-determination and an independent state. We have always emphasized that the way that leads to a just peace is the solution of the Palestinian problem, the recognition of the right of the Palestinian Arab people to their own independent state alongside the State of Israel, and the just solution of the refugee problem according to UN resolutions — this will bring about the recognition of Israel by the Arab countries and respect for its sovereignty, independence and security. These matters, which were questions of principle for the communists at that time, are still valid today.

At all our party congresses we repeatedly emphasized that the "... essence of the Palestinian problem and the Israeli-Arab conflict is inherent in the fact that at a time when one people — the Israeli — has realized their right to self-determination and national independence by establishing the State of Israel, the other people, the Palestinian Arab people, was deprived of such a right."

If the ruling circles in Israel had shown readiness to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people and to dissociate them-



selves from the imperialist dark plans, the Israeli-Arab conflict could have been solved long ago.

For 30 years, since the establishment of Israel, our Communist Party was the only political force which outlined a different path from that of the ruling circles, and that of the Zionist leaders, for securing Israel's integration in the region, and for securing peace between Israel and the Arab neighbors. We have rejected the unrealistic policy of force and cooperation with various imperialists against the independence and free development of the Arab countries. The slogan of the Communist Party of Israel: *With the Arab peoples, against imperialism and not with imperialism against the Arab peoples* — was and still is correct until this very day.

The correct policy of the Communist Party of Israel became clear to the people of Israel and it realizes that the security and safety of Israel will be guaranteed not by force, which depends upon alliance with imperialism and reaction, not through ignoring the right of the Palestinian Arab people but only by a just peace based upon mutual respect of the just national rights of both peoples. This was the message of the Jewish and Arab communists when they restored their unity 30 years ago. This is their message to the people of Israel today.

By its policy and consistent struggle against the pro-imperialist aggressive line of the ruling circles in Israel and against the Zionist ideology and practice, which prevented Israel from achieving peace and cooperation with the Arab peoples, our party has shown the other face of Israel, the face of the democratic and peace-loving forces. Thus, our Communist Party of Israel has acquired the trust and cooperation of the patriotic, anti-imperialist and progressive forces in the Arab countries and points to a solid basis for a future of cooperation between the people of Israel and the Arab peoples.

Guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of scientific socialism, our Communist Party analyzes correctly the social structure in Israel as a class society with antagonistic interests, a society of the exploiters and the exploited and of the oppressors and the oppressed. This basic analysis enables us to see the antagonistic interests between the dominating Zionist policy, which is aggressive and hostile toward the Arab peoples and the real interests of the Israeli people — a just peace, security and social progress.

Proceeding from this scientific analysis, our Communist Party has rejected the theories which aim at identifying Israel and the Israeli society with Zionism. Our Communist Party opposes these theories



and considers them as contradictory not only to the interests of the Palestinian Arab people but also to the interests of the Israeli people. Analyzing from the scientific point of view the character of the Israeli society, our party has rejected any policy which negates the right of the people of Israel to self-determination and to their independent state. Proceeding from its Marxist-Leninist position our party emphasizes the real possibility that the Israeli society, like any class society, due to internal political and social struggles — which will be strengthened and intensified when the Middle East conflict will be resolved and peaceful relations will prevail — is able to bring about a change in the balance of forces within the Israeli society, that will change the face of Israel itself, change the foreign and domestic policy pursued now by the Zionist ruling circles.

Our Israeli Communist Party is faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism, to the cause of the unity of the communist and workers' movement and to all the anti-imperialist forces in the world. The attitude toward the Soviet Union, the motherland of the October Revolution, is the main touchstone of loyalty to all these principles. The repulsion of the poisonous anti-Soviet incitement of the Zionist ruling circles in Israel as part of the anti-Soviet crusade of the imperialist forces, friendship with the Soviet Union — constitute a cornerstone in the patriotic and internationalist policy of the Communist Party of Israel.

The rulers of Israel and the Zionist leaders have tried more than once to shake and break the internationalist Jewish-Arab unity of our party and to divert it away from its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist path.

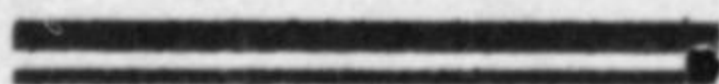
The enemies of the Jewish-Arab unity of our party and our class enemies have attacked its revolutionary path both from inside and outside. Our Communist Party had faced a severe crisis in 1965 when its policy and its Jewish-Arab unity were attacked by liquidationist and chauvinist circles from within with the help of reaction and the ruling circles. But, those who broke their oath taken at the Unification Conference of the Arab and Jewish communists in 1948 to guard the Jewish-Arab unity of our party as one guards the apple of one's eye, have suffered a tremendous failure. The Jewish-Arab unity of the party and its Marxist-Leninist policy stood the test.

We know that the Jewish-Arab unity of the Communist Party under the conditions of the Middle East is not a "gift from heaven" but is a result of the consciousness and the consistent struggle of the communists.



As we have taken the oath 30 years ago, we again renew this oath — together with thousands of communists and conscious workers. Jews and Arabs, who were born and brought up in the party — that we will guard forever the Jewish-Arab unity of our Communist Party as we guard the apple of our eye.

*Zu Haderech, October 19, 1978*



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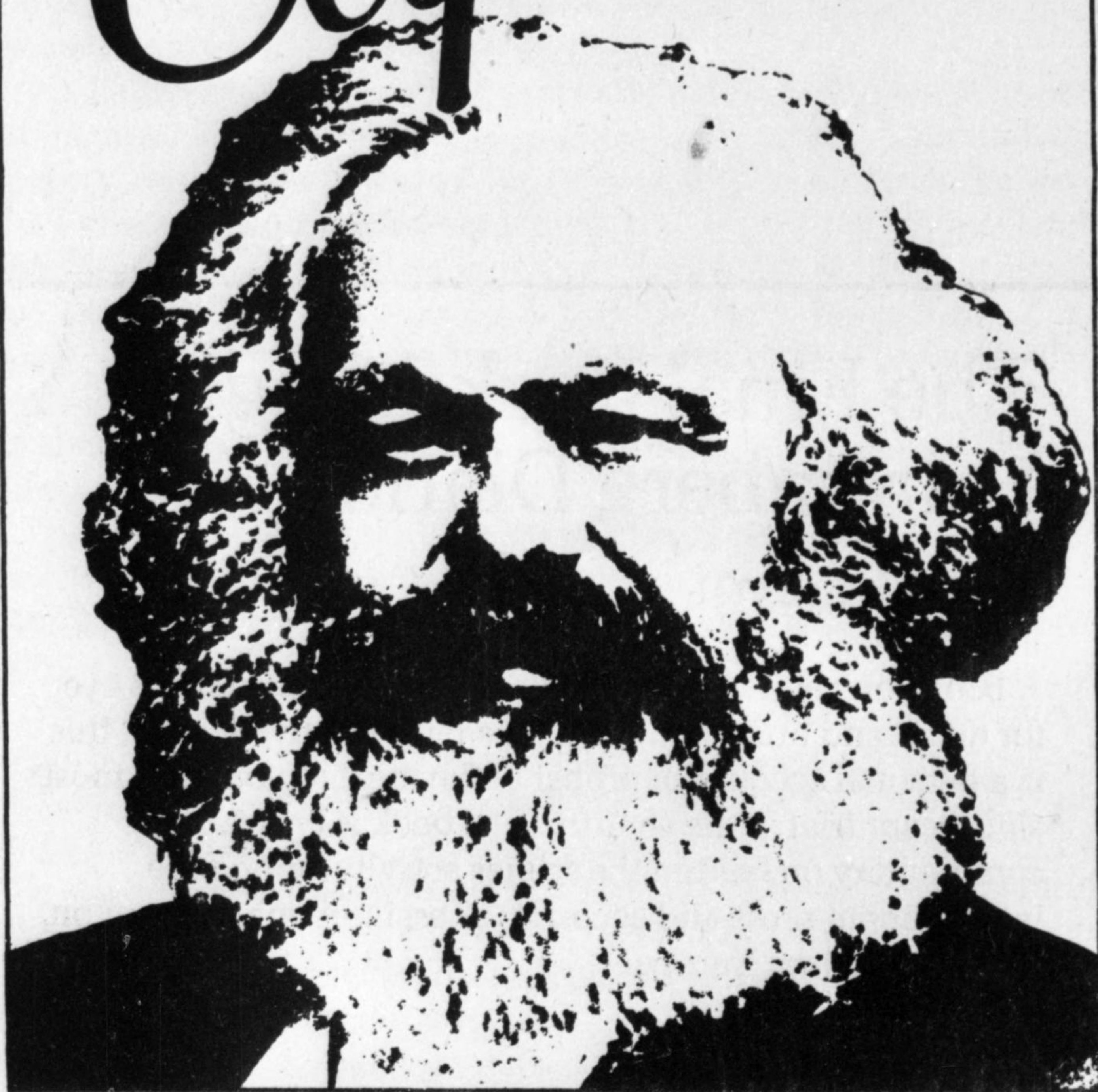
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